

## Friendship in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age

# Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture

Edited by  
Albrecht Classen and Marilyn Sandidge

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De Gruyter

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Explorations of a Fundamental Ethical Discourse

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# Introduction

Albrecht Classen  
(University of Arizona, Tucson)

## Friendship—The Quest for a Human Ideal and Value From Antiquity to the Early Modern Time

### A. Early Modern Perspectives

Let us begin with an intriguing and most powerful example of friendship as it was discussed and glorified in an eighteenth-century text. The famous German classicist writer, dramatist, historian, and poet Friedrich Schiller (1759–1806) is today perhaps best known for his glorious ode “An die Freude” (Ode to Joy), composed in 1785. It has become in the meantime the European hymn, adopted by the European Union and the Council of Europe as their anthem in 1972, drawing from Ludwig van Beethoven’s musical adaptation in the final, or fourth, movement of his Ninth Symphony from 1824. Many other contemporary composers felt similarly inspired by Schiller’s poem and set his words to music as well, such as Johann Gottlieb Naumann (1786), Christian Gottfried Körner (1786), Johann Friedrich Reichardt (1796), Johann Friedrich Hugo von Dalberg (1799), Johann Rudolf Zumsteeg (1803). Perhaps better known are Franz Schubert with his song “An die Freude” D 189 (1815), for voice and piano; Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky (1865) with his composition for solo singers, choir and orchestra in a Russian translation of “Seid umschlungen, Millionen!” (1892; Be Embraced, You Millions); then a waltz by Johann Strauss II, and a composition by Z. Randall Stroepe (2002), for choir and four-hand piano.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Linda Mae Rosett Jordan, “Schiller’s ‘Ode to Joy’ and Beethoven’s ‘Joy’ Theme: the Growth of an Idea,” Ph. D. diss. University of Texas, 1964; Ludwig van Beethoven, *Ode to Joy: An die Freude (Schiller) : Finale from Symphony no. 9, Opus 125*, Introduction and instructions for study by Carl Eberhardt; trans. Kurt Michaelis (Frankfurt and New York: H. Litolf’s Verlag and C. F. Peters, 1985); James Parsons, “Ode to the Ninth: the Poetic and Musical Tradition Behind the Finale of

The second stanza of the original ballad formulates in most impressive terms the ideals pursued by Schiller and many of his contemporaries from this classical period in the history of German literature, such as Johann Wolfgang Goethe and Friedrich von Kleist,<sup>2</sup> which suggests that the divine and utopian community of those who understand and share universal, cosmic, and harmonious joy are either friends, or marriage partners, and are, at any rate, intimately and closely associated with another human being, thus pursuing, similarly to the gods, the ultimate goal of all our existence, to acquire wisdom, happiness, and harmony:

Wem der große Wurf gelungen,  
 Eines Freundes Freund zu sein,  
 Wer ein holdes Weib errungen,  
 Mische seinen Jubel ein!  
 Ja—wer auch nur eine Seele  
 Sein nennt auf dem Erdenrund!  
 Und wer's nie gekonnt, der stehle  
 Weinend sich aus diesem Bund!<sup>3</sup>

[Whoever has had the great fortune,  
 To be a friend's friend,  
 Whoever has won the love of a devoted wife,  
 Add his jubilation to our own!  
 Indeed, whoever can call even one soul  
 His own on this earth, join the chorus!  
 But whoever was never able to do so must tearfully  
 Slink away from this circle.<sup>4</sup>]

Further along, Schiller adds the important comment about friends that they are some of the most important partners in human life, especially when tested in and through death: "Küsse gab sie uns, und Reben, / Einen Freund, geprüft im Tod" (249, 30–31; Kisses she gave us, and Wine, / A friend, proven in death). Very

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Beethoven's 'Choral Symphony,' Ph.D. diss. University of North Texas, Denton, 1992; Esteban Buch, *Beethoven's Ninth: a Political History* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003); Dieter Hildebrandt, *Die Neunte: Schiller, Beethoven und die Geschichte eines musikalischen Welterfolgs*. 2nd ed. (Munich: Hanser, 2005); see also [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anthem\\_of\\_Europe](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anthem_of_Europe) (last accessed on Aug. 1, 2010).

<sup>2</sup> See, for instance, Jutta Heinz, "'Die wahre, die tätige, produktive Freundschaft' – die Freundschaft von Goethe und Schiller im Spiegel ihres Briefwechsels," *Rituale der Freundschaft*, ed. Klaus Manger and Ute Pott. Ereignis Weimar-Jena. Kultur um 1800. Ästhetische Forschungen, 7 (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2006), 193–205.

<sup>3</sup> Friedrich Schiller, *Gedichte*, ed. Georg Kurscheidt. Friedrich Schiller Werke und Briefe, 1 (Frankfurt a. M.: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1992), 248. For commentaries on the history of the origin of this ode, its relationship with contemporary poetry and philosophy, see id., 1036–43. See also *Schiller-Handbuch*, ed. Helmut Koopmann (Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner Verlag, 1998), 13, 49, 176, et passim.

<sup>4</sup> <http://www.raptusassociation.org/ode1785.html> (last accessed on August 1, 2010).



similar to this concept, Schiller projected an example of true friendship in his ballad "Die Bürgschaft" from 1798. Here a man called Möros tries to assassinate the tyrant Dionysius the Elder (ca. 430–367 B.C.E.), ruler of Syracuse in Sicily since 405, but the political criminal is caught just in time and immediately condemned to suffer the death penalty.<sup>5</sup> There are no comments judging the tyrant or giving reasons why his opponent tried to kill him. Before being executed, however, the assassin begs the king to grant him three days respite during which he would like to arrange his sister's marriage. The tyrant insidiously grants him this break from his death penalty, but only on the condition that he finds a friend willing to serve as his guarantor for his return. If he fails to arrive within the stipulated time, however, as the tyrant underscores, the friend would be put to death in his stead, which then would leave Möros scot-free, however deeply burdened by painful feelings of guilt. Indeed, the tyrant, true to his character, dangles the most tempting proverbial carrot in front of him, offering him the chance of life if he betrays his friend, although then it would be a life of shame and dishonor.

But Möros's friend immediately agrees to serve in this precarious function, and the erstwhile assassin rushes away to carry out his family business and to meet his obligation as his sister's authority figure. On the third day, once he has successfully accomplished his task, he makes every attempt to return home and to free his friend from the prison before the set deadline, but suddenly both nature and robbers stand in his way, challenging him at every turn of his path. Nevertheless, Möros makes every possible attempt, overcoming fear of death and all kinds of threats, and reaches the city just when his friend is about to be crucified in his place.

Despite being warned of the danger for his life and being advised to turn away and rescue himself, Möros pushes his way through the crowd and demands that the tyrant release his friend and take him instead, as would be his moral and ethical duty. The crowd is deeply amazed, if not shocked, and the news of this unheard of proof of unfailing friendship quickly reaches the tyrant. Dionysius calls these two friends to his court, stares at them in great surprise, and then suddenly changes his mind, acknowledging that these two have proven that the traditional value of friendship still holds true:

Und blicket sie lange verwundert an.  
 Darauf spricht er: Es ist euch gelungen,  
 Ihr habt das Herz mir bezwungen,  
 Und die Treue, sie ist doch kein leerer Wahn,  
 So nehmet auch mich zum Genossen an,

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<sup>5</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dionysius\\_I\\_of\\_Syracuse](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dionysius_I_of_Syracuse) (last accessed on August 1, 2010).

Ich sei, gewährt mir die Bitte,  
In eurem Bunde der dritte.<sup>6</sup>

[Being long silent, he, and wondering long,  
Gazed on the pair – “In peace depart,  
Victors, ye have subdued my heart!  
Truth is no dream! – its power is strong.  
Give grace to him who owns his wrong!  
‘Tis mine your suppliant now to be,  
Ah, let the band of love – be three!’<sup>7</sup>]

Schiller freely drew from a long tradition on this literary motif that has attracted writers and poets since Greek and Roman antiquity—the first one to work with this motif seems to have been Aristoxeno (b. 370 B.C.E.), later followed by numerous other classical writers, who all delighted in elaborating on the idea of friendship that is being proven in such an almost tragic context, such as Gaius Iulius Hyginus (d. 10 C.E.)—and then throughout the entire Middle Ages and beyond.<sup>8</sup> And although he projected a particularly ‘classical’ ideal of friendship, the importance and recognition of his exploration of this ethical value has not faded ever since. After all, the “Ode to Joy” continues to enthrall people in emotional, ethical, political, and sociological terms, and the ideals concerning friendship contained in this and many of Schiller’s other poems have not lost their relevance at all, despite much criticism and serious challenges.<sup>9</sup>

The purpose of our volume, however, is directed at exploring the treatment and evaluation of friendship in the Middle Ages and the early modern age, for which,

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<sup>6</sup> Friedrich Schiller, *Gedichte*, 28, 134–40. For a good commentary, see *ibid.*, 858–60. The problematic conclusion regarding the role of the tyrant does not find a good reflection here, nor in the commentary. Scholars have paid much attention to this ballad; see, for instance Charlotte M. Craig, “‘The Pledge’ (Die Bürgschaft): Schiller’s Human Bail Bond Ballad,” *Dalhousie Review* 82.3 (2002): 413–21.

<sup>7</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Die\\_B%C3%BCrgschaft](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Die_B%C3%BCrgschaft) (last accessed on August 1, 2010).

<sup>8</sup> Friedrich Schiller, *Gedichte*, 858–59; Albrecht Classen, “Das Motiv des aufopfernden Freundes von der Antike über das Mittelalter bis zur Neuzeit,” *Fabula* 47, 1–2 (2006): 17–32; *id.*, “Friendship in the Middle Ages: A Ciceronian Concept in Konrad von Würzburg’s *Engelhard* (ca. 1280),” *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 41, 2 (2006): 227–46. The classical sources of this poem and of this narrative motif are best studied by Ernst Gegenschatz, “Die ‘pythagoreische Bürgschaft’ – zur Geschichte eines Motivs von Aristoxenos bis Schiller,” *Begegnungen mit Neuem und Altem*, ed. Peter Neukam (Munich: Bayerischer Schulbuch-Verlag, 1981), 90–54; see also J. F. L. Raschen, “Earlier and Later Versions of the Friendship Theme. I: ‘Damon und Pythias,’” *Modern Philology* 17 (1919/1920): 105–09. I will later turn to a poem by Erasmus Widmann (1572–1634) who also voiced rather serious-satirical criticism against the idyllic notion of friendship.

<sup>9</sup> *Frauenfreundschaft, Männerfreundschaft: literarische Diskurse im 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Wolfram Mauser and Barbara Becker-Cantarino (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1991); Luzia Thiel, *Freundschafts-Konzeptionen im späten 18. Jahrhundert: Schillers “Don Karlos” und Hölderlins “Hyperion”*. *Epistemata. Reihe Literaturwissenschaft*, 498 (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2004); *Rituale der Freundschaft*, ed. Klaus Manger and Ute Pott, 2006 (see note 2).

of course, Schiller's poem proves to be an excellent segue, as an endpoint, as a sounding board, so to speak, and as foil against which we can easily judge previous approaches to friendship. His ode to joy glorified the traditional values of love, happiness, and friendship, just shortly before the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789. Schiller's poem is a remarkably late and yet enduring testimony of the ideology grounded in the Enlightenment with its almost willful neglect of the political machinations and manipulations, power structures and subjugation mechanisms, projecting, one last time, it seems, the dream of a friendship that might overcome all social class differences and create a community of ideally minded friends.<sup>10</sup> Perhaps Schiller's friendship with his contemporary, the literary and intellectual giant Johann Wolfgang Goethe (1749–1832), might have properly underscored the enormous appeal of the Greek ideal on the entire generation of classical and Romanticist writers.<sup>11</sup>

## B. Friendship in Antiquity

To explore the theme of friendship in the Middle Ages and the early modern age requires that we acknowledge its essential, though certainly not unchangeable or always identical, value in humanistic terms and its foundation in the humanities in virtually all cultures and in all periods.<sup>12</sup> Already in ancient Greek culture friendship played a central role in public and private life, structured by the principle of reciprocity and agonality.<sup>13</sup> We would be hard pressed to identify any

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<sup>10</sup> See the powerful and insightful comments by Jost Hermand, *Freundschaft: Zur Geschichte einer sozialen Bindung* (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau, 2006), 1–48. As to the friendship between the two intellectual giants Goethe and Schiller, who developed an intensive poetic exchange reflecting the ideals of friendship, he comments, rather scathingly, 44: "Statt eine politische Solidarität mit den bürgerlichen Aufklärern und jakobinisch gesinnten Illuminaten anzustreben, zogen sich Goethe und Schiller im Winter 1795 auf 1796 mit diesen *Xenien* in eine 'machtgeschützte Innerlichkeit' zurück, der eine unverhohlene Übereinstimmung mit den herrschenden feudalabsolutistischen Verhältnissen zugrunde lag, welche sie lediglich mit einer ideologisch-ästhetischen Verklärung der Antike zu verschleiern suchten" (Instead of seeking a political solidarity with the bourgeois enlightenment thinkers and the Jacobine Illuminati, Goethe and Schiller withdrew, during the Winter from 1795 to 1796, with these *Xenien* into a 'interiority protected by external political structures,' which was predicated on an blatant agreement with the ruling feudal-absolutist conditions which they only tried to veil through an ideological-aestheticizing glorification of antiquity).

<sup>11</sup> Rüdiger Safranski, *Goethe und Schiller: Geschichte einer Freundschaft* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2009).

<sup>12</sup> Brian Patrick McGuire, *Friendship and Community: The Monastic Experience, 350–1250*. Cistercian Studies Series, 95 (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1988; now reissued, with a new introduction by the author, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2010); see also the contributions to *Friendship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Julian Haseldine (Stroud: Sutton, 1999).

<sup>13</sup> Marc D. Schachter, *Voluntary Servitude and the Erotics of Friendship: From Classical Antiquity to Early*

ancient Greek or Roman philosopher and writer who would not have approached the topic of friendship in one way or the other, since it was regarded with so much admiration and respect, providing the essential cohesion that held those societies together, whether we think of Heliod, Sappho, Aristotle, the Stoics, the Pythagoreans, Cicero, and many others.<sup>14</sup>

Political behavior and concepts of justice were determined by the ideals of friendship, that is, to assist the friend under almost any circumstances to the best of one's means, as Schiller was later to discuss in his ode (see above), though without neglecting the principles of honor and morality. Friendship was almost of greater significance than family relationships, as long as it was predicated on equality and mutuality. Friends proved themselves above all in emergencies and dangers, demonstrating their loyalty and trust, assuming the role of defenders before the court and pursuing the friend's enemies in other cases. Friends were also supposed to assist each other in material terms, and gained great honor through their constancy and reliability practically under all circumstances. Friendship was often carried over to the next generation when fathers or brothers married their daughters or sisters respectively to their friends. Friendship also often turned into political partnerships, which found their public expressions in symposia, or festive dinners, hunting parties, or political collaboration. In Hellenistic Greece friends of the rulers often assumed or were assigned important official roles, and similar situations can also found in many other periods and cultures.

Ancient philosophers regularly focused on 'friendship' as the essential bond among people, as the foundation for social communities, and as the basis for the public development of virtuous behavior. Plato, for instance, discussing friendship in his dialogue *Lýsis*, emphasizes that a person can be friends only if s/he is a friend with oneself at first. Friendship is focused on creating a *próton philon*, the public good. Aristotle developed this fragmentary concept further in his *Nicomachean Ethics* (VIII–IX), recognizing three levels of friendship, the first based on utility, or personal profit, that is, material gains; the second on joyfulness or

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*Modern France* (Aldershot, England, and Burlington, VT: Aldershot, 2008).

<sup>14</sup> David Konstan, *Friendship in the Classical World*. Key Themes in Ancient History (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997). See now the contributions to *De Amicitia: Friendship and Social Networks in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. Katariina Mustakallio and Christian Krötzel. Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae, 36 (Rome: Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, 2010). The volume is based on papers presented at a conference at the University of Tampere, Finland, in August 2007. The focus here rests primarily on the ideal of friendship during the transitional period from classical antiquity to the Middle Ages. However, the span of topics extends from Aristotle's exploration of the topic to expressions of friendship in the fifteenth century, with articles on the Middle Ages certainly being in the minority here. I appreciate Prof. Krötzel's help in providing me with some basic information about this volume fresh of the printing press.

emotional delight, that is, sexual lust, and the third on the good in abstract terms.<sup>15</sup> Only the latter type of friendship will be long- or everlasting because it is built upon mutuality in will and desire for the good.<sup>16</sup> The true friend emerges as an alternative self, or as an alter ego, who is only interested in creating goodness and happiness in and for the friend. Complete and entirely fulfilled friendship leads to *Eudaimonia*, insofar as the human creature cannot achieve absolute happiness by and through him/herself.

According to Epicure, all philosophical activities were predicated on and consisted of friendship. Friendship disregards all social and gender differences and can even include slaves. Friendship procures safety and absence of fear, and thus produces the basis upon which wisdom and happiness can be achieved. Friendship results in virtue and agreement among the individuals, which in turn leads to peace and harmony within the social community.<sup>17</sup>

In ancient Rome, Cicero picked up many of the Greek ideas about friendship, most poignantly expressed in his truly famous and by now practically timeless dialogue treatise *Laelius*, or *De amicitia*. For him, friends must agree in moral and ethical terms and share in fundamental values of human life, as manifested in good deeds done for the other out of sheer friendliness. Virtue dominates friendship in Cicero's philosophy. We will come back to his treatise below, but let us first trace the development of the historical discourse on friendship ever since. Seneca, for instance, perceived friendship as a motivational force leading to the self-fulfillment of the individual, relying on the model of an educational project involving both friends at the same time.

Only when an individual can share virtue, knowledge, and any other ethical good with a friend, does this translate into public joy. Many other Roman philosophers, such as Lucian, Plutarch, Maximus of Thyros, and Libanios, also examined and discussed friendship as a central ideal and value, offering approval of and additions to the ancient Greek concepts.

In late antiquity, Christian thinkers such as St. Ambrose, John Chrysostom, Jerome, Paulinus of Nola, and St. Augustine, that is, the Church Fathers and others, continued with the examination of friendship and translated that secular concept into a religious one, yet they still insisted on the practical application of this ideal and often began to neglect it even once they had turned to religious

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<sup>15</sup> Plato, *Complete Works*, ed., with introd. and notes, by John M. Cooper. Associate Editor D. S. Hutchinson (Indianapolis and Cambridge: Hackett Publishing, 1997), Lorraine Smith Pangle, *Aristotle and the Philosophy of Friendship*, ed. John von Heyking and Richard Avramenko (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

<sup>16</sup> Heinz-Horst Schrey, "Freundschaft," *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* XI (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1983), 590–99; here 591–92. I follow his outline in the subsequent section.

<sup>17</sup> Nathalie von Siemens, *Aristoteles über Freundschaft: Untersuchungen zur Nikomachischen Ethik VIII und IX*. Symposium, 128 (Freiburg i. Br.: Alber, 2008).

asceticism.<sup>18</sup> I will return to some of their teachings below. After all, they all relied consistently in one way or the other on the teachings developed by Cicero in his famous *De amicitia*, written in 44 B.C.E. during Cicero's retirement, after the death of Julius Caesar and before the conflict with Antony. This highly influential treatise was designed as a dialogue, very much in the tradition of Socrates. "The work is written as a dialogue between prominent figures of the Middle Roman republic and is set after the death of the younger Scipio Africanus (otherwise known as Scipio Aemilianus, Scipio Africanus Minor, or Scipio the Younger) in 129 B.C.

The interlocutors of the dialogue chosen by Cicero are Gaius Laelius, a close friend of the late statesman, and Laelius's two sons-in-law, Gaius Fannius and Quintus Mucius Scaevola. Interestingly, Scaevola himself was mentor and teacher to Cicero, who probably heard his teacher's reminiscences about these conversations first-hand."<sup>19</sup>

## C. Marcus Tullius Cicero

For the purpose of the subsequent studies, and with the intention of contextualizing the basic ideals expressed both by Friedrich Schiller and countless medieval and early-modern predecessors, let us then take a more thorough look first at how Cicero (103 B.C.E.–43 B.C.E.) discussed friendship as one of the fundamental values of human life. To keep the larger context in mind, his *De*

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<sup>18</sup> Barbara von Reibnitz, "Freundschaft," *Der Neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike*, ed. Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider. Altertum, vol. 4 (Stuttgart and Weimar: Verlag J. B. Metzler, 1998), 669–74. For the concept of friendship in Augustine, see W. Gerlings, "Das Freundschaftsideal Augustins," *ThQ* 161 (1981): 165–274. For a more critical investigation of Augustine's perception of friendship, see the contribution to this volume by C. Stephen Jaeger. I am thankful for his personal comment to me regarding the growing disinterest by the Church Fathers once they got more involved in their ascetic practices later in life. See Carolinne White, *Christian Friendship in the Fourth Century* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 90, referring to John Chrysostom, emphasizes: "Unfortunately this intimacy [his friendship with Basil] was broken when Basil made a greater commitment to the ascetic life, while John remained 'fettered with worldly desires.'"

<sup>19</sup> See the extensive commentary by Moritz Seyffert, in M. Tulii Ciceronis *Laelius: De Amicitia Dialogus*. 2nd ed. by C. F. W. Müller (1876; Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1965); David Konstan, *Friendship in the Classical World* (see note 14); *Amicizia e potere: nelle lettere di Cicerone e nelle elegie ovidiane dall'esilio*, ed. Sandra Citroni Marchetti. Studi e testi, 18 (Florence: Università degli Studi di Firenze, Dipartimento di scienze dell'antichità "Giorgio Pasquali", 2001); Margaret Graver, *Stoicism & Emotion* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2007). See also the contributions to *Friendship & Politics: Essays in Political Thought*, ed. John von Heyking and Richard Avramenko (Notre Dame, IN: Notre Dame University Press, 2008). See also [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Laelius\\_de\\_Amicitia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Laelius_de_Amicitia) (last accessed on August 1, 2010).

*amicitia* constitutes one of the foundational texts for the entire discourse on friendship ever since and has been cited throughout the ages.<sup>20</sup> Most importantly, the ideal of friendship emerged as one of the truly important values for the courtly world, and so for monastic communities throughout Europe.<sup>21</sup> This does not mean that we can easily define ‘friendship’ as a social phenomenon translated into medieval and then early-modern culture; but we can be certain that intellectuals ever since have placed greatest value on this homosocial, that is, idealizing, ethical relationship or bond, as Brian Patrick McGuire emphasizes:

Friendship takes on many forms in medieval life, and I assume that most manifestations of it are forever lost to us, because they were not recorded in writing. The cultivation of spiritual friendship which becomes evident in the twelfth century more than ever before is only one, if perhaps the most obvious manifestation of friendship.<sup>22</sup>

Cicero composed his essay *On Friendship* together with the one *On Old Age*, reflecting both on his vast learning, drawing from Greek philosophy and literature, and on his personal life experiences in Italy. As Frank O’Copley aptly puts it: “Not only was this the kind of argument most likely to appeal to Cicero’s readers, it was the kind that he himself best understood. Impatient as he was with speculation about the real or ideal nature of old age and friendship, he was anxious to bring the whole discussion down to earth, so to speak, and to show how actual people living in an actual world, might get the best out of their later years and might find, form, and maintain friendships of lasting mutual benefit.”<sup>23</sup> Cicero emphasized that everyone should closely consider the meaning of friendship as fundamental value in human life, especially those who have been so

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<sup>20</sup> *The Classics in the Middle Ages: Papers of the Twentieth Annual Conference of the Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies*, ed. Aldo S. Bernardo and Saul Levin (Binghamton, NY: Center for Medieval & Early Renaissance Studies, 1990).

<sup>21</sup> Brian Patrick McGuire, *Friendship and Community* (see note 12); Julian Haseldine, “Friendship and Rivalry: The Role of *Amicitia* in Twelfth-Century Monastic Relations,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 44 (1993): 390–414; C. Stephen Jaeger, “L’Amour des rois: Structure sociale d’une forme de sensibilité aristocratique,” *Annales: Économies. Société. Civilisations* 46 (1991): 547–71.

<sup>22</sup> Brian Patrick McGuire, “Friendship and Scholarship in Medieval Germany,” *Medieval Germany: Associations and Delineations*, ed. Nancy van Deusen. Claremont Cultural Studies. Musicological Studies, LXII/5 (Ottawa: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2000), 29–48; here 31. See also C. Stephen Jaeger, “Friendship and Conflict at the Early Cathedral Schools: The Dispute Between Worms and Würzburg,” *ibid.*, 49–62.

<sup>23</sup> Frank O. Copley, in: Cicero, *On Old Age and On Friendship*, trans., with an introd. by Frank O. Copley (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1967), xiv. For a most comprehensive commentary, see M. Tullii Ciceronis, *Laelius: De amicitia dialogus*. Mit einem Kommentar herausgegeben von Moritz Seyffert. 2nd ed. by C. F. W. Müller (1876; Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1965). See now Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De senectute; De amicitia; De divinatione*, with an English translation by William Armistead Falconer. Loeb Classical Library, 154 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001).

fortunate to enjoy the company of good friends over the years. Old people would be particularly qualified to reflect on friendship because of their extensive experience in this regard.

Just as much as the discourse on old age led Cicero to explore the meanings of basic human values, the discourse on friendship took him to the same goal. Wisdom and true human understanding are identified as the keystones in the entire effort to establish friendship with equally qualified people. As we learn from Laelius, the key speaker in this dialogue text, friendship is “the most complete agreement in policy, in pursuits, and in opinions.”<sup>24</sup> Friendship in its ideal form lasts over time and is deeply carved into memory, both of the survivors and participants of that human relationship (125), which the historical witnesses would confirm, since friendship proves to be such a valuable and rare phenomenon: “in the whole range of history only three or four pairs of friends are mentioned; and I venture to hope that among such instances the friendship of Scipio and Laelius will be known to posterity” (125). Not surprisingly, he urges his listener “to put friendship before all things human; for nothing is so conformable to nature and nothing so adaptable to our fortunes whether they be favourable or adverse” (127).

Most importantly, friendship can exist only among good people, signaling that it represents a benchmark for virtue, which he defines as follows: “act and so live as to give proof of loyalty and uprightness, of fairness and generosity; who are free from all passion, caprice, and insolence, and have great strength of character” (129). “Propinquitatis” or “Goodness” emerges as the critical feature of friendship that no one would be able to take away, unless friendship itself would be destroyed altogether, which stands out as a completely unique bondage between two people (129). As an aside, we will later observe a very similar approach to friendship in this regard by Thomas Aquinas and subsequent theologians and philosophers throughout the Middle Ages.

Compared to all other riches or powers, friendship outshines even good health, wealth, public honor, and sensual pleasures, especially because a person can converse with a friend as if s/he were a mirror image of oneself (131). Complete delight in the most honorable fashion results from friendship: “friendship embraces innumerable ends; turn where you will it is ever at your side; no barrier shuts it out; it is never untimely and never in the way” (133). In the context of everyday troubles and problems, friendship provides assistance and eases much pain, it “lessens the burden of adversity by dividing and sharing it” (133).

But friendship cannot be enforced; instead it must be genuine and given freely, as the ultimate form of love (139), being entirely free of need or the result of

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<sup>24</sup> Cicero, *De Senectute, De Amicitia, De Divinatione*. With an English translation by William Armistead Falconer. The Loeb Classical Library. Cicero, XX. LCL 154 (1923; Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 2001), 125.



calculation, or profit thinking. Laelius underscores how much “the force of integrity is so great that we love it, whether in those we have never seen, or, more wonderful still, even in an enemy, what wonder that men’s souls are stirred when they think they see clearly the virtue and goodness of those with whom a close intimacy is possible?” (141). This observation apparently informed in one way or the other Schiller’s approach to friendship as expressed in his ballads (see above). Much the same, however, would find its confirmation in much of medieval and early modern literature, as the subsequent contributions to our volume will demonstrate in a multiplicity of approaches and foci based on a variety of interdisciplinary methods.<sup>25</sup> Of course, we cannot explore here in all necessary detail the endless ramifications of Cicero’s influence on the Middle Ages,<sup>26</sup> but we can already perceive why his profound discussion of the ethical dimensions of friendship would have exerted such a profound influence far beyond antiquity.

Friends do not depend on each other in material or political terms; instead they are self-sufficient individuals who turn voluntarily to friends only because they admire the virtues in another person (143). If, however, a friend imposes requests that are lacking in virtue or morality, then friendship itself might be at risk (149). Laelius even formulates the impressive statement summarizing the whole point, commenting cogently: “neither ask dishonourable things, nor do them, if asked. And dishonourable it certainly is, and not to be allowed, for anyone to plead in defence of sins in general and especially of those against the State, that he committed them for the sake of a friend” (151). In other words, friendship should not be confused with absolute dedication and lack of consideration when sinfulness enters the picture and clouds the virtuous relationship between friends.

This allows Laelius to formulate the next law pertaining to friendship: “Ask of friends only what is honourable; do for friends only what is honourable and without even waiting to be asked; let zeal be ever present, but hesitation absent; dare to give true advice with all frankness; in friendship let the influence of friends who are wise counsellors be paramount, and let that influence be employed in advising, not only with frankness, but, if the occasion demands, even with sternness, and let the advice be followed when given” (155–57).

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<sup>25</sup> See also David Clark, *Between Medieval Men: Male Friendship and Desire in Early Medieval English Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), although he explores, sometimes a bit speculatively, same-sex homoeroticism; see also Alan Bray, *The Friend* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2003). *La Société des amis à Rome et dans la littérature médiévale et humaniste*, ed. Perrine Galand-Hallyn et al. *Latinitatis*, 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008).

<sup>26</sup> Ulrich Gotter, “Cicero und die Freundschaft: Die Konstruktion sozialer Normen zwischen römischer Politik und griechischer Philosophie,” *Vergangenheit und Lebenswelt: soziale Kommunikation, Traditionsbildung und historisches Bewußtsein*, ed. Hans-Joachim Gehrke and Astrid Möller. *Script-Oralia*, 90 (Tübingen: Narr, 1995), 339–60; see also the contributions to *Friendship: a History*, ed. Barbara Caine. *Critical Histories of Subjectivity and Culture* (London: Equinox Publishing, 2009).

Friends, then, should not be bound to each other, or depend on each other in political or economic terms, irrespective of morality or ethics, granting each other sufficient freedom in case some disagreement might arise. Cicero warns his readers, as the subsequent argument implies, that friendship cannot be automatically free of trouble, worries, and hardship, since it represents constant negotiations and efforts to communicate as openly and honorably as possible.

But good people, almost by instinct, or driven by nature, feel attracted to each other and so form friendship as a consequence of their desire to win virtue: “the good have for the good, as if from necessity, a kindly feeling which nature has made the fountain of friendship” (161). Little wonder then that medieval intellectuals often talked about friendship as a form of love predicated on the experience of virtue, as we read, for instance, in one of Heloise’s letters to Abelard—if we can trust the authenticity of the text:

You know, greatest part of my soul, that many people love each other for many reasons, but no friendship of theirs will be as constant as that which stems from integrity and virtue, and from deep love. For I do not consider the friendship of those who seem to love each other for riches and pleasures to be durable at all, since the very things on which they base their love seem to have no durability. Consequently, when their riches or pleasures runs out, so too at the same time love may fail, since they loved these things not because of each other but each other because of these things.<sup>27</sup>

Cicero does not suggest that those who are inclined to embrace friendship would have to be free of any need, or advice; instead, he emphasizes primarily that friends provide advice, and help each other, but that they do this only after they have become friends and do not use the other to elicit advantages or profits when they seek friendship (163). Fear and worries ought to be far away from friends; otherwise the virtuous relationship would suffer and turn into a form of tyranny. Likewise, changes in material and political power and rank should not affect friendship (167).

As to the mutual exchanges among friends, Laelius defines a number of limits, the most important of which being that the friend regards it as his duty “to strive

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<sup>27</sup> Quoted from Constant J. Mews, *The Lost Love Letters of Heloise and Abelard: Perceptions of Dialogue in Twelfth-Century France*. With a translation by Neville Chiavaroli and Constant J. Mews. The New Middle Ages (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1999), letter 49, 227–29. Following, Heloise qualifies her statement, explaining: “unless I knew the unfailing friendship of true love to be implanted in you, I would not presume to send you inelegant letters of such unrefined style” (229). Cf. C. Stephen Jaeger, *Ennobling Love: In Search of a Lost Sensibility*. The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 27–35, 161–62. I would like to express my gratitude for his critical comments on this section of the Introduction. For the ethical dimension of courtly love, see James A. Schultz, *Courtly Love, the Love of Courtliness, and the History of Sexuality* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2006), 83–85 (though without reference to Ciceronian thinking).

with all his might to arouse his friend's prostrate soul and lead it to a livelier hope and into a better train of thought" (169). True friends would never ask anything from each other that might diminish one's reputation or honor (171), although all these high ideals also implied that most people would have only very few friends because not many individuals would command the necessary moral and ethical firmness, steadfastness, and constancy (173).

Quoting Ennius, Laelius formulates a timeless observation: "When Fortune's fickle the faithful friend is found" (175), a notion which was later beautifully and most influentially repeated and expanded on by Boethius in his famous *De consolatione philosophiae* (524 C.E.):

Do you think it a small matter that your terrible misfortune has revealed the feelings of those friends who are faithful to you? Fortune has separated your true friends from two-faced ones; when she left you, she took her followers with her and left you your own. Think how much you would have given for this knowledge when you were still on top and thought yourself fortunate. Now you complain of lost riches; but you have found your friends, and that is the most precious kind of wealth.<sup>28</sup>

For Cicero, then, loyalty emerges as one of the critical features determining friendship, though not without keeping virtue, honesty, etc. in mind. Most fittingly, he then defines the wise, true friend as a person who "let there be no feigning or hypocrisy; for it is more befitting a candid man to hate openly than to mask his real thoughts with a lying face; secondly, let him not only reject charges preferred by another, but also let him avoid even being suspicious and ever believing that his friend has done something wrong" (177). Friendship does not overlook social differences, but still treats the friend as an equal in ethical and emotional terms (179), which also necessitates that those involved in forming a friendship should be of a mature age (183). Only then will it be possible to discriminate carefully and judiciously what one can demand from a friend and do to a friend upon his/her request (183).

Laelius also warns about possible changes in friendship, keeping human frailty in mind, emphasizing that only particular people should be chosen as friends: "Now they are worthy of friendship who have within their own souls the reason for their being loved. A rare class indeed!" (187). In other words, here he underscores the highly elusive nature of true friendship that carries with it the profound character of spiritual, or character, nobility that thinks not exclusively of him/herself, but of the goodness and well-being of all within a given society. By contrast, "the fair thing is, first of all, to be a good man yourself and then to seek another like yourself. It is among such men that this stability of friendship . . . may be made secure" (189–91).

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<sup>28</sup> Boethius, *The Consolation of Philosophy*, trans., with intro. and notes by Richard H. Green (1962; Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2002), Prose 8, p. 34.

Hence, accepting vice in a friendship, or as part of it, would be completely ill-conceived and erroneous because “Friendship was given to us by nature as the handmaid of virtue, not as a comrade of vice” (191). He specifies then that virtue cannot completely develop and unfold all by itself and needs a partnership of two good people, or friends: “virtue cannot attain her highest aims unattended, but only in union and fellowship with another” (191). Subsequently, as Laelius/Cicero concludes, friendship amounts to one of the highest ideals in human life: “all believe that without friendship life is no life at all, or at least they so believe if they have any desire whatever to live the life of free men” (193–95). Life without a friend is solitary, lonely, devoid of happiness and joy, and perhaps even without virtue (195).

However, true friends must also accept advice from the other or must be willing to hand out advice if they perceive some shortcoming (199), which thus includes the value of absolute truth as the basis upon which friends communicate and exchange with each other (205). The absolute goal then aims for harmony in interhuman relationships (207), which friendship can create. “Love,” or friendship, “is nothing other than the great esteem and affection felt for him who inspires that sentiment, and it is not sought because of material need or for the sake of material gain” (207). Although there would never be a guarantee as to find this happiness, each human individual ought to search for a friend: “But inasmuch as things human are frail and fleeting, we must be ever on the search for some persons whom we shall love and who will love us in return; for if goodwill and affection are taken away, every joy is taken from life” (209).<sup>29</sup>

#### D. Friendship in Late Antiquity: Bishop (Saint) Augustine

No intellectual history of the Middle Ages and of the time beyond, if not until today, can ignore the towering figure of Saint Augustine (354–430), one of the Church Fathers and the founders of the Christian Church in the West.<sup>30</sup> There is hardly any aspect in human life and spirituality that he did not already address and ruminate about most thoroughly from a theological perspective. Hence it comes as no surprise that he also dealt with friendship quite extensively and many

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<sup>29</sup> Sandra Citroni Marchetti, *Amicizia e potere: nella lettere di Cicerone e nelle elgie ovidiane dall' esilio*. Studi e testi, 18 ([Florence:] Università degli Studi di Firenze, Dipartimento di scienze dell'antichità Giorgio Pasquali, 2000).

<sup>30</sup> Herbert T. Weiskotten, *The Life of Saint Augustine: A Translation of the Sancti Augustini Vita by Possidius, Bishop of Calama* (Merchantville, NJ: Evolution Publishing, 2008). A surprisingly good article on Augustine can be found online at: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Augustine\\_of\\_Hippo](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Augustine_of_Hippo) (last accessed on August 1, 2010).

times throughout his whole life in many of his different writings.<sup>31</sup> Moreover, he was the first in the post-antique world to try his hand at elaborating a more detailed critical analysis of the phenomenon of friendship, which proved to be of supreme importance for him, especially in his efforts to distance himself from Cicero's approach to this task by injecting a strongly Christian sense into the discussion about friendship, if not to abandon that ancient ideal and to replace it with a new religiously inspired one. This meant for him that the development of friendship reflected the workings of the Holy Spirit in human life. As Joseph T. Lienhard, S.J., signals, for Augustine "Friendship always meant the bond that unites two persons in mutual sympathy."<sup>32</sup> As he emphasizes in his *Soliloquies*, true friendship allows both to search for the Holy Spirit, to find God, and ultimately to gain profound wisdom (1.12.20; 1.13.22). In other words, those who are fortunate enough to experience friendship are empowered to realize the epiphany of discovering the ultimate Good, and from there then God in their own lives.

Not surprisingly for this major Christian theologian, he soon enough began to distance himself somewhat, or at least in subtle terms, from Cicero's teachings, adding, as reflected in his *Epistula* 258 to Marcianus, the dimension of mutual agreement among friends in matters human and divine. In his *Epistula* 130.6.13, however, he reiterates, in strong terms, Cicero's concept of friendship in that it is triggered by mutual attraction in the soul, whereas one clearly feels distant from other people not included in the circle of friendship. Foreshadowing many statements by late-medieval mystics on friendship as a union of the human soul with the Godhead, Augustine "associates friendship with God with choosing the eternal and rejecting the temporal (s. 299.6) and says elsewhere that human beings become friends of God when God grants them a share in his eternal wisdom (*civ. Dei* 11.4), or that the state of original justice was 'friendship with God' (*Gn. litt.* 11.34.46)."<sup>33</sup>

In his *Confessions*, Augustine goes into more detail as to his personal experiences of friendship, referring to a specific friend whom he met during his early years: "My friend shared in my studies, and was very dear to me; we were contemporaries, both blooming in the flower of youth. He had grown up with me as a boy; we had been to school together, and played together."<sup>34</sup> But Augustine

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<sup>31</sup> See the contribution to this volume by C. Stephen Jaeger.

<sup>32</sup> Joseph T. Lienhard, S.J., "Friendship, Friends," *Augustine through the Ages: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Allan D. Fitzgerald, O.S.A. (Grand Rapids, MI, and Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1999), 372–73; here 372.

<sup>33</sup> Lienhard, S.J., "Friendship, Friends," 373 (see note 32). See also Marie Aquinas McNamara, *Friendship in Saint Augustine*. *Studia Friburgensia*, 20 (Freiburg i. Ü.: Universitäts-Verlag, 1958); Donald X Burt, *Friendship and Society: An Introduction to Augustine's Practical Philosophy* (Grand Rapids, MI: W. B. Eerdmans, 1999); Dagmar Kiesel, *Lieben im Irdischen: Freundschaft, Frauen und Familie bei Augustin*. *Symposion*, 130 (Freiburg i. Br. and Munich: Alber, 2008).

<sup>34</sup> Augustine, *The Confessions*. Trans. and ed. by Philip Burton with an Introduction by Robin Lane

is careful and steers clear from the traditional concept of friendship as a simple homosocial relationship, the way Cicero had defined it. As much as affection bonded these two young men, they did not experience true and full friendship. The author defines this aspect as follows: "it is only true friendship when you glue together those who cleave to you by *diffusing your love in our hearts through the Holy Spirit* (Rom. 5.5), which you have given us" (69).

Leaving aside some comments about the religious turmoil both men went through, Augustine then emphasizes how much the friend's early death pained him deeply and almost destroyed him: "when he had reached manhood you took him from this life, when he had been my friend for barely a year – a friendship sweeter to me than all the sweetnesses of my life, as it then was" (ibid.). The sick man was baptized while unconscious, to prepare him for death, but he recovered, and when Augustine later teased him about it, still not being the devout Christian he was later to become, a rupture almost occurred between them because the friend had agreed to the baptism in the case of an impending death, so now felt hurt by his friend's disrespectful words.

The subsequent emptiness in Augustine's life resulting from the process of the alienation from his friend hurt him badly, shedding light on the absolute need for him to enjoy the company of his good friend: "for the friend I had lost was, though a man, a thing more real and better than the illusion in which I bade my soul trust" (70). In retrospect the author realizes that his love for his friend had not yet been as strong as the love which bonded together Orestes and Pylades, "who, it is said, were prepared to die for each other or to die together, since it would have been worse for them if both were not alive together" (71).

The pain over the loss of the friend appears as tantamount to a loss of half of his soul: "I felt that my soul and my friend's were one soul in two bodies, and life filled me with horror, as I had no wish to live on, a mere half of myself" (72). For the time being Augustine compensated the loss of the one, most important friend, with spending time and activities with other, perhaps secondary, friends. Operating like a modern psychologist, the author describes how the exchanges among like-minded people in form of actions, words, and gifts support "the kindling of the fire which melds minds together, making one out of many" (73). Unabashedly and very carefully choosing his words, Augustine resorts to the term "love" to describe the passionate affection felt among friends and which flourishes best and perfectly if it is mutual. Specifically, he then explains the source of all our painful emotions with a reference to love: "This is the source of our grief if someone dies; this is why we are darkened with sorrow, why sweetness is turned to bitterness, why the heart streams with tears. It is the dead who have lost their life, but the living experience death" (73).

Then, of course, Augustine identifies this love with God, subsuming all of our passion for and with friends under this divine power (74). This position subsequently leads him to explore increasingly more fundamental questions pertaining to charity, the meaning of an individual's life, the quest for God, and his love for all of his fellow men. As much as Cicero obviously influenced him in his reflections on friendship, the critical impact of the Biblical text with regard to friendship cannot be overlooked. As Raymond DiLorenzo has observed, "philosophical psychiatrics have been replaced by Augustine with a psychiatrics of the divine word, imagined in biblical fashion as crying out to the psyche of a human creature to turn back in love to the divine word, its dwelling place. Transient things—like Augustine's friend—exhibit the divine word's call in their temporal being. In the human experience of the loss of such things when they are ardently loved, God is calling out again to the soul, saying, as Augustine imagines it, 'Do I pass away anywhere?'"<sup>35</sup>

Nevertheless, Augustine still formulated important ideas about friendship among mortals, underscoring the delight that one can feel if like-minded individuals form social bonds in their quest for the Godhead.<sup>36</sup>

in my friends I found other pleasures, which captivated my mind even more: shared talk, shared laughter, mutual acts of kindness, the shared reading of good literature, of moments of levity and seriousness; occasional disagreements that were without ill-feeling, as a man can disagree with himself, which gave a relish to our more usual concord; teaching and learning from each other, longing impatiently for each other when absent, welcoming our absent friends with joy when they returned (73).

Although almost a thousand years separate Augustine from the twelfth-century intellectuals, to whom we will turn in the next section, he certainly set the tone and provided the essential spiritual and emotional framework for future discussions on friendship. Granted, Augustine did not idealize friendship as tantamount to the human quest for God, but he certainly underscored its value in maintaining human life according to ethical and moral ideals. Hugh of St. Victor (ca. 1078–1141), for example, was certainly influenced by the Church Father's writing. For him the friend is "paradisus homo," and friendship emerges as "a garden, a tree of life, wings for the flight to Good . . . Sweetness, light, fire, wound . . . paradise regained."<sup>37</sup> Very much also in the tradition of Platonic thinking, Hugh

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<sup>35</sup> Raymond DiLorenzo, "Death of a Friend in *Confessions* 4: The Rhetoric of God," *Amor amicitiae: On the Love That is Friendship. Essays in Medieval Thought and Beyond in Honor of the Rev. Professor James McEvoy*, ed. Thomas A. F. Kelly and Philipp W. Rosemann. *Recherches de théologie et philosophie médiévales. Bibliotheca*, 6 (Leeuven, Paris, and Dudley, MA, 2004), 127–45; here 143.

<sup>36</sup> See the contribution to this volume by C. Stephen Jaeger.

<sup>37</sup> Quoted from Ivan Illich, *In the Vineyard of the Text: A Commentary to Hugh's Didascalicon* (1991; Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1993), 27. See also Adèle Fiske, "Paradisus Homo amicus," *Speculum* 40 (1965): 426–59.

underscored that true knowledge can only be gained through friendship because shared wisdom supersedes everything: "The light of wisdom which envelops the mind of the student calls and draws him back to himself in such a way that he affects the other always as friend."<sup>38</sup>

If we consider, once again, how Boethius, already in the early sixth century (524) had evaluated the nature of friendship, we would be surprised to discover the stunning parallels with Augustine's teaching, since he based it, just like marriage, on the notion of love: "'Love binds together people joined by a sacred bond; love binds sacred marriages by chaste affections; love makes the laws which join true friends. O how happy the human race would be, if that love which rules the heavens ruled also your souls!'"<sup>39</sup> It would be fascinating also to explore in greater detail how the famous Merovingian poet Venantius Fortunatus (ca. 535–ca. 600) perceived friendship, a theme which he pursued at great length in many of his poems. But at this point it must suffice to refer to him only as another intriguing source for the theme of friendship during late antiquity and the early Middle Ages, so that we can proceed more rapidly toward the next centuries.<sup>40</sup>

## E. Friendship from the Early Middle Ages to the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries

Undoubtedly, to widen our field of investigation and to incorporate the circle of intellectuals and ecclesiastics, the so-called twelfth-century Renaissance was deeply influenced by the classical ideal of friendship, both within the monastic world and outside. According to Bernard McGuire, "Close friendships among men in the cloister were seen as necessary and positive within the monastic communal life."<sup>41</sup> Some of the major figures in this discourse on friendship were Bernard of

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<sup>38</sup> Illich, *In the Vineyard* (see note 37), 28.

<sup>39</sup> Boethius, *The Consolation of Philosophy*, 35; Poem 8. For a critical examination of the ideological content of this poem, see Boethius, *Consolation of Philosophy*. Trans., with Introduction and Notes, by Joel C. Relihan (Indianapolis and Cambridge: Hackett Publishing, 2001), 168. He perceives in this and other poems a resonance with the Lord's Prayer.

<sup>40</sup> Venantius Fortunatus, *Poems to Friends*. Trans. with Introd. and Commentary by Joseph Pucci (Indianapolis and Cambridge: Hackett Publishing, 2010). See Pucci's excellent discussion of friendship in Fortunatus's poems, xxxiii–xxxix. Cf also Judith P. George, *Venantius Fortunatus: a Latin Poet in Merovingian Gaul* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

<sup>41</sup> Bernard McGuire, "The Cistercians and the Rise of the Exemplum in Early Thirteenth-Century France: A Reevaluation of Paris B.N. MS lat. 15912," *Classica et mediaevalia* 34 (1983): 211–67; here 222. See also Gildes Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century*. The Trevelyan Lectures Given at the University of Cambridge, 1985 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 138,



Tiron, Stephen of Obazine, and Gilbert of Sempringham who were publicly praised for their intense dedication to the ideal of friendship as a basis for their spiritual endeavors.<sup>42</sup> However, the tradition of friendship among brethren in monasteries or nuns in convents has a long tradition extending at least to the early Middle Ages.<sup>43</sup>

While writers in the early Middle Ages tended to identify friendship as a model of behavior toward their contemporaries from a Christian perspective, that is, to pray for the other, to express love for the neighbor in the name of Christ,<sup>44</sup> those in the high Middle Ages returned to natural feelings regarding friends. In late antiquity Christians still felt hesitant to embrace completely the ancient ideal of friendship because it was stained by having been grounded in a pagan culture. But the adaptation process set in early enough because the ideal itself was just too alluring. As Klaus Oschema observes,

Christian authors began to distinguish between a 'pure' and laudable kind of love, and tainted forms of lesser value. On a linguistic level, this led to the repression of the verbal form *amare* and its corresponding substantive *amor* in favour of *diligere*, a verb derived from *dilectio* and virtually unknown beforehand. Like *caritas*, it implied a desireless and pure love, addressed to God and redirected to fellow humans only via his intermediate position, thus making 'love' a tripartite structure instead of the bipolar modern concept.<sup>45</sup>

The English scholar and teacher Adelard of Bath (ca. 1080–ca. 1152), for instance, defined friendship as a natural instinct toward other people of similar attitudes, values, and ideals. In the thirteenth century, we observe once again a different approach to friendship, which then was recognized as a springboard toward love for God, as Thomas Aquinas espoused. Much later, in Michel de Montaigne's essay "De l'amitié," contained in his *L'Essais* (1580), the true friend even becomes an alter ego, and represents the highest form of self-realization mirroring the partner as the representative of all those ideals one self is deeply aspiring for.<sup>46</sup>

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with references to older but still most relevant research literature.

<sup>42</sup> Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century*, 138 (see note 41).

<sup>43</sup> David Clark, *Between Medieval Men: Male Friendship and Desire in Early Medieval English Literature* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

<sup>44</sup> Verena Epp, *Amicitia: zur Geschichte personaler, sozialer und geistlicher Beziehungen im frühen Mittelalter*. Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, 44 (Stuttgart: A. Hiersemann, 1999).

<sup>45</sup> Klaus Oschema, "Sacred or Profane? Reflections on Love and Friendship in the Middle Ages," *Love, Friendship and Faith in Europe, 1300–1800*, ed. Laura Gowing, Michael Hunter, and Miri Rubin (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 43–65; here 48.

<sup>46</sup> Christa Seidel, "Freundschaft: III," *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie*, ed. Joachim Ritter. Vol. 2 (Basel and Stuttgart: Schwabe, 1972), 1105–14; here 1108–09; Diana Fritz Cates, *Choosing to Feel: Virtue, Friendship, and Compassion for Friends* (Notre Dame, IN: Notre Dame University Press, 1997); see also the discussion by Oschema, "Sacred or Profane?" 48–49 (see note 45); cf. further Daniel Schwartz, *Aquinas on Friendship*. Oxford Philosophical Monographs (Oxford: Clarendon Press;

Friendship thus proves to be the catalyst for intellectual, moral, religious, or ethical growth, insofar as the friend emerges as a mirror, as a benchmark, a guide, and a role model, yet s/he is also a partner, hence a friend in the ordinary sense of the word. As Maurice Merleau-Ponty remarks quite correctly, “La Boétie’s friendship was far from a chance event in his life; one must rather say that Montaigne and the author of the *Essais* were born from this friendship and that, in sum, existence for him was to exist under the regard of his friend.”<sup>47</sup>

Throughout the ages, but especially since the twelfth century, though in ever changing constellations and manifestations, friends assume center positions in Old Norse Sagas (*Njals Saga*), in *Chansons de geste* (*Chanson de Roland*),<sup>48</sup> in heroic epics (*El Cantar de Mío Cid*, *Nibelungenlied*), courtly romances (Chrétien de Troyes’s *Perceval* or Wolfram von Eschenbach’s *Parzival*), and in late-medieval verse and prose novellas (Boccaccio’s *Decameron*).<sup>49</sup> Human life in all its depths and heights finds most sophisticated expression in the exploration of friendship as a profound, yet also highly challenging personal relationship of a homosocial kind.<sup>50</sup>

The tragic destiny of exiles discussed in heroic poetry is movingly expressed in them being alone in the distance, without friends. In the Old High German “Hildebrandslied,” for instance (copied down in the early ninth century in a liturgical manuscript in the Benedictine monastery of Fulda) we learn of Hildebrand’s feudal lord, Detrihhe (Dietrich, or Theoderic) who had to escape from his enemy Otachr (Odoacer) without the assistance of any friends: “dat uuas so friuntlaos man” (24).<sup>51</sup> His loyal vassal and warrior Hildebrand, however, receives highest accolades and admiration not only for his military abilities, but also for being Dietrich’s only true friend who even left behind wife and child to

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Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).

<sup>47</sup> Maurice Merleau-Ponty, “Lecture de Montaigne,” *Signes* (Paris: Gallimard, 1960), 262. Here quoted in English translation from Marc D. Schachter, *Voluntary Servitude and the Erotics of Friendship: From Classical Antiquity to Early Modern France* (Aldershot, Hampshire, England: Ashgate; and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), 80.

<sup>48</sup> Huguette Legros, *L’Amitié dans les chansons de geste à l’époque romane* ([Aix-en-Provence:] Publications de l’Université de Provence, 2001).

<sup>49</sup> Elisabeth Frenzel, *Motive der Weltliteratur: Ein Lexikon dichtungsgeschichtlicher Längsschnitte*. 4th, rev. and expanded ed. Kröners Taschenausgabe, 301 (1976; Stuttgart: Kröner, 1992), 196–218.

<sup>50</sup> See the contributions to *Amitié épique et chevaleresque: Actes du colloque d’Amiens, mars 2000*, publiés par les soins de Danielle Buschinger. *Médiévales*, 20 (Amiens: Presses du Centre d’études médiévales, Université de Picardie-Jules-Verne, 2002).

<sup>51</sup> There are many excellent critical editions, but here I quote from the online version at: [http://www.hs-augsburg.de/~harsch/germanica/Chronologie/08Jh/Hildebrand/hil\\_lied.html](http://www.hs-augsburg.de/~harsch/germanica/Chronologie/08Jh/Hildebrand/hil_lied.html); see also the bibliography listed at: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lay\\_of\\_Hildebrand](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lay_of_Hildebrand) (both last accessed on August 1, 2010); see also *Althochdeutsche Literatur, mit Proben aus dem Altniederdeutschen. Ausgewählte Texte mit Übertragungen und Anmerkungen*, herausgegeben, übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen versehen von Horst Dieter Glosner. Fischer Taschenbuch, 6455 (Frankfurt a. M.: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1980), 264–66.

stay true to the ideals of feudalism. However, the poet refers to the concept of friendship only tentatively, blending it apparently with the idea of vassallic loyalty, but thereby underscores its existential relevance further, and this even within Germanic cultural values. Woe is him, he implies, who is without friends, not being able to cope with the vagaries of life, war, and death.

Tragically, however, most protagonists in heroic epics, whether *Beowulf*, *Nibelungenlied*, or *El Poema de Mío Cid*, operate virtually all by themselves and do not confide in true friends as they emerge later in courtly romance, for instance. They are accompanied by fellow warriors, by advisors, or they join the company of other heroes, but the classical notion of friendship, in its deeply emotional connotation, seems rather alien to that world because the value of personal, affectionate contacts and relationships was of relatively low priority, or simply not yet available, which might explain in the first place why monkish scribes even copied down those mostly pagan texts reflecting on the past, warning about the dire consequences for the future if not even friendship could be established. We commonly hear the word 'friendship' ("amistad") being used, but then it normally refers to the feudal bond between lord and vassal.

Nevertheless, we still observe heroes hugging and kissing each other, shedding tears, expressing their great desire to establish kinship and dynastic relationships. But in most cases these gestures reflect on a tragic sense of loneliness, abandonment, and isolation, especially when a potential comrade in arms is about to depart. As David Clark now cogently suggests with regard to *Beowulf*,

The poem celebrates Beowulf's splendid achievements and abilities, certainly, but it also demonstrates the fragility of a heroic society which only an exceptional hero can maintain. Homosocial bonds, kinship ties, marital alliances — none of these can prevent the destruction which ultimately attends heroic society. The poem implicitly cries out for an alternative model, a different future, but it does not delineate the solution and remains ambivalent about the necessity of abandoning the past.<sup>52</sup>

An interesting exception to the rule might be Roland in the Old French *Chanson de Roland* or in Priest Konrad's Middle High German *Roland* where the company of warriors who make up Emperor Charlemagne's rear-guard which is ambushed by a huge Muslim army loyally fight together down to the last man. When the few remaining men are attacked by once again a new army of enemies, Bishop Turpin inquires about their origin, addressing Roland as his friend (in Konrad's version). The latter assures him that it would not matter who they are and how many they are, since all opponents would eventually suffer the same destiny, to be slain by

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<sup>52</sup> David Clark, *Between Medieval Men: Male Friendship and Desire in Early Medieval English Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 143. His intelligent critique of previous scholarship, especially of chapter three in Stacy S. Klein, *Reading Women: Queenship and Gender in Anglo-Saxon Literature* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006), can be fully supported.

the Christians. To assure Turpin about that and to strengthen the bond between them, Roland utters the following words: "lieb ir gotes friunt Turpin, / nune ruoche wir wer si sin: / si wellent gemarteret werde[n]. ouch scule wir ersterben" (6360; dear friend in the name of God, Turpin [or: friend of God], we do not care who they are: they want to be martyred. We also will die).<sup>53</sup>

How different from antiquity proves to be the culture of the high Middle Ages! Not surprisingly, it would require a specialized investigation of the rich and complex use of the term 'friend' in courtly romances, such as "friunt" in Wolfram's *Parzival*, where it sometimes means 'lover,' sometimes 'friend,' and sometimes 'acquaintance,' and also 'relative.'<sup>54</sup> In the prologue the narrator underlines how much his society seems to have lost some of its fundamental values, here expressed in the deterioration of friendship: "Feigned friendship leads to the fire, it destroys a man's nobility like hail. Its loyalty is so short in the tail that if it meet in the wood with gadflies it will not quit a bite in three."<sup>55</sup> At the end, after Parzival and his half-brother Feirefiz have recognized each other and thus have put all their enmity past them, the narrator intervenes again and comments: "Feirefiz and Parzival ended their strife with a kiss. It was more fitting for them to be friends than bitter enemies. Their contest was settled by loyalty and affection" (372).<sup>56</sup>

Although being closely related, their relationship is nevertheless cast in terms of friendship in order to reflect on the high ideals which inspire both protagonists. Finally, when Feirefiz has fallen in love with Repanse de Schoye, Gral bearer and sister of the Gral king Anfortas, he appeals to Parzival for help, also resorting to

<sup>53</sup> Online text edition in: *Bibliotheca Augustana*: [http://www.hs-augsburg.de/~harsch/germanica/Chronologie/12Jh/Konrad/kon\\_rol6.html](http://www.hs-augsburg.de/~harsch/germanica/Chronologie/12Jh/Konrad/kon_rol6.html); with slight typographical modifications (last accessed on August 1, 2010). Here on the basis of Carl Wesle's edition, *Das Rolandslied des Pfaffen Konrad*. Rheinische Beiträge und Hilfsbücher zur germanischen Philologie und Volkskunde, 15 (Bonn: Klopp, 1928). See also *Das Rolandslied des Pfaffen Konrad: mittelhochdeutsch, neuhochdeutsch*, ed., trans. and commentary by Dieter Kartschoke. Rpt. (1971; 1996; Stuttgart: Reclam, 2007); for the Old French *Chanson de Roland* in English, see *The Song of Roland*, trans. with an introd. and notes by Glyn Burgess (London: Penguin, 1990); see also Reto Raduolf, Bezzola, "Olivier," *Eumusia: Festgabe für Ernst Howald zum sechzigsten Geburtstag am 20. April 1947* ed., Fritz Wehrli (Erlenbach-Zürich: Rentsch, 1947), 115-39.

<sup>54</sup> See the Middle High German Conceptual Database (maintained by the University of Salzburg, online at: <http://mhdadb.sbg.ac.at:8000/mhdadb/App?action=SelectQuotation&c=PZ+7246> (last accessed on August 1, 2010). There are in total 4611 references to "friunt" ('friend') in that database.

<sup>55</sup> Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Parzival*, trans. A. T. Hatto (London: Penguin, 1980), 15; for the original, see Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Parzival*. Studienausgabe. Mittelhochdeutscher Text nach der sechsten Ausgabe von Karl Lachmann. Übersetzung von Peter Knecht. Einführung zum Text von Bernd Schirok (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1998).

<sup>56</sup> For a treatment of friendship in courtly romances, see Xenja von Ertzdorff, "Höfische Freundschaft," *Der Deutschunterricht* 14.6 (1962): 35-51.

the term friendship: "'Help me, Brother, to win your aunt's friendship' answered Feirefiz Angevin" (404).

Globally speaking then, whether viewed from a positive or a negative perspective, we can be sure that the world of the courts was not only predicated on erotic love, but also, and to a large extent, on the notion of friendship, that is, on the fundamental bond among people based on highly critical ethical values and ideals. In fact, all of Arthurian romances gained most of their inspiration from the dream that people of all kinds of cultural and religious, and here in Wolfram's text even of racial background, could form affectionate bonds of friendship and thus create a new, almost utopian community—of course with the exclusion of the peasantry.

Not surprisingly, courtly literature composed by lay authors reflected the great emphasis on friendship as well, as richly demonstrated throughout Europe in the twelfth-century Old French *Amis et Amiles*, the many Latin recensions, especially by Vincent de Beauvais in his *Speculum historiale* (lib. xxiii. cap. 162-166 and 169), then an Anglo-Norman and an Old Norse version. The most important poetic manifestation of the central interest in friendship emerged, however, not until the thirteenth century with the Middle English romance *Amis and Amiloun* and the parallel Middle High German verse romance *Engelhard* by Konrad von Würzburg (ca. 1280).<sup>57</sup>

Among the many versions of this narrative plot, we can discriminate at least between two major branches, the "romantic group" and the "hagiographic versions," as MacEdward Leach called them.<sup>58</sup> While we can trace the motif at least as far back as to the late eleventh century (Alexandre's Old French *Athis and Prophlias*, translated into Middle High German by ca. 1200), the pan-European interest extending at least far into the late sixteenth century (Konrad's text has survived only in one print version from 1573) clearly indicates how much the courtly world admired and idealized friendship as one of its highest values.<sup>59</sup> The

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<sup>57</sup> For Konrad's text and the source history, see Rüdiger Brandt, *Konrad von Würzburg: Kleinere epische Werke*. Klassiker-Lektüren, 2. 2nd, newly rev. and expanded ed. (1999; Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 2009), 111–45; Classen, "Friendship in the Middle Ages," 2006 (see note 8); for some recent comments on the English version, see Jean Jost, "Loving Parents in Middle English Literature," *Childhood in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: The Results of a Paradigm Shift in the History of Mentality*, ed. Albrecht Classen (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2005), 307–28; here 322–24.

<sup>58</sup> *Amis and Amiloun*, ed. MacEdward Leach. Early English Text Society, Original Series, 203 (London: Early English Text Society, 1937), ix–xxxii.

<sup>59</sup> There might be Oriental sources, perhaps from Persia and India, which made their way to Europe via Byzantium. But the origin also might have rested in ancient folklore motifs; see Leach, xxxii–xxxix. Research on these questions has not much progressed since the time of Leach; see Velma Bourgeois Richmond, "Amicus et Amelius," *Medieval Folklore: An Encyclopedia of Myths, Legends, Tales, Beliefs, and Customs*, ed. Carl Lindahl, John McNamara, and John Lindows. Vol. 1: A-K (Santa Barbara, CA, Denver, CO, and Oxford: ABC-CLIO, 2000), 7–9.

basic concept upon which all these versions are predicated consists of the utmost dedication of friends to each other who even accept the danger of having to die for the friend in order to rescue him/her from a serious calamity, or who are willing to kill their own children in order to save the friend's life. The enormous depth of this kind of friendship is regularly rewarded by God who either tolerates the friends' deception as a "Notlüge" (lying in an emergency) or grants the resurrection of the children as reward for the display of honest friendship.<sup>60</sup>

One of the earliest Middle High German poets, Spervogel, who composed mostly didactic lyrics, also addressed the theme of friendship.<sup>61</sup> Underscoring the element of altruistic help for a friend, he offers an almost detailed discussion of this human emotion and relationship, concluding that "swâ vriunde einander wæge sint, daz ist ein michel wunne" (wherever friends are well inclined toward each other, this brings about great joy).<sup>62</sup> Offering concrete advice to his courtly audience, Spervogel admonishes people to abstain from open criticism of friends. Instead, in case there might be need for corrections, a good friend should take the other quietly aside and tell him openly his opinion: "er neme in besunder hin dan / unde sage jm, waz er habe getân" (2, 3–4; he should have a private conversation with him and inform him what he has done). Under those circumstances outsiders would not hear anything about the transgression or misbehavior, which the perpetrator then could quietly correct without flying into a rage (2, 5). A true friend would do everything possible to preserve his friend's public esteem and honor: "des hât er immer ère" (2, 6; he will always enjoy honor).<sup>63</sup> In other words,

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<sup>60</sup> See the contributions to *Amor amicitiae: On the Love That is Friendship. Essays in Medieval Thought and Beyond in Honor of the Rev. Professor James McEvoy*, ed. Thomas A. F. Kelly and Philipp W. Rosemann. *Recherches de théologie et philosophie médiévales: Bibliotheca*, 6 (Leeuven, Paris, and Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2004). The thematic range is highly diverse, and the concept of friendship as pursued here does not completely help us grasp in greater detail the essential elements of friendship. Nevertheless, the authors discuss forcefully how much the idea of friendship permeated the ideological discourse from the Middle Ages to early modernity. As the editors appropriately point out in their "Preface," "The theory of friendship used to be more than a subcategory of the study of human relationships in the field of social and political philosophy. Friendship used to be at the heart of the philosophical project, and indissociable from it. For Socrates, philosophy was possible only as the pursuit of wisdom, virtue, and beauty in a community of friends engaged in an erotic quest for the good" (2).

<sup>61</sup> Olive Sayce, *The Medieval German Lyric, 1150–1300: The Development of Its Themes and Forms in Their European Context* (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1982), 412–16; Nigel Harris, "Didactic Poetry," *German Literature of the High Middle Ages*, ed. Will Hast. The Camden House History of German Literature, 3 (Rochester, NY, and Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2006), 123–40; here 126–28.

<sup>62</sup> *Des Minnesangs Frühling*, ed. Hugo Moser and Helmut Tervooren. Vol. I: *Texte*. 38. erneut revidierte Auflage. Mit einem Anhang: Das Budapester und Kremsmünster Fragment (Stuttgart: S. Hirzel, 1988), 43, or: 24, 14, or: 1, 6.

<sup>63</sup> Helmut Tervooren, "Spervogel," *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*. 2nd

the poet very much mirrors what Aelred had to say about the spiritual and idealistic value of friendship, which we will discuss below.

At the end of the twelfth century the Anglo-Norman poet Marie de France (ca. 1160–1190) offered a most meaningful message about friendship in one of her fables regarding an old lion who once had been mighty and powerful and who had enjoyed the company of many friends. Now, however, in his old age everyone begins to hit on him, bite him vilify him, and so forth. The lion expresses his great astonishment about this turn of his fortune, but really laments the fact that his seeming friends have all betrayed him:

Said lion: 'What wonders I see here!  
 Oh, I remember well the time  
 When I was healthy, in my prime,  
 That other animals felt fear  
 And honoured me as their seignior.  
 When I was glad, they felt delight;  
 When I was angry, it was fright.  
 Now that I'm feeble, as they see,  
 They trample and defile me.  
 It seems to me a worse offence  
 from those who've been my bosom friends –  
 Whom I have honoured, treated well,  
 And yet who nothing now recall –  
 Than from those beasts whom I did wrong.  
 He has few friends who is not strong.'<sup>64</sup>

Moreover, she confirmed in many of her other *fables* how much friendship was regarded as an essential bond among people and in a political context, and hence could easily be abused as well. So in her fable "Del leün, de la chevre, e de la berbiz" (no. 118, not discussed above) where the lion goes hunting with the sheep

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completely rev. ed. by Burghart Wachinger et al. Vol. 9 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1995), 81–87. He summarizes succinctly what little is really known about Spervogel, probably a goliard poet from around 1200, but he does not touch on Spervogel's interest in the theme of friendship. We can expect, however, to find many more comments on friendship in the rich didactic literature from the entire Middle Ages. See, for example, the contributions to *What Nature Does Not Teach: Didactic Literature in the Medieval and Early-Modern Periods*, ed. Juanita Feros Ruys. Disputatio, 15 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008). Hugo von Trimberg's *Der Renner*, ed. Gustav Ehrismann. Mit einem Nachwort und Ergänzungen von Günther Schweikle. 4 vols. Deutsche Neudrucke. Reihe: Texte des Mittelalters (1908–1911; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1970), contains countless examples, which would deserve further investigation. See Albrecht Classen, "Thomasin von Zerclaere's *Der Welsche Gast* and Hugo von Trimberg's *Der Renner*: Two Middle High German Didactic Writers Focus on Gender Relations," *What Nature Does Not Teach*, 205–29.

<sup>64</sup> Marie de France, *Fables*, ed. and trans. by Harriet Spiegel. Medieval Academy Reprints for Teaching (Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, in association with the Medieval Academy of America, 1994), 67, vv. 18–32.

and the goat, friendship does not mean a thing when the power hierarchy overrules all other concerns. After the animals have killed a deer, the lion demands the prey completely for himself, adducing a number of spurious reasons. Having no recourse, the sheep and the goat quickly depart because they are afraid of getting into a fight with the lion. In her epimythion, the narrator then comments: "Whenever a poor man makes a friend / Of one more powerful than he, / He'll never any profit see."<sup>65</sup> Marie sharply attacks the powerful ones in her society who only pretend to seek friendship with their inferiors, but in reality are solely interested in their own profits and advantages: "The rich man values glory most, / And doesn't care if love is lost. / If there is gain to be divided, / The rich man keeps all, that's decided" (45–48).

In "Del leün malade" (no. 14; see above) the old and frail lion king suffers from all kinds of mistreatments by his subjects because they are no longer afraid of him and enjoy paying him back his cruelty that he himself had committed against them in the past. This leads the narrator to conclude: "He has few friends who is not strong" (67, 32). We might wonder, of course, whether Marie here really wanted to refer to friendship in the traditional sense of the word, or whether she did not rather imply loyalty which the lion's subjects owed him. After all, as we learn at the end: "That he who sinks to impotence, / Who's lost strength and intelligence, / Will be regarded with great scorn, / Even by those whose love was sworn" (35–38).

The famous Middle High German poet Walther von der Vogelweide (ca. 1170–ca. 1230), who stands out so much both for his love songs and his gnomic, even political stanzas, bitterly complained about the hypocrisy of his contemporaries, especially those who were sweet talkers and yet evil-minded: "den diu zunge hoeneget und daz herze gallen hât" (30, 13; who have a tongue of honey and a heart of gall).<sup>66</sup> True friends, by contrast, behave quite differently: "friundes lachen

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<sup>65</sup> Marie de France, *Fables*. Ed. and trans. by Harriet Spiegel. Medieval Academy Reprints for Teaching (Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 59, 42–44.

<sup>66</sup> Walther von der Vogelweide, *Leich, Lieder, Sangsprüche*. 14., völlig neubearbeitete Auflage der Ausgabe Karl Lachmanns mit Beiträgen von Thomas Bein und Horst Brunner, herausgegeben von Christoph Cormeau (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1996), no. 11, XII, 5, or p. 55; see also Walther von der Vogelweide, *The Single-Stanza Lyrics*, ed. and trans. with introd. and commentary by Frederick Goldin (New York and London: Routledge, 2003), no. 107, p. 301: "tongues all dripping honey and the heart in them aflow with gall." See also Ralf-Henning Steinmetz, "Walthers Neuerungen im Minnesang und die Freundschaftsliteratur im 12. Jahrhundert," *Literaturwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch* 43 (2003): 19–46. There are some questions as to the authenticity of Walther's stanza (and so as to the next to be discussed here), but for our context this does not represent an issue; whether Walther or the Truchsess von Singenberg, or another poet, created it does not really matter. For our concerns, here we have another important voice addressing the topic of friendship. See Ulrich Müller, "Walters Sangspruchdichtung," Horst Brunner, Gerhard Hahn, Ulrich Müller, and Franz Viktor Spechtler, *Walther von der Vogelweide*:



sol sîn âne missetât, / süeze als der âbendrôt, der kûndet lûter mære" (30, 14–15; a friends's smile should be honest, as sweet as the glowing dusk which announces crystal clear news; Goldin: "A friend's laughter should hide nothing false and criminal / serene as sunset, when evening red proclaims good tidings"). He went even further and dedicated a whole stanza to the ideal of friendship, which deserves to be quoted here in full:

Swer sich ze friunde gewinnen lât  
und ouch dâ bî die tugende hât,  
daz er sich âne wanken lât behalten  
des friundes mac man gerne schône walten.  
ich hân eteswenne friunt erkorn  
sô sinewel an sîner stæte  
swie gerne ich in behalten hæte  
daz ich in muoste hân verlorn.

(79, 25–32; or:  
no. 54, VI; or:  
ms. C 279)

[Who lets himself be won as friend,  
and has this strength: that he can stand,  
without wavering, to be held on to—  
one can cherish such a friend, one will want to.  
So often I have chosen out as friend  
a man, when he stood fast, so rounded,  
seek as I might to hold him I'd befriended,  
I had to lose him in the end.]

(Goldin, 289)

Several times he also warned of the danger that those who treat friendship as nothing but a convenient instrument to achieve material or political goals, would easily drop the one who believed to be their friend at any moment's notice (79, 33–80, 2; or: no. 54, VII, or: C 280). He himself, by contrast, would be completely loyal to a true friend, but would quickly roll out [sic] of the hands of those who cannot be trusted and regard friendship only from a pragmatic perspective (80, 1–2).

Finally, uttering the most serious warning against deceptive behavior among friends, Walther described in unmistakable terms the consequences of false friendship, of hubris and arrogance against one's friends:

Swer sich des stæten friundes durch übermuot behêret  
und er den sînen durch des frömden êre unêret,  
der möhte ersehen, wurde er von sînem hœhern ouch gesêret,  
Daz diu gehalsen friuntschaft sich vil lîhte entrande,  
swenne er sich lîbes unde guotes solde umb in bewegen.

wir hân vereischet, die der wenke hânt gepflegen,  
 daz sî der kumber wider ûf die erborne friunde wande.  
 Daz sol nâch gotes lêhen dicke noch geschehen.  
 ouch hôrte ich die liute des mit volge jehen,  
 gewissen friunt, versuochte swert sul man ze noeten sehen.

(30,29–31, 2; or:  
 no. 11, XIX)

[Whoever lords it over his true friend, like one superior,  
 whoever dishonors his own in order to honor a stranger,  
 would come to know, were he offended too by those established higher,  
 that fast, back-slapping friendship falls apart, fast, once tested:  
 when the new friend's called upon to put up life and fortune for his sake.  
 We've learned: those who have switched so on the make  
 were brought back by distress to their born friends, whose friendship  
 lasted.

That shall happen often in the dispensation of the Lord.  
 And I have heard the folks affirm, agreeing with this word:  
 "In times of need a man shall know the faithful friend, the trusty  
 sword."  
 (Goldin, no. 109).

Whereas secular poets in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries regularly emphasized the supreme importance of courtly love, philosophical writers tended to give priority to friendship among men as the only relevant or at least crucial source of happiness for the individual and the critical moral and ethical catalyst for the maintenance of courtly society and the world of the Church (monastic communities, for instance). These authors did not hesitate to underscore how much more society would grow and maintain its stability and would experience prosperity if people formed new pairs as friends and thus unified in their endeavors to strive for God together.

Many times knights deliberate with their advisors and ask for their advice, resorting to the term 'friend' in their conversation. A good example would be Count Wetzel in the Goliardic, or Byzantine, Middle High German bridal-quest verse narrative *Herzog Ernst* (ms. A, fragmentary, ca. 1170; ms. B, fully developed and completely preserved, ca. 1220). Without Wetzel, the Bavarian Duke does not really dare to make a decision and closely consults and cooperates with his advisor and friend, who accompanies him wherever he goes, at the end even traveling through the world of monsters in the mythical East, disregarding all threats to their lives out of a deep sense of loyalty and, if we may say so, friendship.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> *The Legend of Duke Ernst*, trans., with an introduction, by J. W. Thomas and Carolyne Dussère (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1979). For the original Middle High German

Yet there is more to the role of friendship in this context, as all of Ernst's brave companions on his journey through unknown countries populated by monsters are also identified as his friends: "Now, my dear lord, you should ask all of our companions, as close friends, to be ready to help us . . ." (89). The narrator does not develop the notion of friendship further, but he certainly treats all the loyal warriors as friends in a kind of sworn blood brotherhood,<sup>68</sup> although Ernst still holds the highest rank, as Duke of Bavaria, among them all. When they are about to run into the Magnetic Mountain, where most of them will perish, with the protagonist and a small group of his closest companions being the only survivors, the narrator reiterates how much friendship bonds among them all hold them together: "The duke and his friends, knightly pilgrims all, were nearing a much greater danger" (103). However, to be sure, Wetzel continues to serve as his most important friend because he fulfills the role of an advisor, very much in the vein of a spiritual father, as Augustine had already discussed this point, addressing the role of bishops as friends and advisors.<sup>69</sup>

By the same token, however, there are also those advisors or counselors who only pretend to be friends and abuse the term 'friend' to blind the emperor's attention and to carve out a space of personal influence on him. Inspired by the devil, as the narrator comments, one of the emperor's relatives and counselors, Count Henry of the Palatinate, deliberately plots to destroy the trust and friendship that have so far bonded the emperor and Duke Ernst "through treachery" (70). His reasons are simple enough to understand because Henry has lost in influence since Ernst's arrival on the political stage, so he pursues the plan to malign and backstab his competitor, which thus would eliminate him from the political arena and restore Henry's previously influential position. Appealing to the emperor to believe his concocted story about Ernst's secret plans to overthrow his stepfather, he emphasizes: "I know well that I owe you great loyalty and

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text, see *Herzog Ernst: ein mittelalterliches Abenteuerbuch, in der mittelhochdeutschen Fassung B nach der Ausgabe von Karl Bartsch mit den Bruchstücken der Fassung A*, herausgegeben, übersetzt, mit Anmerkungen und einem Nachwort versehen von Bernhard Sowinski (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1970). For the most recent scholarly investigation of this text, see Uta Goerlitz, "'...Ob sye heiden synt ader cristen...': Figurationen von Kreuzzug und Heidenkampf in deutschen und lateinischen Herzog-Ernst-Fassungen des Hoch- und Spätmittelalters (HE B, C und F)," *Integration oder Desintegration?: Heiden und Christen im Mittelalter*, ed. eadem and Wolfgang Haubrichs (Stuttgart, Weimar, et al.: Metzler, 2009), S. 65-104. For a critical examination of the manuscript tradition, see Cornelia Weber, *Untersuchung und überlieferungskritische Edition des Herzog Ernst B*. Mit einem Abdruck der Fragmente von Fassung A. Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik, 611 (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1994).

<sup>68</sup> See Robert Stretter's contribution to this volume.

<sup>69</sup> Daniel Edward Doyle, *The Bishop as Disciplinarian in the Letters of St. Augustine*. Patristic Studies, 4 (New York, Washington, DC, et al.: Peter Lang, 2002).

friendship. I too have been faithful to the empire and you, and I think I am his match" (71).

Even though Henry almost too lightly employs the term 'friendship,' he knows exactly the deeper meaning implied and can thus convince the emperor that he is telling the truth about his competitor. This then sets the entire narrative into motion, predicated, at least at the early stage, on two competing courtiers who both claim to be the emperor's true friend, Ernst, of course, does not know about Henry's fabrication and so becomes an innocent victim who can regain the emperor's grace only many years later after long warring and Ernst's subsequent exile in the wondrous East.

## F. Friendship in Twelfth-Century English Monastic Circles: The Case of Aelred of Rievaulx

The religious framework of the discourse on friendship has, of course, to be considered as most fundamental, especially because many proponents of the discourse on friendship drew heavily on Biblical writings and the texts of the Church Fathers. Nevertheless, all of them proved to be deeply influenced by Cicero's seminal treatise on friendship and tried their best to emulate him both as thinkers and writers. One of these was the truly famous Aelred of Rievaulx who deeply reflected on his classical source and yet imbued it profoundly with his Christian thinking when he discussed the issue of friendship for his readers, primarily among the members of his monastic community.<sup>70</sup>

Born around 1130 into a highly ranked social family in Northern England, deeply steeped in learning for generations, he became both a highly successful courtier and later a major churchman. Aelred became familiar with Cicero's treatise very early in his formative years and was to reflect upon it for the rest of his life. In this regard we might identify him clearly as a representative of the twelfth-century Renaissance. Having been raised at the various courts of Scotland and England, he opted, nevertheless, for the life of a monk when he joined the abbey of Rievaulx in 1132. There he quickly experienced considerable success, being sent to Rome as an official emissary already six years later. During this journey he met famous St. Bernard of Clairvaux who gained a very favorable impression of the young man.

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<sup>70</sup> Marsha L. Dutton, "Friendship and the Love of God: Augustine's Teaching in the Confessions and Aelred of Rievaulx's Response in *Spiritual Friendship*," *American Benedictine Review* 56 (2005): 3-40; Damien Boquet, *L'ordre de l'affect au Moyen Âge: Autour de l'anthropologie affective d'Aelred de Rievaulx* (Caen: CRAHM, 2005).

After his return, Aelred was appointed master of novices, a highly responsible position, which soon resulted in him writing down, upon Bernard's urging, his basic teaching principles, the *Mirror of Charity*. In 1143 Aelred was charged with leading a party of monks to found the new abbey of Revesby, but already in 1147 he was asked to return to Rievaulx as the newly elected abbot. There he began writing his *De Spirituali Amicitia* (*Spiritual Friendship*), although as abbot he was more than busy with his administrative duties.<sup>71</sup>

Aelred died on January 12, 1167, highly revered by his monks and friends everywhere. Little wonder that his treatise on friendship enjoyed wide-spread popularity and was passed on for centuries, especially since he injected a strong Christian component into the Ciceronian concept of friendship, drawing, for instance, on Proverbs, the Gospel by John, and other Biblical texts.<sup>72</sup> At the beginning of the thirteenth century Peter of Blois rewrote Aelred's treatise, entitling it as *Christian Friendship*, basically expanding and embellishing it considerably. The fourteenth-century Praemonstratensian monk Peter of Herentals seems to have been the last to refer directly to Aelred's essay, and beyond that date we have no clear traces of the further reception process.<sup>73</sup>

Already in his prologue Aelred emphasizes how much in his youth he had striven to acquire friendships, yet without knowing clearly of the principles and

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<sup>71</sup> Adele M. Fiske, *Friends and Friendship in the Monastic Tradition*. Centro intercultural de documentación, 51 (Cuernavaca, Mexico: CIDOC, 1970); Gabriella Lodolo, "Il tema simbolico del paradiso nella tradizione monastica dell' occidente latino (secoli VI–XII): Lo spazio del simbolo," *Aevum* 51 (1977): 252–88; here 276–83; Julian P. Haseldine, "Friendship and Rivalry: The Role of 'Amicitia' in Twelfth-Century Monastic Relations," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 44 (1993): 390–414.

<sup>72</sup> We will later observe a similar strategy by George Herbert in his collection of religious poems, *The Temple* (1613). See the contribution to this volume by Jean-Christophe Van Thienen.

<sup>73</sup> Aelred of Rievaulx, *L'Amitié spirituelle*, ed. J. Dubois. Latin text, transl., notes (Bruges: C. Beyaert, 1948). Aelred of Rievaulx, *Spiritual Friendship*. Trans. by Mary Eugenia Laker SSND. Introduction by Douglass Roby. Cistercian Fathers Series, 5 (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1977). See also Walter Daniel, *The Life of Aelred of Rievaulx and the Letter to Maurice*, trans. from the Latin and annotated by F. M. Powicke. Introduction by Marsha Dutton. Cistercian Fathers Series, 57 (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1994). Dutton emphasizes: "Walter Daniel had spent seventeen years at Rievaulx during Aelred's abbacy and was familiar with the intimate details of the abbot's life during his last decade" (9). Daniel characterizes Aelred, for instance, as follows: "During the time of his training in Christ he excelled all his comrades and fellow-soldiers in humility and glowed in piety. Indeed, it was as you may see a single lamb in a flock of sheep, not any lamb but a little he-lamb, submitting himself to every sheep and in every movement and wriggle of his whole body, paying flattering attention to all of them" (101). Daniel mentions Aelred's "threebooks the dialogue on spiritual friendship" (121), but does not say much more on that topic. See also Squire Aelred, *Aelred of Rievaulx: a Study* (London: S.P.C.K., 1969); Kenneth Ki Kit Chu, "Monastic Friendship in the Late Twelfth Century: a Critical Study of Aelred's *De spiritali amicitia*," Th.M. thesis, Regent College, 2008; Nathan Lefler, "Saint Aelred of Rievaulx and Saint Thomas Aquinas on Friendship: a Comparison of Monastic and Scholastic Theology," Ph.D. diss., Catholic University of America, 2008.

values intimately associated with this ideal, until he came across Cicero's famous *De amicitia* (*Laelius*). Yet, once he had joined the monastery and had turned most of his attention to religious writings, the secular approach by Cicero lost its appeal to him, which hence motivated him, as he says in his Prologue, to compose his own text, combining the classical-rhetorical concept of friendship with that advocated by Biblical authors in his quest for 'spiritual friendship' where the connection with a friend is framed by friendship with Christ. As he formulated it in his rhetorical statement: "For what more sublime can be said of friendship, what more true, what more profitable, than that it ought to, and is proved to, begin in Christ, continue in Christ, and be perfected in Christ?" (53). Fully approving Cicero's basic definition of friendship as a completely harmonious form of sharing life with another person, he adds the two terms "benevolence" and "charity" (53). Friendship constitutes a form of love in spiritual terms, and can claim, if fully lived out, to last in eternity.

Referring to St. Jerome, Aelred underscores that a friendship that ever ceases to exist cannot claim ever to have been a complete form of friendship. Friendship constitutes, in other words, absolute virtue, hence seems to be rather rare and difficult to find. The best, though hardly ever seen proof of true friendship would be if one person were willing to lay down his life for his friend in an emergency.<sup>74</sup> In Aelred's own words: "only those do we call friends to whom we can fearlessly entrust our heart and its secrets" (58). Carnal friendship also finds mention here, but only because of its parallel motivational structure to spiritual friends in that both friends are bonded together through their "mutual harmony in vice" (59).<sup>75</sup>

Worldly friendship is to be despised, or at least not to be valued highly, because it is predicated on material gains and proves to be unreliable, easily coming to an end when the desired profit can no longer be gained from the other person. This was, of course, very much the critical point already raised by Boethius, whose *De Consolatio philosophiae* belonged to the standard school books of his time.

Finally, spiritual friendship comes into existence when the future friends are driven by an inner sense of the human dignity that can be discovered in the partner: "spiritual friendship among the just is born of a similarity in life, morals, and pursuits, that is, it is a mutual conformity in matters human and divine united with benevolence and charity" (61). This ideal form of friendship is based on prudence, justice, fortitude, and temperance and creates as much as it derives its strength from ethical and moral values and ideals.

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<sup>74</sup> For examples of this literary trope, see above.

<sup>75</sup> Aelred possibly included a reference to homosexuality here, or to a situation in his own younger life where he might have experienced a certain homosexual attraction, but it does not surface clearly enough in this passage to extrapolate more than that; see Douglas Roby, "Introduction" to the English translation, 21–22.

Certainly further reflecting in some ways also on Boethian teachings, Aelred highlights the fundamental human desire for unity with God as a cornerstone of friendship, which can be observed even among animals, but so much more in human beings. Man's nature pushed him toward friendship, kindling this desire from birth, although concupiscence, avarice, envy, and other vices have disturbed this perfect balance among people since the Fall. In the postlapsarian world friendship proves to be in constant danger of being fragmented, undermined, and destroyed because of greed, material values, lust for power, hence egoism and lack of love for the fellow man. Nevertheless, similar to love, "friendship is natural, like virtue, wisdom, and the like, which should be sought after and preserved for their own sake as natural goods" (64). Those who pursue friendship can also be said to pursue wisdom, and vice versa (65). Moreover, true friendship guarantees happiness, both here in this life and afterwards because it secures virtues (71).<sup>76</sup>

Those who are lucky enough to have found a true friend would also have a guaranteed medicine to sustain their life (72). Moreover, friendship leads man to God because it is "a stage toward the love and knowledge of God" (74) insofar as it constitutes the realization of fundamental values in human life: "in friendship are joined honor and charm, truth and joy, sweetness and good-will, affection and action" (74). Little wonder then that for Aelred the ideal form of friendship finds expression in the idea of two people being of one heart and one mind. True friends would be willing to give their lives for each other, though the author explicitly limits his concept of friendship to those who are Christian and do not belong to the wicked, whatever that might mean. The author provides some examples, but then concludes with the generic comment: "friendship cannot exist except among the good" (80). This means for friends that they are not supposed to ask each other to do any wrong, or anything contrary to Christian values.

To help us understand the wider philosophical implications, he adds that friendship must be accompanied by reason, honor, and justice (83). Moreover, friends must be determined by "purity of intention, the direction of reason and the restraint of moderation" (84). In practical terms, one can expect "counsel in doubt, consolation in adversity, and other benefits of like nature" (84) from a friend, unless personal gains or material profit motivates an alleged friend. Advantages of many different kinds arise from friendship, but it cannot be established with the hope in mind of gaining those advantages. Instead, friendship is basically defined by pure love for the other person, which certainly might result in many different benefits.

In the third and final book of his treatise, Aelred goes one step further and places friendship within the divine relationship between man and God. The friend is here

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<sup>76</sup> Brian Patrick McGuire, *Brother and Lover: Aelred of Rievaulx* (New York: Crossroad, 1994); John R. Sommerfeldt, *Pursuing Perfect Happiness* (Mahwah, NJ: Newman Press, 2005).

defined as “the companion of your soul” (93) who fears nothing and does everything for a friend, as long as it would be honorable and not directed against the precepts of God. The goal to acquire a friend thus proves to be extremely challenging and demanding, requiring, according to Aelred, the four following stages: 1. selection; 2. probation; 3. admission; and 4. perfect harmony. Those people who do not meet certain basic standards of behavior, commit crime, or betray the friend, are not worthy of being selected, or would not pass the probation. However, expressions of anger, wrath, or other emotions that seem to be detrimental to friendship but which would not undermine the basic ideals of friendship, would not be regarded as really dangerous. After all, a true friend would be able to see through them and realize that they are nothing but ephemeral and of little relevance for friendship, as long as they do not dishonor the other. Destructive behavior, by contrast, would consist of “upbraiding, reproach, pride, disclosing of secrets or a treacherous wound” (96). Fickle and untrustworthy persons could not be regarded as true friends because “mutual peace and tranquility of heart” would have to rule between the two friends (98).

Proving to be a kind of modern psychologist *avant la lettre* that he was, Aelred is not so blind as to ignore the fact that among many friendships rifts could open up as well, meaning that it could become “unstitched little by little” (101), especially when the unworthy person reveals secrets or private matters and causes hidden stings of detraction, meaning committing clear acts of betrayal and hurting the other (102). On the contrary, real friends demonstrate “loyalty, right intention, discretion, and patience” (105). Resorting to Boethius again, Aelred emphasizes that “A friend is tested in necessity” (106), whereas in good and prosperous times one could never know for sure whether another person can be trusted as a friend. No material object or any possession could truly provide happiness if the owner could not share it with a friend (110).

Friendship develops between two people if they find perfect harmony among them, do not hide anything from each other, and have full confidence in the other. Friends enjoy “to read together, discuss matters together, together to trifle, and together to be in earnest; to differ at times without ill-humor, as a man would do with himself, and even by a very infrequent disagreement to give zest to our very numerous agreements; to teach one another something, or to learn from one another; with impatience to long for one another when absent; and with joy to receive one another when returning” (113).

Loyal, frank, congenial, and sympathetic exchanges underlie friendship, while changeable, suspicious characters threaten friendship, especially if one thinks evil of the other (114). Quite significantly, Aelred also underscores that social inequality should not matter at all among friends because different ranks are to be regarded as nothing but external trappings provided by nature; hence they are not essential and would be only detrimental to friendship: “Therefore in friendship, which is the perfect gift of nature and grace alike, let the lofty descend, the lowly



ascend; the rich be in want, the poor become rich; and thus let each communicate his condition to the other, so that equality may be the result" (115).

Reflecting upon numerous examples in the Old Testament, Aelred concludes that envy cannot corrupt friendship; suspicion cannot enter the minds of friends; and ambition does not intervene and change the relationship between friends who would never feel pride over the other (117). Consequently, taking into account the role that money can play for friends, the author encourages his reader/listener to be generous and lend any amount a friend would need without expressing any concerns or worries: "Therefore, give to your friend in such a way that you do not reproach him, or expect a reward" (118). As a rule, "we ought the more adroitly seek out the needs of our friends, anticipate their requests by good services, and observe such demeanor in our giving that the recipient, rather than the giver, appears to be bestowing the favor" (119). Primarily, one ought to pray for one another, support one another, grieve for one another, and also to rejoice for one another. Friends need to be the first and the most trusted counselors (120).

Similarly, friends observe the faults and vices in the other and offer corrective criticism, instead of pretending that everything is alright in order to preserve peace: "Even though the bitterness of correction wound his soul, nevertheless cease not to correct him. For the wounds inflicted by a friend are more tolerable than the kisses of flatterers" (121). Of course, and fully understandably, Aelred hastens to add the warning that this criticism should not be uttered in anger or with bitterness because the friend ought to perceive immediately that the purpose of these stern words would be nothing but to bring about "the betterment of his friend . . . than the satisfaction of his own ill humor" (121). More poignantly, he underscores that the friend ought to recognize "that the reproof proceeds from love rather than from rancor" (121). Flattery and pretense would have to be regarded as the worst feature among friends; by contrast, they need to exchange in full truth, which would then constitute love for the friend (122).

Speaking from the point of view of an abbot, or a person of higher official responsibilities within the monastic community and hence deeply concerned with the harmony and peace among all members, young and old, Aelred argues that friendship should not become the conduit for appointing individuals to a specific position out of a sense of obligation or as a form of political pay-back; in other words, friendship should not be the basis for doing business. An abbot, or a manager, as we would say today, "should always be guided by reason and not by affection. A dignity and burden of office should not be imposed on those whom we prefer as friends, but rather on those whom we believe better suited to sustain such dignities and burdens" (124). Friendship must be a matter of private affairs, whereas public business must be conducted by means of reason and concern for the public welfare (126).

Reflecting upon one of his enduring and pure friendships, Aelred remarks, providing us with a completely clear example, "There was no pretense between

us, no simulation, no dishonorable flattery, no unbecoming harshness, no evasion, no concealment, but everything open and above board; for I deemed my heart in a fashion his, and his mine, and he felt in like manner towards me" (129).

Referring to the emotional side of human existence, especially with respect to grief, he highlights how much the friend "was the refuge of my spirit, the sweet solace of my griefs, whose heart of love received me when fatigued from labors, whose counsel refreshed me when plunged in sadness and grief" (129). Of course, Aelred frames his entire discourse with a clear allusion to God, the ultimate embracer of all human life (129). Thus he concludes his treatise with the most meaningful comment: "Thus ascending from that holy love with which he embraces a friend to that with which he embraces Christ, he will joyfully partake in abundance of the spiritual fruit of friendship, awaiting the fullness of all things in the life to come" (131). In other words, true friendship leads to God, if it does not constitute the love for God, or emanates from God.<sup>77</sup>

Aelred's treatise obviously appealed so deeply and widely to his contemporaries and posterity because it combines ethical, moral, political, and religious aspects. His definition of friendship proves to be highly careful and pragmatic, sensible and yet demanding. The author examines both external and internal aspects characteristic of true friendship and outlines in very reasonable, rational, and yet also idealistic terms the deeper ideals and values of friendship both in a social and religious, both in a political and in a private context, outlining the key components that support and those that distract, if not even destroy, friendship as defined here.

Aelred culled much of his material from Cicero, the Bible, then also from Boethius and many other classical sources, and skillfully added his personal perspectives, his religious values, described in powerful and most convincing terms why the ideal of friendship ought to be pursued and what impact it would have on the individual.<sup>78</sup> His treatise primarily addressed the monastic community, where friendship played a significant role throughout the Middle Ages and far beyond.<sup>79</sup> Moreover, he also explained the meaning of friendship in a significant letter to the Bishop of London, Gilbert.<sup>80</sup> Quite openly Aelred expresses his desire to be his friend: "I have grown very fond of you not only

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<sup>77</sup> Daniel M. La Corte, "Abbot as Magister and Pater in the Thought of Bernard of Clairvaux and Aelred of Rievaulx," *Truth as Gift: Studies in Cistercian History in Honor of John R. Sommerfeldt*, ed. Marsha L. Dutton, Daniel M. La Corte, and Paul Lockey. Cistercian Studies Series, 204 (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 2004), 389–406.

<sup>78</sup> For further comments on the power of Aelred's discourse on friendship, see the introduction by Douglass Roby, in the English translation by Laker, 17–22 (see note 73).

<sup>79</sup> Brian P. McGuire, *Friendship and Community*, 222 (see note 12).

<sup>80</sup> R. Jacob McDonie, "Abbot Aelred of Rievaulx's Letter to Gilbert, Venerable Bishop of London." *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 45.2 (2010): 119–24.

because I hope to become acquainted with your serenity, but also—which *I say in foolishness*—because I dare to aspire to friendship itself” (121).

For him divine love constitutes the essence of friendship: “what most exalted things would love not abase, or base things exalt, in order to be one?” (122). In fact, friendship for him amounts to a most powerful spiritual experience: “My soul passes through you by a spiritual motion, crossing through the very substance of the body by means of its subtlety, pouring all of itself into the very bosom of your mind, mixing affection with affection, sense with sense, and spirit with spirit, so that my spirit is renewed from the sharing your spirit . . .” (122). Finally, concluding his letter, Aelred emphasizes how much the addressee had granted him entrance to the holy realm of divine friendship by welcoming him as a young man in London: “It makes me want to follow through with what started when I first became acquainted with your serenity, to hope that after knocking on the door of your friendship my soul might be led into its inner chamber” (124).<sup>81</sup>

The implications for intellectuals far and wide during the Renaissance of the Twelfth Century were tremendous because the ideal of friendship among monks could serve as a role model even for the laity.<sup>82</sup> Moreover, Aelred outlined how much friendship could serve as the springboard for man to find God because it proves to be the worldly manifestation of spirituality. In other words, the discourse on friendship opened multiple opportunities to probe the meaning of religious and secular values and to apply them to the realities of ordinary life both in a spiritual and a political sense. Friendship is thus intriguingly linked to, if it does not even replace, erotic love, providing male members of the courts and the monasteries a medium to create affective bonds and thus form new community links among themselves.

## G. Theological Approaches to Friendship: Thomas Aquinas

Throughout the Middle Ages and far beyond, the concept of friendship served exceedingly well as a metaphor for the idealized relationship between man and the Godhead. Already in late antiquity thinkers such as Clemens of Alexandria and John Chrysostom utilized that term and combined it with love for God: friends of God. One of the most influential and domineering philosophers from the later Middle Ages, Thomas Aquinas (1225–1275), suggested that all people are by

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<sup>81</sup> I appreciate that R. Jacob McDonie alerted me to his publication of this letter in English.

<sup>82</sup> Giles Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 138.

nature friends of all other good people, and that human friendship ought to be regarded as an analogy to man's friendship with God.<sup>83</sup>

In his *Summa Theologiae*, however, Aquinas qualifies that observation a little further, emphasizing that "Friends must be rational creatures, able to return our love and share our life, and able to be well and happy or the reverse, so that one can properly will their good."<sup>84</sup> On the one hand, true friends must hence be receptive to advice, to well-meaning remarks, and must be willing to communicate with the other in a constructive manner, reaching out and ready to accept at the same time. Non-rational creatures or objects cannot be loved as friends because they are not able to reciprocate: "Properly speaking, God loves non-rational creatures not as friends but as things wanted for rational creatures and himself. God is not in need of them, but he wills them for the sake of his goodness and our benefit" (54).

In a later context, closely following Aristotle's teachings,<sup>85</sup> Aquinas adds the important point that friendship represents a form of love associated with goodness by itself: "We distinguish *friendship*, with which we love any independently existing thing to whom we will good, from *desire* with which we love any goods we want for him" (100; vol. 9, 60.3). In another context he revisits that issue again and clarifies the specific meaning of true love of friends: "Friendship based on convenience or pleasure is friendship inasmuch as we want our friend's good; but because this is subordinated to our own profit or pleasure such friendship is subordinated to love of desire and falls short of true friendship" (205; vol. 19, 26.4). Significantly, then, friendship emerges as a form of love "since it is a passion" (205), for another person. Moreover, "since it is a sort of affinity or agreement with the object, what causes love is the goodness or agreeableness of that object" (205; vol. 19, 27.1). One finds good friends when one knows of their goodness, which exerts a natural affinity: "But goodness must be known before it can become the object of love, so knowledge itself can be said to cause love" (206; vol. 19, 27, 2).

Friendship thus emerges as an ethical value, a force in human life that enables the individual a path toward goodness: "The happy man in this life needs friends, not for their external usefulness, since his happiness is from within, nor for pleasure, since his perfect pleasure comes from the activity of virtue, but as contributing to that activity itself. He does good to them, he delights in seeing

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<sup>83</sup> *Summa theologiae* II/II, q. 26.4 and q. 114, a. 1; cf. Schrey, "Freundschaft," 595 (see note 16).

<sup>84</sup> St Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae: A Concise Translation*, ed. Timothy McDermott (1989; London: Methuen, 1992), 54 (vol. 5, 20.2).

<sup>85</sup> Aquinas summarizes himself the five major points characterizing friendship as defined by Aristotle: "willing the friend's good, being glad that he is alive, taking pleasure in living with him, having the same preferences, sharing his griefs and joys. And all these, as Aristotle also says, spring from loving the friend as one loves oneself, the union of affection we mentioned" (358; vol. 34, 27.2; see note 84).

them do good, and in turn they help him and do good to him. For we need the help of friends in leading the lives of action and of contemplation" (180; vol. 16, 4.7).

Aquinas does not argue that friends are absolutely essential for an individual's achievement of goodness, hence the unification with God. Nevertheless, he clearly observes how much friends can help to proceed toward that goal: "For we need the help of friends in leading the lives of action and of contemplation. And though the companionship of friends is not strictly necessary even in this way to the perfect happiness of our heavenly home, where a man is completely and wholly fulfilled in God, yet the companionship of friends enhances that happiness" (180). Happiness is not, according to Aquinas, contingent on friendship, but the soul's happiness once it has found God, "spills over on to them [friends], so that friendship always accompanies our perfect happiness" (181).

In a way, Aquinas goes even so far as to suggest that human friendship anticipates friendship with God: "Just as human law aims primarily at friendship between men, so God's law aims primarily at friendship of man for God. But love is based on likeness, and to love God, who is most good, man must become good himself" (296; vol. 29, 99.2). Or, in slightly different terms, "Perfect love loves another person for his own sake as someone to whom we will good, as a friend; but imperfect love loves a thing not for its own sake but as a source of good to ourselves, as desirable" (346; vol. 33, 17.8).

Ultimately, however, Aquinas does not examine human friendship for its own sake, but perceives it as an avatar of God's friendship with man: "What God and man have in common is the eternal happiness he shares with us, *the fellowship of his Son*; and the friendship between God and man based on this we call charity" (349; vol. 34, 23.1). Finally, to quote Aquinas one more time: "So great can be our love for a friend that for his sake we love those connected with him, even those who hurt and hate us. And this is how the friendship of charity extends even to our enemies, loved for the sake of God, our chief friend" (ibid.). And: "Our friendship with God and our fellowmen consists in loving this, that we and our fellowmen love God. For since charity is the spiritual life leading to the happiness we shall all share, it is the good we love and desire for all who are our friends in charity" (354; vol. 34, 25.2).<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> For a general introduction to Aquinas, though without discussing his notion of friendship, see Brian Davies, *The Thought of Thomas Aquinas* (1992; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993). See further John Francis Monagle, "Friendship in Aristotle and St. Thomas Aquinas: Its Relationship to the Common Good," Ph.D. thesis, Saint Louis University, 1973; Diana Fritz Cates, *Choosing to Feel: Virtue, Friendship, and Compassion for Friends* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1997); Daniel Schwartz, *Aquinas on Friendship*. Oxford Philosophical Monographs (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007). For a postmodern perspective, see William W. Young, *The Politics of Praise: Naming God and Friendship in Aquinas and Derrida*. Ashgate New Critical Thinking in Religion,

## H. A Variety of Voices: Old and New. Retrospectives and Innovative Perspectives on Friendship.

Before we proceed, let us take stock of what we have observed so far. Intriguingly, the investigation of the theme of ‘friendship’ allows us to perceive most important intellectual and cultural-historical bridges between the world of antiquity and the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance. The true friend here always represents the “paragon of human perfectibility, if not perfection itself, compatible with Christian ethics.”<sup>87</sup> Plato, some Stoics, and the Epicureans had assumed that only *vera amicitia* would provide sufficient ethical strength to achieve the fundamental goal of all philosophical enterprises, wisdom and happiness. Aristotle and Cicero, on the other hand, distinguished between ordinary friendship that would serve to achieve utility and pleasure, on the one hand, and ideal friendship that begins with virtue and constitutes this very virtue to the absolute end of human existence.<sup>88</sup> For Aristotle the virtuous character constitutes the springboard for true and highly developed friendship, although there are lesser ranked types of friendship as well. At any rate, “in all three sorts of friendship, the partners must share their private lives quite frequently in order to cultivate their relationship; therefore, a certain affability and an agreeable nature are essential to the maintenance of that condition.”<sup>89</sup>

Friendship was greatly welcomed by early Christians because it guaranteed the stability and maintenance of their Christian communities and protected them against the temptations resulting from contacts with pagans.<sup>90</sup> Aelred also confirmed this aspect as a precondition of a true friendship, but late-medieval writers tended to go against such precepts, as illustrated, for instance, by the friendship between the protagonist Reinfried von Braunschweig (in the eponymous late-thirteenth-century anonymous romance in Middle High German, *Reinfried von Braunschweig*) and the Persian prince whose life he had spared after a deadly duel to determine whether the crusaders or the Saracens would be the victors and who subsequently turns into his friend and guide.<sup>91</sup>

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Theology, and Biblical Studies (Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007). Surprisingly, in a good number of relevant Aquinas studies, the topic of friendship is not even mentioned, see, for example, Eleonore Stump, *Aquinas. Arguments of the Philosophers* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003).

<sup>87</sup> Reginald Hyatte, *The Arts of Friendship: The Idealization of Friendship in Medieval and Early Renaissance Literature*. Brill’s Studies in Intellectual History, 50 (Leiden, New York, and Cologne: E. J. Brill, 1994), 1.

<sup>88</sup> Hyatte, *The Arts of Friendship*, 5.

<sup>90</sup> Hyatte, *The Arts of Friendship*, 19.

<sup>90</sup> Peter Brown, *Making of Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978), 64.

<sup>91</sup> *Reinfried von Braunschweig*, ed. Karl Bartsch (1871; Hildesheim, Zürich, and New York: Georg Olms, 1997); cf. Wolfgang Achtnitz, *Babylon und Jerusalem: Sinnkonstituierung im “Reinfried von*

Much earlier, however, monastic communities were based on the principle of friendship among Christian brethren, as outlined by St. John Cassian (ca. 365–435) in his *Conference*, distinguishing between fraternal charity, or *agapê*, which addressed the entire community, and *diathesis*, a partial, individualized friendship. Both forms of friendship undergirded the monastic community and was pursued throughout the Middle Ages. In Hyatte's words,

Cassian's advice on the cultivation of *diathesis* concentrates on not getting angry at one's brothers, on not provoking others to anger, and on assuaging anger. The practice of patient, humble silence favors *diathesis*. In his guide on monastic conduct, Cassian discourages alliances that, by becoming cliques, might disturb communal harmony, but he is not unfavorable to carefully disciplined friendships that do not threaten to result in dissension or factionalism.<sup>92</sup>

The fact by itself that we can move quickly back and forth from early antiquity/late antiquity to the Middle Ages and beyond, in addition to the observation that the discourse on friendship resonates throughout the clerical and the secular literature, especially courtly romances, confirms the enormous validity and impact of the ideal of friendship on the intellectual life of all educated people in the Western world.<sup>93</sup>

Could there even be friendship between representatives of different social classes? And was that ever truly discussed, here disregarding Aelred's comments because he addressed primarily a monastic audience (see above)?<sup>94</sup> One case in fourteenth-century Middle High German literature proves that such a relationship was indeed regarded as a possibility. Ruprecht von Würzburg (late fourteenth century), of whom we know almost nothing except that he probably originated from that Franconian, today north-Bavarian, city,<sup>95</sup> describes in his *mære* (verse narrative) "Von zwein kaufman" (Of Two Merchants) how much two merchants, one very rich and influential, the other poor and subservient, in fact are bonded together in

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*Braunschweig" und im "Apollonius von Tyrland" Heinrich von Neustadt.* Hermaea. Germanistische Forschungen, Neue Folge, 98 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2002), 172–84; Albrecht Classen, "The Crusader as Lover and Tourist: Utopian Elements in Late Medieval German Literature: From Herzog Ernst to Reinfried von Braunschweig and Fortunatus," *Current Topics in Medieval German Literature: Texts and Analyses (Kalamazoo Papers 2000–2006)*, ed. Sibylle Jefferis. Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik, 748 (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 2008), 83–102.

<sup>92</sup> Hyatte, *The Arts of Friendship*, 58–59 (see note 87).

<sup>93</sup> Hyatte, *The Arts of Friendship*, 77–86, and even more detailed, 87–135 (see note 87).

<sup>94</sup> We will later see that such a type of friendship among socially unequal people was of as much concern for the philosopher and politician Francis Bacon as for Aelred hundreds of years before him; see my comments above and the contribution to this volume by Stella Achilleos.

<sup>95</sup> Hans-Joachim Ziegeler, "Ruprecht von Würzburg," *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*. 2nd completely rev. ed. by Kurt Ruh et al. Vol. 8 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1992), 418–21.

close and strong friendship and can thus not only enjoy their individual lives, but exert utmost control over the entire urban community.<sup>96</sup> As the narrator comments: “Both felt great liking for the other, with upright and steady hearts. Constant friendship fully ruled in their hearts. They pursued this virtuous relationship for a long time. Each of them would have been ready to risk for the other their life, their property, honor, and family” (44).

The clearest expression of this can be found in the rich man’s decision to marry off his daughter to the poor man’s son, although his wife at first voices strong opposition since she had dreamed of her daughter finding a wealthy duke or even prince for her husband. But as the narrator underscores, friendship overrules all material and political goals pursued by the wife: “Sir Gillot thought much about how to guarantee that he would honor Gillam with so much friendship that their bond of loyalty would, because of its strength, never come apart. He believed that it would give full confidence to the entire city when there would be no conflict anywhere if their two children would marry” (44).

When Gillot proposes to his friend that their children marry, Gillam responds in a very subservient manner, appealing to Gillot not to mock him, using language as if they were not friends, but only bonded together through a lord-servant relationship: “Lord, please do not do that to me; why do you mock me, a poor man” (45). Then, however, they reach an agreement and reconfirm their friendship. The love relationship of the two young people who are subsequently allowed to marry is thus framed by an even more important relationship, that of two friends. Sure, there are no further references to these two men in the parent generation, but the narrative is certainly predicated on that ideal.

Indeed, wherever we turn, late-medieval verse narratives confirm how much friends stand by to support the protagonist, who turns to them for advice and help. A small but useful example can be found in the anonymous “The Little Bunny Rabbit” (ca. 1300) where a highly confused bridegroom suddenly realizes just before the wedding that his fiancée is completely lacking in morals and cannot be trusted, whereas a young peasant maid, whom he himself had sexually abused before, committing what we would call today ‘statutory rape,’ suddenly seems to be the perfect match when she appears at the festivities upon his invitation.

In order to make a good decision in this aporia, the young man turns to his friends: “he hastily asked his friends who were there to tell him, in the spirit of

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<sup>96</sup> *Vom Großen Löwenhof zur Universität: Würzburg und die deutsche Literatur im Spätmittelalter*, ed. Horst Brunner and Hans-Günter Schmidt (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2002), 52–53. For an English translation, see *Erotic Tales of Medieval Germany*. Selected and trans. by Albrecht Classen, with a contribution by Maurice Sprague. And with an edition of Froben Christoph von Zimmern’s “Der enttäuschte Liebhaber.” *Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies*, 328. 2nd ed. rev. and expanded (2007; Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2009), 43–53.



friendship, which of the two they would unanimously approve of, so that he would take her as a wife. They then advised, with a unified voice, that he should rightly marry the young beauty with the bunny rabbit, if he wanted to pursue what was correct and honorable."<sup>97</sup>

Friendship here is recognized as a spiritual ideal and as a practical social institution upon which the individual can rely. These friends do not consider what would be socially and politically appropriate and convenient in this situation, if not advantageous for them in monetary terms; instead they understand the knight's moral dilemma and inner turmoil, being deeply upset about, on the one hand, his own previous sexual affair with the young woman, and on the other because of the fiancée's horrible though unintended confession of having slept many times with a priest without her mother having ever found out. They desire the best for their friend and provide him with the rather unexpected council, which suddenly joins the hands of the village maid and the young knight—certainly a most unrealistic outcome. Nevertheless, the brief reference to the friends and their direct involvement in the decision-making process reveals how much the institution of friendship truly mattered in social, ethical, and moral terms.<sup>98</sup>

The friendship between these two merchants finds an excellent parallel in the friendship between two citizens in the kingdom of Babylon where young Flôre in Konrad Fleck's sentimental verse romance *Flôre und Blanscheflûr* (ca. 1220) in Middle High German searches for his beloved whom his parents had sold into slavery. When he is already close to his goal, he inquires with his host whether he could recommend another inn-keeper in the royal city where, as he knows by then, his beloved Blanscheflûr is kept as a prisoner, or 'property,' by the Admiral, or Sultan, of Babylon. The host immediately pours out the great love and respect he has for his friend in that city: "er ist mîn friunt der beste; / der wirt iuch wol enthalten. / von sinnen manicvalten / er ist wîten mære. / ez enist kein dinc sô swære, / daz ir ze schaffende hânt / ob irz an sîne triuwe lânt, / er rât iu wol nâch êren" (3608–15; he is my best friend; he will take good care of you. He is widely known for his many virtues. There is nothing so difficult which you might have to do that he could not give you, if you entrust it to his loyalty, his honorable advice).<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> See the English translation in my *Erotic Tales*, 2009, no. 5, 41 (see note 96).

<sup>98</sup> Albrecht Classen, "Erotic Symbolism, Laughter, and Hermeneutics at Work in Late-Medieval Moeren: The Case of *Das Häslein*," *Medievalia et Humanistica: Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Culture* 34 (2008): 87–104.

<sup>99</sup> Konrad Fleck, *Flore und Blanscheflur: Eine Erzählung*, ed. Emil Sommer. Bibliothek der gesamten deutschen National-Literatur von der ältesten bis auf die neuere Zeit, 12 (Quedlinburg and Leipzig: Gottfried Basse, 1846). Interestingly, the same scene finds much less interest by the older French poet of the same story, *The Romance of Floire and Blanchefleur: A French Idyllic Poem of the*

At the very end when all dangers are over and the despotic Admiral has suddenly been transformed into a benevolent, magnanimous, and sympathetic ruler because of the amazing demonstration of love and dedication by the two young people just when they were supposed to be executed, Flôre appeals to him asking for Blancheflûr's hand and the Admiral's support. Everyone at court has already expressed their sympathy for the young protagonist when he had told them about his adventures and how he had managed to subterfuge his way into the tower where Blancheflûr had been kept as a prisoner, or future bride for the Admiral. Flôre explicitly resorts now to the term 'friend' when he addresses the ruler: "ir sint mîn friunt nû verre" (7456; you are now my best friend). Although the Admiral does not respond quite in kind, he certainly behaves as a fatherly friend, knighting Flôre and treating him most generously in the way that only a true friend would do, although he had robbed him of the one woman whom he had intended to be his own wife. In the Old French version, however, we hear: "He took Floire by the hand and placed him / By his own side, kissed and embraced him, / Showing him friendship and compassion / And treating Blanchefleur in like fashion" (2864–67). As Fleck signals in his romance, and as the many other European adaptors and translators of the same text indicated in a variety of ways, the greatest heterosexual relationship is easily complemented by a profound homosocial one, and this despite, or perhaps just because of the generational difference. In other words, when courtly, then even marital, love

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*Twelfth Century*, trans. into English Verse by Merton Jerome Hubert. University of North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures, 63 (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1966), 1376–80: "He is my friend and my confrère. / In Babylon he holds high station: / House, tower, wealth, fine situation. / He is my associate in these / Two crossings, and we share the fees." See also Patricia E. Grieve, *Floire and Blancheflor and the European Romance*. Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), offers a great pan-European perspective, but she does not examine the subtle yet so important friendship motif as it suddenly emerges in Fleck's text. Jutta Eming, *Emotion und Expression: Untersuchungen zu deutschem und französischem Liebes- und Abenteuerroman des 12. bis 16. Jahrhunderts*. Quellen und Forschungen zur Literatur- und Kulturgeschichte, 39 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2006), 122–68, discusses the aspects of affection and emotional attachments, but does not examine the topic of friendship as such. She uses, however, the useful term "Emotionale Affizierung als Kulturtransformation" in her discussion of the impact the love of these two young people for each other has on the Oriental ruler. Eming recognizes an important recodification of the emotional configuration at the Admiral's court, though she also notes that the latter does not fully grasp the idealism behind the two young people's passionate love for each other. Instead, he is primarily a sensual person mostly interested in physical pleasures (164). But Eming misreads this passage to some extent because the Admiral had freed the two young people out of pity, and he had displayed a radical change of heart precisely because he wants to be their friend. There is a striking parallel between this late-medieval motif and the one utilized by Friedrich Schiller in his ballad discussed above. Of course, there is a certain degree of Orientalization at play both here and there, but Fleck certainly projects an Oriental ruler who has the capacity to perceive the signs of true love and to grant the lovers their own space and hence their freedom.

assumes center position in a romance, then the theme of friendship easily emerges as almost equally important.

The degree to which the discourse of friendship had almost become a trope of universal value in the late Middle Ages finds its confirmation in the *mære* "The Search for the Happily Married Couple" by Heinrich Kaufringer (ca. 1400 or a little earlier). The conflict described here pertains to marital problems insofar as the protagonist husband leads a too generous life-style, which she criticizes as too much as a spendthrift attitude, while his wife tries hard to be frugal, which he perceives as miserliness. After much searching far and wide, however, the husband has to realize that his wife's alleged shortcoming would be only a minor infraction, compared to the real problems of adultery and nymphomania which other husbands experience.<sup>100</sup> Aside from these ponderous issues, there are also brief but revealing references to friendship. The husband enjoys the company of his friends and welcomes them many times at home, obviously without the wife's approval: "His heart was filled with great joy when his good friends visited him at home. He liked it very much to have them with him since he did not enjoy missing their company (101). However, when he begins to realize the considerable disagreement with his wife, he does not consult with his friends; instead he ruminates all by himself over what to do about that situation, and how he might find a corrective model somewhere in the world.

Subsequently he leaves, accompanied only by a servant, hence not by any of his friends (102). Twice on his long journey he believes to have found the truly happily married couple, but each time the other husband proves him utterly wrong, revealing the couple's private shame and dishonor. But there is a kind of friendship between the men. The first burgher in the foreign city with whom he stays for about half a year finally pleads with him to reveal what his true intentions during his stay might have been, using most polite language, directly borrowed from the discourse of friendship: "'I beg you, my dear sir, and consider it as just a friendly gesture, that you let me know what your business has been here . . .'" (103). Once the truth has been revealed, the host asks the traveler to stay one more day, at the end of which he admits to the latter the truth about his

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<sup>100</sup> The English translation is also contained in my *Erotic Tales*, 2009, no. 16, 101–07 (see note 96). For further discussions, see Michaela Willers, *Heinrich Kaufringer als Märenautor: das Œuvre des cgm 270* (Berlin: Logos-Verlag, 2002); Albrecht Classen, "Mord, Totschlag, Vergewaltigung, Unterdrückung und Sexualität. Liebe und Gewalt in der Welt von Heinrich Kaufringer," *Daphnis* 29.1–2 (2000): 3–36; Marie-Sophie Masse, "Mariage et adultère dans les Maeren de Heinrich Kaufringer," *Sex, Love and Marriage in Medieval Literature and Reality: thematische Beiträge im Rahmen des 31th International Congress on Medieval Studies an der Western Michigan University (Kalamazoo-USA)*, 8. - 12. Mai 1996. Wodan, 69 (Greifswald: Reinke-Verlag, 1996), 47–52; Marga Stede, *Schreiben in der Krise: die Texte des Heinrich Kaufringer*. Literatur, Imagination, Realität, 5 (Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, 1993).

miserable marriage, since his wife had committed adultery once with a priest, whom her husband subsequently killed and from whose body he had taken the skull. His wife has, from then on without fail, to drink wine every night from this macabre vessel as a ritual of penance for the rest of her life. In order to show his guest the full discrepancy between his wife's display of happiness and her true shame, he organizes a big festival: "The host invited his friends and enjoyed great festivities with them" (103). There are no further discussions about these friends, but we realize the parallels in the lives of both men. Both are wealthy city dwellers and are surrounded, so it seems, by many friends. Nevertheless, despite these circles of friendship, neither is truly happy because their marriages are in bad shape and none of the friends appears to be trustworthy and confident enough to provide advice and council.

The second seemingly happy marriage in another city proves to be even more in complete disarray once the husband has revealed his true trouble. His wife is driven by an uncontrollable sex drive and had slept with every man nearby she could get hold of. Finally, her husband resolved to handle the matter privately, kidnapped a strong peasant, and enslaved him by chaining him to the walls deep down in his cellar where from then on his wife can receive all her necessary sexual satisfaction with the peasant. In public the marriage looks sound and solid, but in private, as the husband demonstrates, he himself is impotent and has to raise six children that his wife had conceived with the peasant (106).

Interestingly for our purposes, the husband found help among his friends to carry out a devious plan to cope with his wife's almost perverse sexual needs: "With the help of my friends and servants I forcefully kidnapped him [the peasant]" (106). In order to preserve his honor and that of his entire house, the presence of the peasant has to stay a total secret, and apparently all his helpers, friends and servants alike, have kept their promise, thus upholding the screen of decency and respect.

Having learned his lesson from these two examples, the first husband returns home and from then on accepts his wife as she is. He continues to be generous with his friends (107), but patiently endures her chiding, obviously reducing on his own the contacts and festivities with his friends, without rejecting them in turn. As fleeting as these references to friendship might be, they indicate how much late-medieval urban life was deeply determined by much homosocial bonding and numerous social gatherings, in short, friendship.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> For a social-historical approach to this topic, now see Kerstin Seidel, *Freunde und Verwandte: soziale Beziehungen in einer spätmittelalterlichen Stadt*. Campus historische Studien, 49 (Frankfurt a. M. and New York: Campus-Verlag, 2009).

## I. Friendship and Women: Still a Somewhat Uncharted Territory

We might also want to, or rather should, include references to friendship among women, and some courtly romances such as the Old French *Escoufle* provide support for this claim, without us facing any need to fall into the usual postmodern trap of suspecting a type of lesbianism to be at work here.<sup>102</sup> Nevertheless, that topic by itself has not been investigated sufficiently, neither with respect to female friendship in the past nor regarding the situation in the modern world. According to Pat O'Connor there are three reasons which might be responsible for this dearth of critical studies, 1. the lack of significant literary or historical documents confirming such female friendships; 2. the general tendency by sociologists and scholars in neighboring disciplines to focus more on institutional realities than on private and intimate relationships; 3. "any serious attempt at theorising women's friendship has been threatened by the popular habit of trivializing and derogating women's friendship by comparing them negatively with heterosexual bonds."<sup>103</sup> However, as recent discussions about this aspect have revealed, friendship between women can be a source of power and agency, and might even serve as a "site of resistance."<sup>104</sup> By the same token, as female scholars have alerted us, there is a certain danger for women when they turn toward friendship because it could be that these relationships "hinder women from establishing and validating themselves as individuals."<sup>105</sup> As far as we can tell with regard to the situation for women in the Middle Ages and early modern time, theoreticians on friendship virtually ignored female interests and probed the ethical implications virtually only for men.<sup>106</sup> In my discussion of the individual

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<sup>102</sup> Sahar Amer, *Crossing Borders: Love Between Women in Medieval French and Arabic Literature*. The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 104–20.

<sup>103</sup> Pat O'Connor, *Friendship Between Women: A Critical Review* (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1992), 1.

<sup>104</sup> "Introduction" to *Celebrating Women's Friendship: Past, Present and Future*, ed. Ruth A. Symer, Ann Koloski, and Heloise Brown (New York: Raw Nerve Books, 1999), 8.

<sup>105</sup> Symer, Koloski, and Brown, "Introduction," 15 (see note 104).

<sup>106</sup> Even postmodern theory does not seem to have met the challenge since "current models and theories are inadequate in fully understanding women's friendships," as Katherine Side, "Making and Breaking Women's Friendships in Feminist Theory," *Celebrating Women's Friendship*, 57–77; here 69 (see note 104). See also *Entdeckung der Freundschaft: von Philia bis Facebook: seiner Eminenz Christoph Kardinal Schönborn zum 65. Geburtstag gewidmet*, ed. Gudrun Kugler and Denis Borel (Freiburg i. Br., Basel, and Vienna: Herder, 2010). For the friendships between Augustin and women, see Dagmar Kiesel, *Lieben im Irdischen: Freundschaft, Frauen und Familie bei Augustin*. Symposium, 130 (Freiburg i. Br. and Munich: Alber, 2008); Rosalind K. Marshal, *Queen Mary's Women: Female Relatives, Servants, Friends and Enemies of Mary, Queen of Scots* (Edinburgh: Donald, 2006); for female friendships since the Enlightenment, see Martha Vicinus, *Intimate Friends: Women Who Loved Women, 1778–1928* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

contributions to this volume, especially in light of Sara Deutch Schotland's article, I will return to this issue and examine it first with respect to some significant tenth- and twelfth-century examples, before I will reflect upon Schotland's findings. Marilyn Sandidge will then add an extensive discussion drawing on a range of late-medieval and early-modern sources.

## J. The Homosocial vs. the Homoerotic

Both in Aelred's treatise and in countless vernacular texts from courtly literature, friendship emerges as a form of spiritualized *eros* embracing virtuous men specifically, an intellectual affection that brings together like-minded males and does not focus on the body at all; hence it is not determined by physical love, or homosexuality. As Roberto J. González-Casanovas observes, "As a complement to familial and conjugal ties, male friendship is often depicted as transition and counter-weight to collective allegiances; it can also serve as a channel for same-sex affections that are seen as both essential to proper gender development and vulnerable to homoerotic attachments."

Despite its ambiguities, it seems to be a central category of human relations and virtues in the imaginative matrix, ideological code, and textual canon of Western European cultures in the Greco-Roman and Judeo-Christian traditions."<sup>107</sup> He hastens to add, however, that those ambiguities are not to be overlooked, since friendship has always walked the fine line between homoerotic and homosocial relationships: "friendship is continuously being redefined within and across cultures; in addition, its hybrid nature constantly evolves in relation to the symbiotic phenomena of love and sexuality and to the parallel institutions of family and marriage."<sup>108</sup>

For those scholars, or theologians, who explored the philosophical value of friendship, the human relationship in intellectual and spiritual terms proved to be the most important part of it all, not the physical, erotic one. As C. S. Lewis already discussed very insightfully, friendship is freely given, it has no economic or military value, and often operates against pragmatic concepts because it bridges differences of material, political kinds.<sup>109</sup> The very ambiguity of friendship "derives from its hybrid borrowings from kinship and sexuality; and its contingency makes it seek a transcendence of what are perceived to be the

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<sup>107</sup> Roberto J. González-Casanovas, "Male Bonding as Cultural Construction in Alfonso X, Ramon Llull, and Juan Manuel: Homosocial Friendship in Medieval Iberia," *Queer Iberia: Sexualities, Cultures, and Crossings from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance*, ed. Josiah Blackmore and Gregory S. Hutcheson (Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 1999), 157–92; here 157.

<sup>108</sup> González-Casanovas, "Male Bonding," 158 (see note 107).

<sup>109</sup> C. S. Lewis, *The Four Loves* (1960; London: Harper Collins, 1977), 65–67.

established natural and societal ties . . . . Constructions of male bonding can therefore be seen to thrive along the textual, societal, and ideological frontiers of human culture and of historical cultures."<sup>110</sup>

## K. Friendship at the Courts

Courtly literature throughout the centuries strongly idealized friendship, as reflected by countless examples in Arthurian romances, Grail romances, courtly love narratives, and other texts. Moreover, friendship seems to have been a universal theme of greatest significance for people of all cultures and periods, as demonstrated, for instance, by fairy tales, didactic accounts, and the like.<sup>111</sup> Petrus Alfonsi gave an excellent testimony of this phenomenon in his *Disciplina Clericalis*, an extraordinary collection of international tales, probably of Persian, Arabic and Hebrew origin. Alfonsi was a Jew from Andalusia, who was baptized in 1106 and soon enough assumed a most hostile attitude toward his previous co-religionists. His *Disciplina Clericalis* enjoyed great popularity for a number of reasons, but specifically because of the wisdom literature that entered this collection.<sup>112</sup>

Not surprisingly, he also addresses friendship in one of his tales, "The Half Friend" (no. 1). Here a dying man teaches his son a lesson about the scarcity of good friends, since he himself had gained only half a friend in his whole life. At the end his son realizes that a true friend, even if only meeting the ideal partially, would be ready to assist the other in case of need: "'He is in truth a friend who helps you when the world has deserted you.'"<sup>113</sup> Subsequently, however, the son wants to learn what a truly full friend might be so that he himself might find one some day. This leads to the second story because the father does not know anyone personally whom he would identify in such terms. He has to resort to a literary account of an oral story, in order to meet the son's request, which underscores the high value and rarity of friendship. Here two true friends, one a merchant in Egypt, the other a merchant in Bagdad, demonstrate what their commitment to each other really means.

The visitor from Bagdad ardently desires a young woman whom the Egyptian had raised in his house in order to marry her later. But since his friend is suffering

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<sup>110</sup> González-Casanovas, "Male Bonding," 164 (see note 107). See also David M. Halperin, *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality* (London: Routledge, 1990), 83–85.

<sup>111</sup> Ludwig Denecke, "Freundschaftssagen," *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, ed. Kurt Ranke. Vol. 5, 2.3 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1986), 315–18.

<sup>112</sup> John Tolan, *Petrus Alfonsi and His Medieval Readers* (Gainesville, Tallahassee, et al.: University Press of Florida, 1993).

<sup>113</sup> *The Disciplina Clericalis of Petrus Alfonsi*, trans. and ed. by Eberhard Hermes. Trans. into English by P. R. Quarrie (1970; Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977), 106.

so badly from love sickness, the Egyptian forgoes all his own plans and suppresses his desires for that woman, hands her over to his friend, along with all the dowry and gifts and valuable objects that he had intended to pass on to her later. After this, the Egyptian falls into poverty and turns to Bagdad to see his friend. Having fallen into such terrible shape, he spends the night in a mosque where he witnesses a murder. The next morning he voluntarily confesses to that crime because he wants to die. On his way to the gallows, however, his friend recognizes him and jumps into the fray for him, declaring himself to have murdered the man. At that moment, the true murderer arrives, witnessing this enormous, totally unexpected development of events. Suddenly gripped by feelings of deep guilt, he publicly announces that he himself had murdered the man, thus liberating the Bagdad merchant.

Finally, not even the murderer is executed because the king learns of this event and acknowledges the virtues of all three men. This tale thus introduces an example of a true friend. But the son finds it to be beyond the pale of his own inner strength and expresses with regret: "It is scarcely likely that a man could find such a friend." (109). We are not fully told what strategies one could pursue to realize that goal; instead the following sections shed light on a variety of aspects concerning people's characters and how an individual could or should respond to them in order to establish a harmonious relationship. So we are told, for instance: "Be wary of enemies once, but of friends a thousand times; for perhaps one day your friend will be your enemy, and he will thus be able to do you wrong more easily" (109).

On the other hand, a good friend should never hesitate to give advice, even if the friend might reject it: "Give advice to your friend and be on his side even if he will not believe you, for it is just that you give him good advice, even if he rejects it and does not follow it" (ibid.). But the narrator then turns increasingly to general comments about wise and prudent behavior, without pursuing the idea of friendship further. Only in the chapter on "Intelligence" does he return to the issue at stake one more time, admonishing the listener: "It is better to have a wise man as an enemy than a fool for a friend" (110). Then he hastens to add: "Do not attach any great weight to the friendship of a foolish man, because it is not permanent" (110). Again, however, Petrus Alfonsi displays more interest in general reflections on wisdom than on the issue of friendship, which he perceives from a variety of perspectives, some of which almost seem contradictory.



## L. Friendship between People and Animals: Interconnectedness of Culture and Nature

Here might also be a good moment to pause and to reflect briefly upon yet another variety of friendship, this one between animals and human beings, which found multiple expressions in late-antique and medieval narratives, and then also far beyond, quite contrary to what previous scholarship had assumed, as if animals were always regarded only from a pragmatic perspective to provide food (cows) and energy (horses). Numerous saints' lives and miracle stories contain references to dogs, birds, lions, and other pets that were loved by their masters, who in turn received clear signs of friendship by these animals. Saint Francis of Assisi (1188–1226) is today perhaps most remembered for his sermon to the birds and for his love for animals, including even rapacious wolves, especially for those who were in all kinds of needs. Many other saints are also identified as individuals who had demonstrated extraordinary friendly attitudes toward a variety of animals. In that context those creatures commonly serve symbolically as God's servants or messengers, but despite the principally religious functionalization of the animal, the various authors still predicated their accounts on the idea of friendship between man and animal.<sup>114</sup> Courtly romances and verse narratives from the entire Middle Ages also include examples of most affectionate relationships between people and their animals, perhaps best known, for instance, Yvain and his lion in Chrétien de Troyes's eponymous romance (ca. 1160), or in Hartmann von Aue's *Iwein* (ca. 1190/1200).

The loyal dog who follows his master to his grave, or fights for him after his death, emerges as a quite common motif of intense friendship between man and animal, such as in Elisabeth von Nassau-Saarbrücken's *Königin Elisabeth* (1437). But then there are also horses, deer, falcons, parrots, and other creatures that regularly are presented as most endearing friends in medieval and early-modern literature and the visual arts, demonstrating profound affections for their human masters.<sup>115</sup> We also encounter bees, beavers, dolphins, squirrels, flies, rabbits, deer, lambs,

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<sup>114</sup> August Nitschke, "Tiere und Heilige: Beobachtungen zum Ursprung und Wandel menschlichen Verhaltens," id., *Fremde Wirklichkeiten*. Vol. II: *Dynamik der Natur und Bewegungen des Menschen*. Bibliotheca eruditorum, 12 (Goldbach: Keip, 1995), 99-137; Alison G. Elliott, *Roads to Paradise: Reading Lives of the Early Saints* (Hanover, NH, and London: University Press of New England, 1987), 144.

<sup>115</sup> *Tiere als Freunde im Mittelalter*, eingeleitet, ausgewählt, übersetzt und kommentiert von Gabriela Kompatscher, together with Albrecht Classen, and Peter Dinzelsbacher (Badenweiler: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Bachmann, 2010). See also Robert Gernhardt, *Mensch und Tier: Geschichte einer heiklen Beziehung*. Suhrkamp-Taschenbuch, 3301 (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 2001); Pita Kelekna, *The Horse in Human History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009). See also Sharon S. Robertson, "Medieval Acculturation: Man-Animal Relationship in the Germanic Middle Ages," Ph.D. diss., Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, 1987.

snakes, weasels, worms, and various insects. In other words, the critical discussion of friendship uncovers the extent to which we are truly dealing with a universal theme of greatest significance throughout the ages in a plethora of different contexts.

## M. Vernacular Medieval Spanish Commentators

Not surprisingly, medieval authors regularly refer to friendship as a form of virtue, as the foundation for a harmonious society, such as in the case of Alfonso X's thirteenth-century *Siete partidas* where we learn: "Amistad, segund dize Aristóteles, es vna virtud que es buena en sí, e prouechosa a la vida de los omes . . . . E concordia es vna virtud que es semejante a la amistad" ([F]riendship, according to Aristotle, is a virtue which is intrinsically good in itself and profitable to human life . . . . Concord is a virtue similar to friendship).<sup>116</sup> Alfonso went so far as to claim that if true friendship existed among people, they would need no courts or magistrates because the inherent virtuosity of friendship would make them superfluous.<sup>117</sup>

Both his contemporary Ramon Llull with his *Llibre d'Amic e d'Amat* and Juan Manuel (1282–1348) with his *El Conde Lucanor* confirmed how much the discourse on friendship had already developed deep roots and occupied many people's minds.

This does not mean that we could easily define friendship or reduce it to a simplistic formula, as Brian Patrick McGuire has already warned us a good decade ago.<sup>118</sup> Don Juan Manuel was prince of Castile and *adelantado mayor* (hereditary governor) of Murcia, and nephew of Alfonso X. The poet's life was determined by numerous political conflicts, arrangements, squabbles, typical of his time with its complex political conditions on the Iberian peninsula. He also took great care to collect his literary works and treatises, keeping them in his Peña fiel monastery where he had retired to after his victory as the leader of the Castilian army over the Moors in the battle of Algeciras in 1344. Of the total of fourteen that he penned throughout his life, however, only eight have survived until today, among them

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<sup>116</sup> Quoted from González-Casanovas, "Male Bonding," 166 (see note 107). For the original Latin text, see Jacqueline-Lise Genot-Bismuth, *Moïse le Séfarade alias Pierre d'Alphonse: La Discipline de Clergie, Disciplina Clericalis*. Introduction, Texte latin, Traduction nouvelle et notes. En annexe une ordonnance de médecine andalouse & La lettre de Joseph le Khazar au Vizir du Calife de Cordoue, en réponse à sa lettre. Avec la participation de Simone Beau & une contribution de Gérard Genot (Saint Petersburg: Editions Evropeiski Dom; Paris: Éditions de Paris, 2001), 204–208.

<sup>117</sup> González-Casanovas, "Male Bonding," 169 (see note 107).

<sup>118</sup> Brian Patrick McGuire, "Friendship and Scholarship in Medieval Germany," 31 (see note 22).

his *Libro de los estados* (Book of the Estates), his *Libro de las armas* (Book of Weapons), and his *El conde Lucanor*.<sup>119</sup>

The latter enjoys an enormous reputation as one of the most outstanding prose works of fourteenth-century Spain, as scholarship has confirmed for a long time. Our interest here focuses on the first of five parts which contains apart from two prologues fifty-three *exemplos*, or exemplary tales of a strongly didactic nature. "In one way or another, most of the stories tackle the difficult question of how to deal most effectively with one's fellow human-beings, and in many stories, the fellow human-beings are liars, cheats, and tricksters. One can see in this something which Juan Manuel had had to confront directly in his life, as had any fourteenth-century nobleman; the struggle for power in fourteenth-century Castile was ceaseless, and anyone who allowed himself to be outwitted found his power seriously reduced."<sup>120</sup>

In many respects we might identify *El Conde Lucanor* as a mirror of social conditions, human relationships, ethical and moral ideals and concepts. Hence it would not come as a surprise that Don Juan Manuel also examines the element of friendship, which he perceives from three main perspectives: 1. simple hospitality; 2. a friendship that serves material or political gains; and 3. true and profound friendship. As David A. Flory has observed, "La mayoría de los amigos, para el autor, pertenecen a la especie de amistad que ya denominamos de naturaleza oportunista"<sup>121</sup> (The majority of friends, at least for the author, belong to the type of friendship that can be identified as opportunistic in nature). Nevertheless, for Juan Manuel friendship, as evanescent or fleeting it might be in the real world, proves to be of greatest significance.<sup>122</sup>

Already in his *Libro enfenido* from ca. 1336 or 1337, the author dealt with many different types of friendship, beginning with "amor conplido," or fulfilled and complete friendship (183), and ending, as the fifteenth category, with "amor de enganno," or friendship for gain or profit only (189).<sup>123</sup> We gain, however, a much better idea of how Juan Manuel understood and defined friendship and how he

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<sup>119</sup> Jay Ruud, "Manuel, Don Juan," *Encyclopedia of Medieval Literature*, ed. id. (New York: Facts on File, 2006), 432–33.

<sup>120</sup> Juan Manuel, *El Conde Lucanor: Collection of Mediaeval Spanish Stories*. Ed. with an Introduction, Translation and Notes by John England. Hispanic Classics (Warminster, England: Aris & Phillips, 1987), 13.

<sup>121</sup> David A. Flory, *El Conde Lucanor: Don Juan Manuel en su contexto histórico* (Madrid: Editorial Pliegos, 1995), 91–92. See also Jonathan Burgoyne, *Reading the Exemplum Right: Fixing the Meaning of El Conde Lucanor*. North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures, 289 (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2007).

<sup>122</sup> Flory, *El Conde Lucanor*, 95 (see note 121).

<sup>123</sup> Don Juan Manuel, "Libro Enfenido," id., *Obras completas*. Ed., prólogo y notas de José Manuel Blecua. Biblioteca Románica Hispánica, IV. Textos, 15 (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1982), 141–89.

situated this human relationship within the context of his own world when we turn to the extensive discussion of friendship in his *El Conde Lucanor*.

One significant example would be “De lo que contesçió al león et al toro” (no. 22) where the lion and the bull enjoy a strong friendship which makes them together the rulers over their commonly shared lands, the lion in charge of all carnivorous, the bull in charge of all herbivorous animals. But the other animals experience their government as oppression, and strategize to undermine their friendship in order to stage a coup d’état. The fox and the ram, as the king’s advisors, begin to spread rumors, and although the lion and the bull mistrust those somewhat, suspicion is raised and the friendship finally fails, turning into open hostility: “grand desamor” (142). The loss of their friendship results in bitter fights and mutual destruction, and at the end the formerly oppressed animals turn into the new oppressors.

Count Lucanor then learns his lesson from this tale, as his advisor Patronio instructs him: “if your friend is a man of integrity, who [sic] you have always found good and loyal in his actions, and if you trust him like a good son or brother, I advise you not to believe a word which is said against him” (143–45). More important, however, Patronio also outlines how to combat such evil intentions to sow the seed of discontent among friends, strongly recommending to keep an open communication and to inform the friend immediately when such rumors are being spread (145). At the same time those who were plotting against their friendship should be harshly punished as a warning for all others. Of course, as Patronio also realizes, and warns his king about, if the friend proves to be not as trustworthy as assumed, but would be “good-time friend or a fair-weather friend or a friend in need” (145), then the king should behave cautiously and not indicate to the other that he might suspect him of lack of trustworthiness. A resolute and direct communication promises to preserve that friendship and would force even fair-weather friends to live up to their promises:

[A]lways make it absolutely clear to such a friend that just as you need his help, so he needs yours. So if on the one hand you treat him well and show him good will, are not suspicious of him without reason and do not believe what men of ill-will say, and overlook his errors, and on the other you show him that just as you need his help, so he needs yours, in this way the friendship between you will last, and you will be prevented from making the same mistake as the lion and the bull. (145)

Much more significant for our exploration of the global theme of friendship proves to be the 48th narrative, “De lo que contesçió a uno que provava sus amigos.” Here the Count inquires how to test his many friends because he is uncertain about their claim and insistence that they can be fully trusted. Patronio confirms that good friends can be counted among the greatest treasures in this world, but most friends quickly turn out to be fair-weather friends who are no longer present when conditions change to the negative. In the following narrative we hear of a young

man whose father encourages him to strive hard to make as many good friends as possible. This soon proves to be the case, though the father expresses great surprise that his son had been able to gain already ten very reliable friends in such a short time. In order to test each one of these alleged friends, the son is told to kill a pig, place the head into a bag and plead with each friend to hide that bag, pretending that he had actually killed a man and would now fear for his own life. Moreover, the father instructs his son to tell his friends: "if this came to light, it would clearly mean certain death for him and for all those who were found to know about it, so that he begged them, in the name of friendship, to conceal the corpse, and, if necessary, to be ready to come to his defence" (287).

As to be expected, none of the ten friends comes to the young man's rescue, and they all refuse to assist him in this dangerous situation. Hypocritically, some assure him, however, that they would pray for him or assist him until the day of his execution. Just as the father had feared, none of these 'friends' can really be called by that name. He, on the other hand, has acquired only one and a half friends throughout his life, and he encourages his son to test those to learn what true friendship really means.

The one who is identified as a 'half friend' refuses to provide any major help, but he would be willing to hide the bag out of love for his father. Even when the young man deliberately gets into a fight with him the next day, upon his father's instruction, and strikes him in his face, the 'half friend' stays loyal to his promise: "'Truly, my son, you have behaved badly; but whatever wrong you do me, I shall never unearth the cabbages in the garden'" (289) where the bag is hidden.

This test of the 'good friend' fully proves the critical point that Patronio tries to raise regarding the profoundness and value of true friendship. Not only does the former completely come to the son's help, he also assures him that he would "keep him from death and harm" (289). Tragically, at that very time an actual murder happens, and since the young man had been seen walking around a lot at night, the suspicion quickly falls upon him. Without much delay, he is arrested, condemned to die, and supposed to be executed soon. His father's friend, however, jumps in, convinces the judges that the young man is innocent, that instead his own son had committed the murder, and so lets the latter, who had willingly submitted under his father's wishes, be executed, and all this in the name of friendship. Patronio concludes by summarizing the lesson that he had tried to teach to Count Lucanor: "Be warned that although good friends do exist, many, perhaps most, are fair-weather friends, who will turn with the tide of fortune" (289).

Not finished, however, Patronio then offers an allegorical reading of his own tale, correlating the son looking for true friends with everyman who is about to die and seeks help against death. The laymen flatly refuse to assist him, arguing that they have enough to do and cannot be bothered by him. The clergy only promise

that they would pray for him. The wife and children pledge that they would accompany him to his grave and mourn him during the burial. Desperate, then, the dying person turns to God, his father, who advises him to seek out the 'half friends,' here viewed as the saints and the Virgin Mary. The human creature finds some help from them, but not in any sense complete enough to protect him from death. Nevertheless, even though only 'half friends,' these "never cease to pray to God on behalf of sinners; and the Virgin Mary shows Him how she was His mother and how much she suffered in bringing Him into the world and nurturing Him" (289).

In other words, friendship ultimately assumes a religious connotation since true friendship here in this world basically substitutes for the intimate relationship between man and God, though it still meets different needs and reflects on a somewhat different set of values and ideals. Nevertheless, he who has the chance of finding a true friend in this life can already count on being on the right track to find God. This resonates profoundly with Aelred's position according to which "friendship of man could be easily translated into a friendship for God himself because of the similarity existing between both" (114). Refining this sophisticated point, Aelred also observed: "Was it not a foretaste of blessedness thus to love and thus to be loved; thus to help and thus to be helped; and in this way from the sweetness of fraternal charity to wing one's flight aloft to that more sublime splendor of divine love, and by the ladder of charity now to mount to the embrace of Christ himself; and again to descend to the love of neighbor, there pleasantly to rest?" (129). True friendship allows those involved to partake in the divine spirit, to overcome the fear of death, and hence "to rejoice in the eternal possession of Supreme Goodness; and this friendship, to which here we admit but few, will be outpoured upon all and by all outpoured upon God, and God shall be all in all" (132).

Considering, then, how Juan Manuel has Patronio concluded, we observe a remarkable similarity in their approach to friendship as the gateway to a spiritualization of material existence: "Once the sinner realizes in his heart that all this cannot prevent the death of his soul, he turns to God, just as the son turned to his father when he failed to find anyone who could save him from death" (291). In other words, God finally proves to be the ideal friend, and striking a true friendship here on earth with another person allows him/her to pave the way toward divine afterlife.

In his forty-ninth narrative, "*De lo que centesçió al que echaron en la isla desnuyo quando'l tomaron el señorío que tenié*" we find remarkable confirmation for this approach to friendship, and a further elaboration of the meaning of this human relationship. Count Lucanor's advisor Patronio tries to teach him a lesson about the proper approach to life which all people should pursue. The simile he uses refers to a country where the appointed king is dethroned at the end of his

first year, and expelled naked to an isolated island. One day a wise king, fully aware of what is in store for him, has a splendid castle built secretly on that very island, and once he has been ostracized, like all the previous kings, he now enjoys the fruit of his foresightful preparations. Of course, just as in the previous case, the narrative serves for an allegorical interpretation, since the naked king stands for the human individual after his/her death, and the secret palace on the island for all those things that we actually can take with us to the afterlife, that is, virtually nothing, except the good works and deeds that the deceased has done in his/her life. Patronio's advice hence aims at the proper preparation for death, which needs to begin long before: "do such works in this world as to ensure that when you come to leave it, you will merit a fine abode in the one where you are to remain for ever" (295).

Just as in the case of the fictional king, the listener is strongly encouraged to ensure that s/he also leaves behind good friends who could provide him/her with those supplies that s/he might have forgotten. These pertain to good deeds, prayer, donations, and the like: "friends who for the good of your soul will complete what you have been unable to complete in one life" (295). Friendship, in other words, proves to be here as well the decisive pathway toward a good spiritual life, preparing the individual properly for the afterlife, yet without losing the connection to the material existence before death. Friends thus gain a tremendous importance for the well-being of the human soul since true friendship spiritualizes those who are fortunate enough to be involved—undoubtedly a profound realization that will ring throughout the following centuries, as we will later learn from Francis Bacon in Stella Achilleos's contribution to this volume.

## N. Friendship in the Italian World of Intellectuals: The Case of Brunetto Latini

Throughout the Middle Ages and far beyond, intellectuals discovered that friendship could be one of the most important social bonds among each other in order to develop their interests further and to establish stable social communities where they could live in harmony and tranquility. We observe the first strong explorations of this phenomenon in courtly literature, from which it then moved on to the learned. Not surprisingly, late-medieval prose Arthurian novels investigate much more the theme of friendship than high-medieval verse romances, or *chansons de geste*, although the warrior ethos had tended to subscribe to the ideal of companionship, fellowship, or, as we might say, brotherhood in

blood, as long as it did not contradict the principles of vassalage and feudal loyalty.<sup>124</sup>

Nevertheless, friendship has played an ever-growing role in human relations at least since the twelfth century, particularly under the influence of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*. The triumph of friendship, discussed and lived both in theory and practice, was finally achieved in the thirteenth century, as perhaps best reflected by Brunetto Latini (ca. 1220–1294)'s treatise *Livre dou Tresor*.<sup>125</sup> Dante eternalized him as his former teacher in his *Divina Commedia*, but there were many others who admired him deeply as one of the most influential teachers and important politicians in thirteenth-century Florence, as well as when he served as Chancellor from 1272 to 1274. The *Livre* compiles much classical wisdom literature, Biblical material, but then also borrows from the *Physiologus* and, most importantly, from Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*. Latini's popularity throughout the European Middle Ages can hardly be overestimated, considering the various redactions already during his lifetime and then the countless translations into other languages.<sup>126</sup>

In the second book Latini does not only explore the meaning and relevance of virtues, vices, good and evil, the various character traits in humans, justice, courage, and temperance, but also friendship. He identifies it as "one of the virtues of God and of man, and it is very necessary for the life of man . . ."<sup>127</sup> Everyone needs help and support, and friends provide the best in this regard. Especially the mighty and rich people, who are constantly in danger of falling down from their high posts in life, much depend on friends whom they can truly trust. Since humans really need social contacts, friends constitute the essential contact points within society: "The person who is without his friend is all alone in carrying out his affairs, and when he is with his good friend he is accompanied and has perfect help to accomplish his work" (178).<sup>128</sup> Assuming that true friendship exists and that people can rely on their friends, he reaches the remarkable insight: "from two

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<sup>124</sup> Huguette Legros, *L'Amitié dans les chansons de geste à l'époque romaine* (Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l'Université de Provence, 2001). See also the contribution to the present volume by Albrecht Classen.

<sup>125</sup> Katarzyna Dybel, *Être heureux au moyen âge: D'Après le roman arthurien en prose du XIIIe siècle*. Synthema, 2 (Louvain, Paris, and Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2004), 134–37.

<sup>126</sup> Ceva Bianca, *Brunetto Latini: l'uomo e l'opera* (Milan: R. Ricciardi, 1965); Jean C. Campbell, *The Commonwealth of Nature: Art and Poetic Community in the Age of Dante* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008); Irene Maffia Scariati, *Dal Tresor al Tesoretto: saggi su Brunetto Latini e i suoi fiancheggiatori* (Rome: Aracne, 2010).

<sup>127</sup> Brunetto Latini, *The Book of the Treasure (Li Livres dou Tresor)*, trans. Paul Barrette and Spurgeon Baldwin. Garland Library of Medieval Literature, Series B, 90 (New York and London: Garland, 1993), 177.

<sup>128</sup> Sebastian Schroedter, *Freundschaft als soziales System* (Norderstedt: Books on Demand GmbH, 2006).



perfect and good people come perfect works and perfect intention" (ibid.). Friendship expresses itself through charity and resistance to discord. No conflicts and malevolence can enter the relationship of two honest friends; hence friendship emerges as the basis for a truly harmonious social community (ibid.).

Latini divides friendships into three categories, all contingent on either material good, profit, or pleasure. However, those who love each other because they aim for profit or pleasure only, cannot be called true friends because "they love the things on which the friendship is based, that is, pleasure and profit" (ibid.). Almost with a twinkle in his eye, the author identifies friendship based on the desire for profit, as is habitual among old people, and friendship that only aims for pleasure as deceptive relationships. By contrast, "true friendship which is good and full exists between two good men who are similar in virtue and who love one another and care for one another because of the similarity of the virtues they possess" (ibid.).

Closely following the ideas formulated already by Aelred, Latini underscores how much ideal friendship can be identified as divine because there is no treachery or evil. This implies for him that if one observes true friendship then those involved are certainly to be characterized as only good people because friendship between bad and good people or between only bad people cannot exist.

Friendship does not require constant contacts; instead it can thrive even over distance and time, although Latini also warns that a too long separation could lead to a cooling of the relationship between friends. The core message about friendship concerns the highest level of virtues among people:

The object of love has in itself a noble quality for which it is loved, and the good man who is a friend becomes a good friend, and the one loves the other, and not because of passion, but because of a state of character. Each one of the friends loves the other's good, and rewards the other through good will and according to equity, and such is true friendship. (179)

Friends do not hold on to their own in a greedy fashion; instead they happily share everything they count among their property with the friend "because friendship is like community, and each community desires things appropriate to it in concupiscence and victory and wisdom" (ibid.). In the following chapter Latini goes even one step further and comments, "Friendship is similar to justice, and just as there are two types of justice, one based on nature, the other on law, so too there is a friendship which is legal and another which is natural" (181). Too many people, however, pursue friendship only for personal gain and profit, and lose sight of the virtue that holds up this value.

The author thus concludes: "friendships which are built on goodness and truth last for a long time, because virtue cannot be changed easily" (182). Obviously, he predicates his whole discussion on the notion that friendship would last for life, but he leaves open a small window concerning the possibility that even the best

friendship might come to an end under bad circumstances. And he also warns of those who might abuse friendship for material gains or political advantages, which he must have experienced often enough to lament about such manipulations.

Putting it into proverbial language, Latini avers: "The one who counterfeits friendship is worse than a counterfeiter of gold or silver, since friendship is the best treasure there can be, and just as the fake coin is quickly recognized, so too is false friendship quickly discovered" (182). As a corollary, for the author friendship turns into an essential yardstick to measure the true quality of a person, the strength of his or her character, and the degree to which s/he knows how to maintain the ideals of a noble and honorable life pleasant to God (182–83).

The ultimate demonstration of true friendship consists of the existence of peace and harmony, so friendship represents lived virtues: "Concord of opinion lies in good men, because they are steadfast within themselves and with respect to outside matters, for they always select and want goodness" (183).

Contemporary authors of prose novels certainly would have agreed with Latini, and so certainly chimed in to the same discourse with very similar values as to friendship being the fundamental glue holding all of courtly society together.<sup>129</sup>

## O. Dante, Boccaccio, and Petrarch as Proponents of the Ideal of Friendship: Voices from the Early Italian Renaissance

### Boccaccio

Whenever we encounter larger anthologies, or collections, of short narratives, such as Petrus Alfonsi's *Disciplina Clericalis* (see above) or Caesarius of Heisterbach's (ca. 1180–ca. 1240) *Dialogus Miraculorum*, we can be certain that the topic of friendship also surfaces, sometimes assuming a major, at other times a minor role. Nevertheless, such collections regularly try to provide the readers with a kaleidoscope of various facets reflecting human life in all its diversity and complexity. Little wonder, then, that Boccaccio also addressed friendship in his *Decameron* (ca. 1350), even when his true interest rested on quite a different topic. This finds its perhaps best expression in the second tale of the first day where we learn of two very good friends, two Parisian merchants, the one called Jehannot de Chevigny, the other simply Abraham. As the latter's name already indicates, he is a Jew, but although the former tries very hard to convince his friend to

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<sup>129</sup> Dybel, *Être heureux au moyen âge*, 138–349 (see note 125); she refers, above all, to *Le Lancelot en prose*, *Merlin*, *Mort le Roi Artu*, and *Tristan en prose*.

convert to Christianity, the religious gulf between them does not represent any significant problem for their friendship.<sup>130</sup>

The narrator makes sure to convince us that both men impress us through their upright and model character. So we learn that Jehannot is "a good man, most loyal and righteous," while Abraham stands out as "also most loyal and righteous." Not surprisingly, both are bonded by an intense friendship: "there subsisted a very close friendship" irrespective of their polar position regarding religion. However, Jehannot expresses great concerns because he is a devout Christian and so deeply worries about his friend not being within the fold of his own church: he "began to be sorely vexed in spirit that the soul of one so worthy and wise and good should perish for want of faith." Although Jehannot is lacking in rhetorical skills and theological arguments, his constant pleading with his friend finally shows some effects: "And though the Jew was a great master in the Jewish law, yet, whether it was by reason of his friendship for Jehannot, or that the Holy Spirit dictated the words that the simple merchant used, at any rate the Jew began to be much interested in Jehannot's arguments, though still too staunch in his faith to suffer himself to be converted."

At the end Abraham, already somewhat curious and open-minded in response to his friend's constant begging, decides to test the Christian Church before he makes any decision, and travels to Rome to observe the highest representatives. The narrative is, of course, really predicated on satirical anticlericalism, as the subsequent developments indicate. The Jew observes the complete malaise of the clergy throughout all ranks, and later, upon his return, expresses great disgust:

I think God owes them all an evil recompense: I tell thee, so far as I was able to carry my investigations, holiness, devotion, good works or exemplary living in any kind was nowhere to be found in any clerk; but only lewdness, avarice, gluttony, and the like, and worse, if worse may be, appeared to be held in such honour of all, that (to my thinking) the place is a centre of diabolical rather than of divine activities."

In fact, he is convinced that all those priests, cardinals, and even the pope strive the hardest to bring down the Church through their own moral wrongdoing. Nevertheless, realizing that the Christian faith continues to prosper despite the egregious shortcomings of the ecclesiastics, he recognizes the true strength of that religion as the only valid pathway to God, so he converts.

His friend is completely surprised by this development of things and cannot believe his ears: "Jehannot, who had anticipated a diametrically opposite

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<sup>130</sup> There are many good critical editions and English translations; for our purposes it is sufficient to rely on the one by J(ames). M(acmullen). Rigg, *The Decameron*. Faithfully trans. 2 vols. (London: H. M. Bullen, 1903), now available in an online version, see: [http://www.brown.edu/Departments/Italian\\_Studies/dweb/texts/DecShowText.php?myID=no v0102&lang=eng](http://www.brown.edu/Departments/Italian_Studies/dweb/texts/DecShowText.php?myID=no v0102&lang=eng) (last accessed on August 1, 2010).

conclusion, as soon as he heard him so speak, was the best pleased man that ever was in the world. So taking Abraham with him to Notre Dame he prayed the clergy there to baptise him." This happens, indeed, and the narrative closes with a final reference to Jehannot's great efforts to help his friend to receive the relevant instruction necessary for a Christian: "Jehannot raised him from the sacred font, and named him Jean; and afterwards he caused teachers of great eminence thoroughly to instruct him in our faith."<sup>131</sup>

The irony in this story cannot be overlooked, of course, and so the harsh criticism against the moral downfall of the Church (anticlericalism). But the true value of Boccaccio's entertaining narrative rests in a number of significant factors: 1. a Christian and a Jewish merchant are good friends, which does not seem to represent any problem for them and their social environment; 2. the Christian, out of great concern for his friend, tries very hard to convince him to convert to his own religion; 3. Jehannot feels distraught and disappointed when he learns that Abraham wants to visit Rome first and examine from his perspective the comportment of the clergy there before resolving the issue for himself. This indicates how much Jehannot himself is just too aware of the pervasive problems within the Christian Church. 4. As a friend he does not stand in Abraham's way when he finally departs for Rome, although he is greatly worried that this would undermine all of his hopes to find his friend on his side in religious terms. 5. He happily welcomes him back after his return from Rome, though he is convinced that he has completely lost the cause: "There, on his arrival, he was met by Jehannot; and the two made great cheer together. Jehannot expected Abraham's conversion least of all things, and allowed him some days of rest before he asked what he thought of the Holy Father and the cardinals and the other courtiers." 6. This subsequently means that Jehannot would have accepted Abraham's final decision either way because they are friends, just as he had accepted him before as a Jew irrespective of his many efforts to convince him of the superiority of the Christian Church.

There are other instances of profound friendship in Boccaccio's *Decameron*, such as between Saladin and the Jew Melsichedech in the third story of the first day. In this famous story the central issue hinges on the question regarding the true religion, whether Judaism, Christianity, or Islam. Melsichedech, however, whom the Sultan tries to trap with that question, knows how to escape by telling a highly symbolic story about the three rings which represent these three religions. After all, and that is the crux of the account, no one can really distinguish these rings,

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<sup>131</sup> Timothy R. Jordan, "Implied Acceptance: The Religious Other in the *Decameron*," *Dulia et Latrìa Journal* 1 (2008): 1–15; Janet Levarie, Smarr, "Non-Christian People and Spaces in the *Decameron*," *Approaches to Teaching Boccaccio's Decameron*, ed. James H. McGregor (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 2000), 31–38; eadem, "Other Races and Other Places in the *Decameron*," *Studi sul Boccaccio* 27 (1998): 113–36.

although only one is supposed to be the true ring inherited from the father (God) as a sign of the owner being the designated successor and patriarch of the family (mankind). The Sultan is deeply impressed, if not stunned, by this wise response and reveals what his true intention had been, namely to force the Jew to lend him a large amount of money if he had failed to deal constructively with this sensitive issue. The Jew, however, now declares his own willingness to provide the Sultan with the necessary money, which then leads to a most harmonious relationship: "Thereupon the Jew gave the Soldan all the accommodation that he required, which the Soldan afterwards repaid him in full. He also gave him most munificent gifts with his lifelong amity and a great and honourable position near his person." Here as well friendship emerges as a fundamental value, though Boccaccio does not explore it as much as in the previous account.<sup>132</sup>

## Petrarch

The great founder of Italian humanism, if not of the Renaissance, Francesco Petrarca, or Petrarch (1304–1373), left numerous comments about all kinds of aspects pertaining to human life, and so friendship as well, behind. In one of his letters, however, addressed to his friend and confessor, the monk Dionigi di Borgo San Sepolcro, composed some time after Petrarch has courageously ventured the climb of Mont Ventoux on April 26, 1336, he found an intriguing occasion to reflect on the phenomenon in greater detail.<sup>133</sup> After having decided to accept the challenge and to dare the feat which no one else before had ever done, taking on

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<sup>132</sup> David Sulewski, "Il gioco della parola trasformatrice: L'amicizia fra Saladin e Melchisedech (*Decameron* 1,3)," *Romance Review* 15 (2005): 130–41. See also Reginald Hyatte, "Reconfiguring Ancient Amicitia Perfecta in the *Decameron* 10,8," *Italian Quarterly* 32 (1995): 27–37. *Decameron* 10,8 proved to be a highly successful story about true friendship and was adapted and translated many times even in the German-speaking lands; see Albrecht Classen, "Das Motiv des aufopfernden Freundes" (2006; see note 8).

<sup>133</sup> Modern scholarship has raised many questions as to the validity of Petrarch's claim, suggesting, for instance, that it might have been nothing but a rhetorical exercise and not a true climb. But for our purposes it does not matter whether Petrarch wrote his letter really shortly after the return from the summit, or fifteen years later. The text still reflects his primary interest to climb a mountain for its own sake. For critical comments, see Pierre Courcelle, "Petrarque entre Saint Augustin et les Augustins du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Studipetrarcheschi* 7 (1961): 51–71; Giuseppe Billanovich, "Petrarca e il Ventoso," *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 9 (1966): 389–401; Michael O'Connell, "Authority and the Truth of Experience in Petrarch's 'Ascent of Mount Ventoux'," *Philological Quarterly* 62 (1983): 507–20; Lyell Asher, "Petrarch at the Peak of Fame," *Publication of the Modern Language Association (PMLA)* 108.5 (Oct., 1993): 1050–1063; and most recently, Unn Falkeid, "Petrarch, Mont Ventoux and the Modern Self," *Forum Italicum* 43.1 (2009): 5–28. As to Petrarch's friend to whom he addressed his letter, see Guyda Armstrong, "Dionigi di Borgo San Sepolcro," *Medieval Italy: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Christopher Kleinhenz (New York and London: Routledge, 2004), vol. 1, 296–97.

a mountain for no other reason but to reach its summit and to gain a sweeping view over the world from there, the author at first reflected on the most reasonable approach to this difficult undertaking. Understandably, Petrarch decided from the beginning not to venture up to Mont Ventoux without a trustworthy companion. Looking around among his friends, however, he suddenly realized the curious situation that none of them would meet his expectations. All of them were not suitable for his endeavor because each one of them was lacking in one way or the other and displayed certain shortcomings that would make them unelectable for the operation.

As Petrarch observes, all of his friends are dear to him, and he has no question about their loyalty or trust. Nevertheless, we do not necessarily choose friends because they represent human perfection. As the poet and scholar notes in his famous letter:

[S]o rarely do we meet with just the right combination of personal tastes and characteristics, even among those who are dearest to us." From there he goes on to outline the shortcomings of each and everyone: "This one was too apathetic, that one over-anxious; this one too slow, that one too hasty; one was too sad, another over-cheerful; one more simple, another more sagacious, than I desired. I feared this one's taciturnity and that one's loquacity. The heavy deliberation of some repelled me as much as the lean incapacity of others. I rejected those who were likely to irritate me by a cold want of interest, as well as those who might weary me by their excessive enthusiasm."<sup>134</sup>

Petrarch does not, of course, express here the opinion of a morose, irritated persona, rejecting virtually all friends because of their individual failures. After all, as he emphasizes: "Such defects, however grave, could be borne with at home, for charity suffereth all things, and friendship accepts any burden; but it is quite otherwise on a journey, where every weakness becomes much more serious."

In other words, Petrarch demonstrates his perspicuity in the critical analysis of his friends without trying to malign or ridicule them. He indicates that he enjoys many different friendships and is surrounded by many a good person. Nevertheless, friendship should not blind the observer to the human frailty of people; and not everyone proves to be up to the tasks one sets for oneself in specific cases. Friendship, then, as he indicates, has nothing to do with being a master in all things and excelling in every area of human thinking and acting. Instead, friendship reaches out to other people because of their specific characters and abilities, but not because they are perfect matches in every regard: "without

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<sup>134</sup> Francis Petrarch, *Familiar Letters* (*Epistolae familiares* [IV, 1]), in *Petrarch: The First Modern Scholar and Man of Letters*, ed. and trans. James Harvey Robinson (New York: G. P. Putnam, 1898); see also *Medieval Sourcebook*, online at: <http://history.hanover.edu/texts/petrarch/pet17.html> (last accessed on August 1, 2010).

committing any breach of friendship I silently condemned every trait which might prove disagreeable on the way." Ultimately, Petrarch selected his younger brother, which was not, to note, a vote against friendship, but a decision not to rely on friends without any regard to their particular idiosyncracies and abilities.

After all, the writer did not need a friend for his climb to the summit of Mont Ventoux; he needed a reliable and trustworthy companion in an arduous task. Nevertheless, his brother regarded Petrarch's choice as a great honor: "He was delighted and gratified beyond measure by the thought of holding the place of a friend as well as of a brother." Of course, this did not make the latter Petrarch's friend, but he certainly helped him significantly to overcome many difficulties during the climb and to reach the summit. As the few remarks in this noteworthy letter thus indicate, Petrarch was keenly aware of the significance of friendship and knew exceedingly well how to evaluate the phenomenon itself and the people whom he allowed to join him in his circle of friends.<sup>135</sup> Almost as expected, once on the summit, turning his eyes in all directions, but especially toward the Alps and Italy, a strong sense of forlornness overcame him: "An inexpressible longing came over me to see once more my friend and my country." After all, Petrarch was deeply committed to his friends, and though the latter one remains unnamed, we can be certain that he represents the idea of friendship all by himself. Moreover, the letter in which he describes his climb to Mont Ventoux was directed to one of his important friends, Dionigi di Borgo San Sepolcro, whom he would entrust his most inner thoughts and feel assured that the addressee ("father") would understand and sympathize with him, especially because he lays bare his soul to him, confessing his personal weaknesses and shortcomings, worries and desires.

Most significantly, this monumental and rather critical letter so essential for the understanding of Petrarch was included in his large collection of 300 letters to his friends, the *Epistolae rerum familiarium*, or *Letters on Familiar Matters*, compiled in the years following the Black Death (1349 to ca. 1366), in which he worked on and developed a whole network of friendship as one of the defining moments of the early Italian Renaissance. Digging his way out of the depression into which the devastating Black Death and the loss of numerous relatives and acquaintances had thrown him, he found the necessary succor among his friends. As Dolora Chapelle Wojciehowski now comments, "new and continuing friendships would serve, in part, as the corrective for these devastating losses. Plans to create a community of surviving friends came to nothing, but the collection itself envisioned and reconstituted a community of the living and the dead."<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>135</sup> See the contributions to *Petrarch and his Readers in the Renaissance: Actes du colloque "Friends and Foes of the Poet Laureate"*, ed. Karl A. E. Enenkel and Jan Papy. *Intersections*, 6 (Leiden, Boston, et al.: Brill, 2006).

<sup>136</sup> Dolora Chapelle Wojciehowski, "Francis Petrarch: First Modern Friend," *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 47.4 (Winter 2005): 270–98; here 279. See also Nancy S. Struever, *Theory as Practice*:

Moreover, as she also affirms, "For Petrarch, friendship and love were overlapping categories of affect. Depending on the intensity of the relationship, the author spoke of his love and passion for the correspondent."<sup>137</sup> But we also need to keep in mind that for Petrarch friendship regularly meant ethically ideal relationships with men of the same intellectual caliber and moral standing, that is, to quote Wojciehowski one more time, he "linked friendship and virtue, virtue and virility, virility and intimacy. These notions would become sedimented as the conventions of humanist friendship, even as the galvanizing trauma of the plague receded from active memory."<sup>138</sup> This did not mean, of course, that the contemporary discourse on friendship suddenly changed in the course of Petrarch's contributions. On the contrary, it proved to be highly diverse and complex, as our subsequent examples will illustrate.

## Dante

Although out of chronological sequence, it seems fitting to conclude this section with a few reflections on Dante whose rich work, especially the *Divina Commedia*, would lend itself well for further examinations of what friendship might have meant for this intellectual giant. But let us focus on his *Vita nova* instead (1295) where we observe a fascinating component of friendship that does not resurface anywhere else in the same clarity. Written as a prosimetrum, the *Vita nova* consists of an intensive exchange of sonnets among a circle of friends, and the respective comments on these poems written in prose, everything focusing, of course, on the question how to win love. As Dante explains early on: "As I had already tried my hand at the art of composing in rhyme, I decided to write a sonnet in which I would greet all Love's faithful servants; and so, requesting them to interpret my dream, I described what I had seen in my sleep."<sup>139</sup> The poem itself provided the basis for critical exchanges, and so the question regarding the true nature of love

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*Ethical Inquiry in the Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

<sup>137</sup> Wojciehowski, "Francis Petrarch," 285 (see note 136).

<sup>138</sup> Wojciehowski, "Francis Petrarch," 289 (see note 136). See also Ullrich Langer, *Perfect Friendship: Studies in Literature and Moral Philosophy from Boccaccio to Corneille*. Histoire des idées et critique littéraire, 331 (Geneva: Droz: 1994); Peter Burke, "Humanism and Friendship in Sixteenth-Century Europe," *Friendship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Julian Haseldine, 1999, 262–74 (see note 12).

<sup>139</sup> Dante Alighieri, *La Vita nuova* (*Poems of Youth*, trans. with an introd. by Barbara Reynolds (London: Penguin, 1969), 32. Cf. Dante Alighieri, *Rime giovanili, e della Vita nuova*, cura, saggio introduttivo e introduzioni alle rime di Teodolinda Barolini, note di Manuele Gagnolati. Classici della BUR (Milano: BUR [Biblioteca universale] Rizzoli, 2009). See also Jay Ruud, *Critical Companion to Dante: a Literary Reference to his Life and Work* (New York: Facts on File, 2008); Robert Pogue Harrison, "Approaching the *Vita nuova*," *The Cambridge Companion to Dante*, ed. Rachel Jacoff (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 35–45.



transforms into the catalyst for friendship to form: "Among those who replied was someone whom I call my closest friend; he wrote a sonnet beginning . . ." (33). The intellectual exchange itself develops into the platform upon which friendship can bloom: "Our friendship dated from the time he learned that it was I who had sent him the sonnet" (33). Later Dante composes poems even specifically for his friend, though he is careful not to use specific words since those could hurt his friend: "I decided to compose some verses for my best-loved friend, keeping back certain words which it seemed better not to reveal, for I believed that his heart was still in thrall to the beauty of this gracious Primavera" (71). However, we do not hear of a response and must simply trust that Dante the poet had reached out to his friend successfully.

Subsequently in the collection of sonnets we are also informed that Dante obviously enjoyed a whole network of friends, each of them at a specific rank "in the hierarchy of friendship" (85). That friend implores him to compose a specific sonnet "for a lady who had died, disguising his words so that it seemed as if he were talking of someone else who was also dead" (85). Particularly the prosimetric nature of the *Vita nova* invites us to grasp the agonal purpose of this curious collection of poems and interpretations, which implicitly points toward the social network that made this work possible in the first place. Nevertheless, as Manuele Gagnolati now argues, Dante still claims supreme authority and refers to his friends only as respondents to his own poetic creations.<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> Manuele Gagnolati, "Authorship and Performance in Dante's *Vita nova*," *Aspects of the Performative in Medieval Culture*, ed. eadem and Almut Suerbaum. Trends in Medieval Philology, 18 (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 2010), 125–41; here 134–35.

## P. Religious Friendship in the Late Middle Ages: Thomas à Kempis

One of the most important theologians ever to talk about intensive, emotional friendship with God, however, was the most influential monk and priest Thomas à Kempis (ca. 1379–1471) in his *De imitatione Christi*, first published anonymously in 1418, and subsequently copied, translated, and later published in at least 700 manuscripts and in ca. 90 languages.<sup>141</sup>

As to be expected, in Book One Thomas addresses a wide range of Christian virtues and warns his readers about the common vices and sins afflicting members of his audience, such as obedience, unnecessary talk, finding peace, spiritual progress, resisting temptation, love of solicitude and silence, human misery, death, God's final judgment, and the like. In Book Two he focuses on ways how to learn methods to find access to the inner life, that is, how to listen to God speaking to the soul, how to trust God, then on feelings and intentions, loving Jesus, and gratitude for God's grace.

Here he also examines the great importance of intimate friendship with Jesus, which he defines as the essential ingredient to make life in this world positive or negative. Human existence without Christ proves to be miserable, as Thomas emphasizes: "To be without Jesus is an unbearable hell, and to be with Jesus is a sweet paradise. If Jesus is with you no foe can harm you."<sup>142</sup> After having established the central importance of Christ in the life of every good Christian, the author then underscores that no one can lead a pleasant life without a friend, and Christ thus proves to be the most important and reliable friend, the bulwark of full and profound human existence embraced by the faith in God: "You cannot live

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<sup>141</sup> *Bijdragen over Thomas a Kempis en de moderne devotie: uitgegeven ter gelegenheid van de vijfhonderdste sterfdag van Thomas a Kempis (T 1471)*, ed. Michiels Tongeren. Archives et bibliothèques de Belgique: Numéro spécial, 4 (Brussels: Archives et Bibliothèques de Belgique; Zwolle: Ass. des Archivistes & bibliothécaires de Belgique, 1971); Albrecht Classen, "Thomas à Kempis," *The Literary Encyclopedia*, January 18, 2005, at:

<http://www.litencyc.com/php/speople.php?rec=true&UID=2>. (last accessed on August 1, 2010; unfortunately, after the first ca. 150 words this site is accessible only through subscription); Paul van Geest, *Thomas a Kempis: mystagoog op de breuklijn tussen de Middeleeuwen en de Nieuwe Tijd*. Inleidingen met kernteksten (Kampen: Kok, 2008). See now also *Imitation as Innovation: the "Imitatio Christi" 1450 - 1550*, ed. Jane Cheng. Catalogue to the exhibition in in the Houghton Library of the Harvard College Library, 3 April - 3 June 2009 (Cambridge, MA: Houghton Library, 2009).

<sup>142</sup> Quoted from Thomas à Kempis, *The Imitation of Christ: A New Reading of the 1441 Latin Autograph Manuscript by William C. Creasy* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1989), 42. See also the online version: <http://www.leaderu.com/cyber/books/imitation/imitation.html> (last accessed on August 1, 2010). See also Ulrike Bodemann-Kornhaas, "... ein grosser, edler, theurer schatz ligt inn disem kleinen buechlin begraben" : die einzigartige Verbreitungsgeschichte der "Nachfolge Christi" des Thomas von Kempen (Kempen: Choros, 2006).

well without a friend, and if Jesus is not your best friend, you will end up being heartbroken and desolate" (42).

Expressing a rather negative viewpoint of worldly, human friends, whom one might not be able to trust all the way and in every possible situation, he enjoins his listeners to embrace Christ as the only and ultimately reliable friend there is: "you should love Jesus Christ in a unique way, for he is the only one who will be good and faithful to the end" (43). Jesus should always stand at the heart of all attention, and no friendship with another person should be regarded as more important than the friendship with Christ because it will help the believer to gain spiritual freedom and to be accepted by God.

In a later chapter (3.45), Thomas goes so far as to question the validity, or importance, of human friends in comparison with the friend Jesus: "It is rare to find a loyal friend who stands by a companion in all his troubles. You, Lord, you alone are most faithful in all things" (104). Reliance on other people, including friends, would never be good enough in face of the instability of human life. Only God alone could provide all the help and support needed to secure the well-being of the soul in the afterlife: "why did I rely so heavily on others? We are only human, after all; we are nothing but frail men and women" (104). Thomas laments the shortcomings of human life and even distrusts friendship: "all of us are prone to falsehood, to being weak, unstable and fickle, especially in what we say. Often we cannot even believe what seems to sound right on the surface, at least not at first" (*ibid.*). Gossip and carelessness determine social interactions, so it would be preferable "to keep silent about others and not to believe gossip or spread it around" (*ibid.*).

This does not mean that the author wants to withdraw from mankind, or that he would recommend total isolation from this world, but he certainly expresses great distrust in the masses and strongly encourages his reader to be highly selective in choosing a friend: "How good it is to confide in only a few people and to seek you always, the one who probes my heart" (*ibid.*). In other words, only Christ can be trusted as the true and ultimate friend, whereas the public, the ordinary people, tend to betray even the best friends and to seek nothing but their own advantage: "Indeed, how grace has gained when it was kept hidden during this fragile life, a life which is one test and conflict after another" (*ibid.*).

However, we would misread Thomas if we recognized in him nothing but a late-medieval misanthrope filled with deep distrust of people at large. Earthly friendship, similar to Aelred's and others' teachings, proves to be an important springboard for the spiritual friendship, which Jesus in chapter 46 underscores in explicit terms: "My dear friend, stand firm and trust in me, for what are words but words" (105). Ultimately, then, the theme of friendship fades away and gives way to a deep love directed at Christ, as the disciple has to learn: "Rejoice only in deep humility and in pleasing and honoring only me. Let this be your wish: whether

through life or through death, that God may always be glorified in you" (111). In a not too subtle approach, Thomas both embraces and rejects friendship. He idealizes friendship as a preliminary approach to God, and he rejects it as an unreliable, untrustworthy concept in face of human frailties, sinfulness, and all kinds of shortcomings.

### Q. Friendship in Late-Medieval German Literature: Sebastian Brant. A Last Hurrah for a Traditional Ethical Ideal?

Many late-medieval poets explored the meaning of friendship, either in a subtle or in a more explicit fashion, but often we observe a rather cynical perspective and a desperate attempt to come to terms with a value that appeared to be evanescent.<sup>143</sup> At the end of the Middle Ages, the German humanist Sebastian Brant formulated also some ideas about friendship in his famous didactic narrative, *Das Narren Schyff* (1494; *Das Narrenschiff*, or *The Ship of Fools*), in which he takes swipes at a broad spectrum of people in society, both young and old, men and women, professionals and unemployed, mighty and powerless, ridiculing the fools among his contemporaries, apparently a countless crowd. Significantly, in his tenth section, "von warer fruntschafft" (Of True Friendship), Brant also embarked on an analysis of the meaning of friendship as an ethical value.<sup>144</sup> He is an utter fool, the author emphasizes, who does something evil to a friend who has trusted him completely and has set all his hope, trust, and concerns upon him. But times have changed, as reflected by the fundamental message of the entire *Narren Schyff*, and basic values and ideals seem to be lost, which necessitated Brant composing this text. True friendship seems to have disappeared, since great friends like those in the past no longer appear to exist:

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<sup>143</sup> Klaus Oschema, *Freundschaft und Nähe im spätmittelalterlichen Burgund: Studien zum Spannungsfeld von Emotion und Institution* (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau, 2006). See also the contributions to *Freundschaft oder "amitié"? ein politisch-soziales Konzept der Vormoderne im zwischen-sprachlichen Vergleich (15. - 17. Jahrhundert)*, ed. Klaus Oschema. *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung*, Beiheft, 40 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2007).

<sup>144</sup> Sebastian Brant, *Das Narrenschiff: Nach der Erstausgabe (Basel 1494) mit den Zusätzen der Ausgaben von 1495 und 1499*, ed. Manfred Lemmer. *Neudrucke deutscher Literaturwerke, Neue Folge*, 5 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1962). Scholarship has given full acknowledgment to this masterpiece, which was widely hailed already at its time as a seminal work worthy to be read by every humanist. See now Anne-Laure Metzger-Rambach, "*Le Texte emprunté*": *Étude comparée du Narrenschiff de Sebastian Brant et de ses adaptations; (1494 - 1509)*. *Études et essais sur la Renaissance*, 76 (Paris: Champion, 2008); see also the contributions to: *Sebastian Brant: (1457-1521)* ed. Hans-Gert Roloff, Jean Marie Valentin, and Volkhard Wels. *Memoria*, 9 (Berlin: Weidler, 2008).

Man findt der früd / als David was  
 Gantz keinen me / mit Jonathas  
 Als Patroclus vnd Achilles  
 Als Horestes vnd Pilades  
 Als Demades vnd Pythias  
 Oder der schyltknecht Saulis was  
 Als Scipio / vnd Lelius (9–15)

[One no longer finds friends as  
 David was with Jonathas,  
 as Patrocles and Achilles were,  
 as Orestes and Pylades were,  
 as Dames and Pythias were,  
 or as the squire Saulus was,  
 and as Scipio and Laelius were.]

Bitterly disappointed about the moral malaise, Brant laments that money has been substituted for all traditional relationships of friendship: “Wo gelt gbrist do jst fründtschafft vß” (16; Where money is lacking, friendship is gone). Selfishness and egoism dominate the new world (19), and the author lambasts all those who place more value on their own profit and advantage than on the communal weal and well-being. In most condemnatory terms, Brant underscores: “Wem nit der gemein nützz jst als werd / Als eigen nutz des er begert / Den halt jch für ein nârschen gouch. / Was gmeyn ist / das ist eigen ouch / Doch Cayn ist in allem stat / Dem leid ist was glücks Abel hat” (25–30; He who does not cherish the common good as much as he desires personal profit, I regard as a foolish guy. What is common good that is also personal good. But Cain is everywhere to be found, who begrudges Abel’s good fortune). The loss of social commitment and responsibility finds its devastating expression in the loss of friendship, at least in the sense of ancient classical ideals.<sup>145</sup>

## R. Friendship in Late-Medieval and Early-Modern Literature

### A Variety of Vernacular Voices

Until today, of course, the topic of friendship has occupied people’s minds, and friendship as a social connection continues to play a major role everywhere,

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<sup>145</sup> For a broad introduction, see Beat Mischler, *Gliederung und Produktion des ‘Narrenschiffes’ (1494) von Sebastian Brant*. Studien zur Germanistik, Anglistik und Komparatistik, 103 (Bonn: Bouvier, 1981); Reinhard P. Becker, *German Humanism and Reformation*. The German Library, 6 (New York: Continuum, 1982); Joachim Knappe, *Dichtung, Recht und Freiheit: Studien zu Leben und Werk Sebastian Brants, 1457–1521*. Saecula spiritalia, 23 (Baden-Baden: Valentin Koerner, 1992).

virtually in all communities all over the world. But whereas erotic love and marriage gained increasingly in importance, friendship as such was no longer discussed in as intensive fashion as in the Middle Ages, except, as Marilyn Sandidge argues, perhaps in England. Nevertheless, we would need to qualify this observation and place it into a wider context. After all, Cicero's *Laelius* was republished numerous times during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Johann Neuber rendered it into German under the title *De amicitia deutsch*, which was published in Augsburg in 1534, 1535, and 1540,<sup>146</sup> followed by many other translators working in English, French, or Spanish.<sup>147</sup> In addition, we know of a number of prose novels, treatises, and plays where the relationship between friends assumes central position, either influenced by Cicero's teachings or not.

To repeat previous observations, humanists and philosophers throughout time have never ignored friendship by itself, and theologians also embraced the concept as a very useful instrument in exploring fundamental human values, virtues, and ideals.<sup>148</sup> Overall, however, the urgency to fathom the true meaning of friendship seems to have faded somewhat in the early modern age on the Continent, except when friendship was considered as one of the Christian virtues, such as in *De amicitia deutsch*. Johann Neuber, for instance, differentiates carefully between the pagan philosophy espoused by Cicero and the Christian ideals undergirding the new concept of friendship as outlined in the translation. As Manuel Braun now observes,

Zu beobachten ist eine Pendelbewegung zwischen ethischen und affektiven Anteilen bei der Begründung der Freundschaft: Wohltaten, Hilfsbereitschaft und Geselligkeit stärken die Liebe der Freunde. Ihr Ursprung aber liegt in *deß gemuets bewegung*. Doch erst die Bewährung durch Taten steigert die Bereitschaft zum Entgegenkommen auf

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<sup>146</sup> VD 16 and VD 17 (German prints from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries), online at: [http://bvba2.bib-bvb.de/V/ALHLCLKAFPUP7IY9GF4Q6P1ACBAJH11DH3XRPQGH5UKPB3V43-85102?func=history-short&set\\_number=036819](http://bvba2.bib-bvb.de/V/ALHLCLKAFPUP7IY9GF4Q6P1ACBAJH11DH3XRPQGH5UKPB3V43-85102?func=history-short&set_number=036819) (last accessed on August 1, 2010).

<sup>147</sup> See, for instance, *The booke of freendeship of Marcus Tullie Cicero*, trans. John Harington (London: In Fletestrete in the hous of Tho[mas] Berthelette, [1550]); here I have consulted the copy in the Cambridge University Library (SSS.34.19). Or see: *Cato Major: First written by M. T. Cicero; And now excellently Englished by William Austen of Lincolns Inne, Esquire; With annotations upon the names of the men and places* (London: William Leake, 1648), Christ's College, Cambridge, Old Library, Rouse 1.5; *Cato: or, An Essay on Old-Age*, by Marcus Tullius Cicero, with remarks by William Melmoth, Esqu (London: J. Dosley, 1777), Trinity College, Cambridge, Lower Library, Z.10.125. See also Marilyn Sandidge's contribution to this Introduction below.

<sup>148</sup> This will be documented by the contributions to this volume. See also Wolfgang Weber, "Bemerkungen zur Bedeutung von *Freundschaft* in der deutschen politischen Theorie des 15.–18. Jahrhunderts," *Il concetto di amicizia nella storia della cultura europea – Der Begriff Freundschaft in der Geschichte der Europäischen Kultur: Atti del 22 Convegno Internazionale di Studi Italo-Tedeschi*; Merano, 9 - 11 maggio, ed. Accademia di Studi Italo-Tedeschi/Akademie Deutsch-Italienischer Studien, under the guidance of Luigi Cotteri (Meran: Tip. Hauger, 1995), 756–64.

jenes Niveau, das nur eine Metapher der Liebessprache, die des Entflammens, bezeichnen kann, was eine Rückwendung ins Affektive bedeutet.<sup>149</sup>

[We observe a pendulum movement between ethical and affective aspects that establish friendship: Good deeds, willingness to help, and sociability strengthen the love for the friend. Its origin, however, rests in *the stirring of the mind*. Yet, only the confirmation (of this friendship) through actions strengthens the readiness to approach the other on that level which only a metaphor borrowed from the language of love can characterize: the metaphor of inflammation, which means a turn back to the world of affects.]

But there are problems as well. Neuber claims that true friends (*veri amici*) can achieve perfect intellectual and spiritual harmony without any difference in their attitudes and opinions. The high stakes in such a relationship, however, threaten to undermine most friendships that do not quite achieve the same ideal. In this regard friendship proves to be comparable to love, predicated on voluntariness, open communication, and the wish to be together with the other as much as possible.<sup>150</sup>

The son of the Colmar citizen Georg Wickram, Jörg Wickram (ca. 1505–ca. 1560), highly successful only as the author of plays and novels, but denied any noteworthy social status back home because he was born as a bastard,<sup>151</sup> extensively explored the meaning of friendship in his novels *Nachbarn* (Neighbors) and *Galmy*, emphasizing regularly the emotional homosocial relationship between men.<sup>152</sup> But the inflation of the use of the word ‘friend’ in this context also signals that the concept itself had become too mundane and a matter-of-fact to attract deeper theoretical elaborations beyond the ordinary emotionally charged statements exchanged among the friends confirming each other’s affectional commitment.

But we can nevertheless agree with Braun’s observation that the semantic codification and elaboration of friendship had reached a new degree of intensity in the sixteenth century, by now also involving a readiness to die for the other at a moment’s notice.<sup>153</sup> Although marriage, family, and the small social community had gained absolute priority in late-medieval society, Wickram explored

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<sup>149</sup> Manuel Braun, *Ehe, Liebe, Freundschaft: Semantik der Vergesellschaftung im frühneuhochdeutschen Prosaroman* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2001), 293.

<sup>150</sup> Braun, *Ehe, Liebe, Freundschaft*, 294–95 (see note 149).

<sup>151</sup> Erich Kleinschmidt, “Jörg Wickram,” *Deutsche Dichter der frühen Neuzeit (1450–1600): Ihr Leben und Werk*, ed. Stephan Füssel (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1993), 494–511.

<sup>152</sup> Braun, *Ehe, Liebe, Freundschaft*, 311–41 (see note 149); see also Xenja von Ertzdorff, “Höfische Freundschaft,” *Deutschunterricht* 14.6 (1962): 35–51; Elisabeth Wäghäll Nivre, *Dargestellte Welt - reale Welt: Freundschaft, Liebe und Familie in den Prosawerken Georg Wickrams*. Frühe Neuzeit, 60 (Bern, Berlin, et al.: Peter Lang, 1996).

<sup>153</sup> Braun, *Ehe, Liebe, Freundschaft*, 323 (see note 149).

alternatives in the world of friendship, which perhaps might have been an expression of his sense of isolation and being rejected because of his illegitimate birth.<sup>154</sup> Nevertheless, friendship had become a theme of ubiquitous nature and thus lost some of its previous relevance and exclusivity.

Globally speaking, much depends on the context and the use of a specific literary genre during the early modern world. If we consider, for instance, Wickram's collection of facetious tales, his popular *Rollwagenbüchlein* (1555), we basically observe the very opposite insofar virtually all of the short narratives focus on human misbehavior, conflicts, strife, violence, cussing, drinking, and typical examples of foolishness and ignorance. Only once does Wickram refer to friends, but then these operate in the background without standing out as true and remarkable friends. In "Von einem, so seinen fründen umb seine zwentzigjähre haushaltung rechnung gibt," for instance, we hear of a man who frequents taverns throughout his life and constantly resorts to egregious cussing in his ordinary speech. Finally, after twenty years his friends and acquaintances appeal to him to refrain from this evil habit: "von seinen freunden und guten gönnern gestrafft mit freuntlichen und guten worten . . ." (he was reprimanded by his friends and good supporters with friendly and good words).<sup>155</sup>

However, after having stated his position not to deviate from his habitual way of speaking with all necessary resoluteness, the friends let him go and only laugh about his witty remarks: "ward aus irer straff nur ein gelechter, und liessen im sein weis, dieweil sie nit anders machen kunden" (152; their criticism turned into nothing but laughter and they let him continue in his manner because they could not do anything else).

Wickram implies that people spend time with their friends, both in good and bad circumstances, and he signals that most people have friends, but the purpose of his narrative, like that of most other similar tales (*Schwänke*) aims at other goals, primarily outlining and exemplifying shortcomings and failures in human life. In other words, this anthology, very similar to many other contemporary collections, mostly refrains from explicit theoretical explorations, so friendship by itself hardly emerges as a significant topic, as important as it seems to have been in other contexts during that time.<sup>156</sup>

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<sup>154</sup> Jan-Dirk Müller, "Frühbürgerliche Privatheit und altständische Gemeinschaft: Zu Jörg Wickrams *Historie Von Güten und Bösen Nachbarn*," *Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der Deutschen Literatur* 5 (1980): 1–32; here 21.

<sup>155</sup> Georg Wickram, *Das Rollwagenbüchlein*. Text nach der Ausgabe von Johannes Bolte. Epilogue by Elisabeth Endres (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1968), No. 86, 151.

<sup>156</sup> Albrecht Classen, *Deutsche Schwankliteratur des 16. Jahrhunderts: Studien zu Martin Montanus, Hans Wilhelm Kirchhof und Michael Lindener*. Koblenz-Landauer Studien zu Geistes-, Kultur- und Bildungswissenschaften, 4 (Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, 2009).



A similar phenomenon can be observed in much of contemporary literature, such as in famous *Heptaméron* (1558) by Marguerite de Navarre where sexuality, marriage, and transgression dominate the narratives. When friendship assumes the central focal point, such as in the story forty-seven, the major issue concerns trust, jealousy, and confidence. Dagoucin relates an account of two friends “who had from their childhood grown up together as such good and true friends that, as they were one in heart and mind, so in house, bed, board and purse they were as one.”<sup>157</sup> One of these gentlemen gets married, but this does not change anything in their mutual relationship for a long time. Unfortunately, jealousy suddenly develops in the husband’s heart, so he tries to prevent his wife from having any close contact with his friend. The latter quickly learns about the suspicion and confronts his friend, assuring him that nothing of that rumor would be true. However, he expresses his great disappointment that his friend had not shared his worries with him: “you have tried to cover up your sickness, when never before have you hidden your ideas, your feelings and your opinions from me” (411). By the same token, if he himself had in fact been in love with the wife, and if he then had tried to hide these feelings from his friend, “then I would be the most treacherous friend the world has ever seen” (ibid.).

Things are then settled peacefully, but the husband soon enough develops feelings of jealousy once again, and this time, having broken his promise to be open about his inner emotions to his friend, reaps the result of his misdoing. The other harshly attacks him for his deceptive behavior and for having kept his true feelings a secret. Consequently, their long-held friendship comes to an end: “Just as our friendship has been the greatest friendship of our time, so shall our enmity be the deadliest” (412). And the former friend then lives up to his own words and does not rest until he has actually cuckolded his former friend because the latter had destroyed their friendship: “For as your suspicion has destroyed my love for you, now your love for me will be destroyed by my anger!” (412).

Surprisingly, however, the subsequent discussion among the company of narrators hinges not so much on the essence and meaning of friendship; instead they investigate the dire consequences of rumors and false allegations, of wrong suspicions, which all could easily destroy friendship. In other words, friends need open and honest communication, confidence in each other, and sincere expressions of loyalty. Then the narrators turn all their attention to the question of whether the wife should have revealed anything of her husband’s jealousy to

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<sup>157</sup> Marguerite de Navarre, *The Heptameron*. Trans. with an introduction by P. A. Chilton (1984; Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin, 1986), 410. See also the online English translation by Walter Kelly (Paris 1853) in *A Celebration of Women Writers* at: <http://digital.library.upenn.edu/women/navarre/heptameron/heptameron.html> (last accessed on August 1, 2010). For the original, see *L’Heptaméron*, ed. Michel François (Paris: Garnier Classiques, 1964).

the friend, and what chastity truly means for women. In fact, here as well we observe that despite the great interest in friendship per se, it is accepted more as a given than as a goal that needs to be aspired or striven for.<sup>158</sup> Otherwise, however, Marguerite's narrators do not pay much more attention to the theme of friendship; instead they primarily examine cases of adultery, young love, foolish behavior of marriage partners, and conflicts in wooing.

If we consult contemporary German jest narratives (*Schwänke*) mostly composed since the 1550s, beginning, above all, with Jörg Wickram's *Rollwagenbüchlein* (*The Little Book for the Traveling Coach*), we can easily identify a wide range of political, erotic, religious, and military themes. Love and marriage, anticlericalism, criticism of tyrannical rulers, foolish behavior among people of all social classes, age groups, and genders, problems with money, the loss of body control (scatology), and linguistic puns dominate this huge genre of mostly minuscule yet entertaining prose texts, but we do not find any serious interest in the theme of friendship, not to speak of theoretical discussions.<sup>159</sup>

One important exception, however, proves to be Martin Montanus (ca. 1537–ca. 1570 or 1580) who included a version of one of Boccaccio's stories contained in his *Decameron* in his own collection of short and entertaining narratives, *Wegkürzer* (1557). He had become familiar with the famous work by his Italian predecessor through the German translation by Heinrich Schlüsselfelder (alias Arigo) from 1472/1473, but he also used many other sources, embellishing them with creative

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<sup>158</sup> *Models of Women in Sixteenth-Century French Literature: Female Exemplarity in the Histoires tragiques* (1559) and the *Heptaméron* (1559), ed. Pollie Bromilow; with a foreword by Jennifer J. Britnell (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2007); see also Elizabeth C. Zegura, "True Stories and Alternative Discourses: The Game of Love in Marguerite de Navarre's *Heptaméron*," *Discourses on Love, Marriage, and Transgression in Medieval and Early Modern Literature*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 278 (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2004), 351–68; cf. also eadem, "Laughing Out Loud in the *Heptaméron*: A Reassessment of Marguerite de Navarre's Ambivalent Humor," *Laughter in the Middle Ages: Epistemology of a Fundamental Human Behavior, its Meaning, and Consequences*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 5 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2010), 603–20. See also *Approaches to Teaching Marguerite de Navarre's Heptameron*, ed. Colette H. Winn. Approaches to Teaching World Literature (New York: Modern Language Association, 2007). The topic of friendship in Marguerite's world has already been examined several times: see, for instance, Reinier Leushuis, "Mariage et 'honnête amitié' dans l'*Heptaméron* de Marguerite de Navarre: Des idéaux ecclésiastique et aristocratique à l'agape du dialogue humaniste," *French Forum* 28:1 (Winter 2003): 29–56; Mary J. Baker, "Friendship Revisited: *Heptaméron* Tales 10, 21, 15, and 70," *Romance Quarterly* 48.1 (Winter 2001): 3–14.

<sup>159</sup> Albrecht Classen, *Deutsche Schwankliteratur des 16. Jahrhunderts* (see note 156). The collection *Deutsche Schwänke*, ed. Leander Petzoldt (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1979), confirms this observation. The interest rests on laughable scenes, on people's stupid and irrational behavior, on criticism of pompous authority figures, on arrogance and pride, among many other human vices and shortcomings.

additions or innovative elements and motifs.<sup>160</sup> One remarkable jest narrative centers on the account of two friends who are willing to do anything possible for each other within the constraints of morality and virtues as an expression of their extraordinary dedication to the ideals of friendship.<sup>161</sup> Although Boccaccio, in his genius, had developed a highly idiosyncratic account (eighth story of the tenth day),<sup>162</sup> he in turn seems to have borrowed from older sources, perhaps the *Gesta Romanorum* (ca. 1342, many times thereafter). We can trace the motif even to earlier sources, such as in Petrus Alfonsi's *Disciplina Clericalis* (see above), and we possibly even have to identify the basic narrative model as an archetype in Western literature.<sup>163</sup> In fact, here we can suddenly close the circle and return to the ballad by Friedrich Schiller discussed above, where the same motif determines the plot surprisingly close to the numerous medieval and early-modern versions.

Human society always seems to have known friendship as a core value among its members, although at some times the discussion of friendship gained primary relevance; at other times it seems not to have enjoyed the same degree of urgency and importance. The historical annals continued to deal with personal relationships throughout times, regularly reflecting upon changing conditions and degrees of acceptance and tolerance among people. For Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), for instance, friendship constituted the basis for all rational ethics because all people live, if not engaged in warfare, together in a universe “as if all were brothers submissive to a universal father who wants the happiness of all.”<sup>164</sup>

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<sup>160</sup> Bodo Gotzkowsky, “Volksbücher”: *Prosaromane, Renaissance-novellen, Versdichtungen und Schwankbücher. Bibliographie der deutschen Drucke. Part I: Drucke des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*. Bibliotheca Bibliographica Aureliana, CXXV (Baden-Baden: Verlag Valentin Koerner, 1991), 528–34; cf. also Classen, *Deutsche Schwankliteratur*, 29–35 (see note 156); for the broad reception of Boccaccio's work in early-modern Germany, see Ursula Kocher, *Boccaccio und die deutsche Novellistik: Formen der Transposition italienischer ‘novelle’ im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*. Chloe: Beihefte zum Daphnis, 38 (Amsterdam and New York: Editions Rodopi, 2005). For a recent study on Montanus in English, see Albrecht Classen, “Martin Montanus as Entertainer and Social Critic,” *The Rocky Mountain Review of Language and Literature* 62.2 (2008): 11–33.

<sup>161</sup> Albrecht Classen, “Das Motiv des aufopfernden Freundes,” (see note 8). The text can be found in Martin Montanus, *Schwankbücher (1557–1566)*, ed. Johannes Bolte. Volkskundliche Quellen: Neudrucke europäischer Texte und Untersuchungen, III (1899; Hildesheim and New York: Georg Solms, 1972), *Wegkürzer*, no. 42.

<sup>162</sup> Giovanni Boccaccio, *Decameron*. Edizione critica secondo l'autografo hamiltoniano, a cura di Vittore Branca. Scrittori italiani e testi antichi pubblicati dall'Accademia della Crusca (Firenze: Accademia della Crusca, 1976), 685.

<sup>163</sup> Elisabeth Frenzel, “Freundschaftsbeweis,” eadem, ed., *Motive der Weltliteratur: Ein Lexikon dichtungsgeschichtlicher Längsschnitte*. 4th rev. and expanded ed. Kröners Taschenausgabe, 301 (1976; Stuttgart 1992), 196–218.

<sup>164</sup> Alan Bray, *The Friend*, 2003, 213 (see note 25).

Indeed, for early modern society, at least until the eighteenth century, “the good of kinship lay in the friendship (the ‘society’) that it could create between individuals and between groups, who might otherwise be at enmity; and its rituals and rhetoric were designed to negotiate that precarious transition.”<sup>165</sup> But friendship in early-modern society sometimes seems to get lost from our view precisely because it was ever present and played such significant roles in social conditions, explicitly demonstrated through a complex system of rituals and gestures, images and words.<sup>166</sup> As Maurice Aymard emphasizes,

Friendship was ubiquitous, commonplace, and necessary. It took many forms and was a part of the fabric of social relations, which it helped to shape. It kept the social machinery running smoothly. Yet friendship, when it involved two people who chose each other freely and with no end in mind but themselves, was also exceptional and unique, setting the friends apart from the rest of society. Such friendship was so rare that Montaigne, boasting of his with Etienne de La Boétie, reckoned its probability as ‘once in three centuries.’ Personal friendship was defined by contrast with ordinary social friendships. It took its model from the Stoics and adapted it to the realities of the age.<sup>167</sup>

Friendship could be a matter of great political concern, such as in the case of Louis de Rouvroy, Duke of Saint-Simon (1675–1755), who provided most insightful reflections about his own life in his *Mémoires*, deeply determined by his quest for friends and solid friendship which served him for political ends.<sup>168</sup> “For Montaigne, friendship spoke the language of passion. For Saint-Simon, it spoke the language of a carefully calculated marriage, one that, like his own, created a profound and durable understanding.”<sup>169</sup> The point for us can not be to examine this intriguing testimony, almost from a moment in time beyond the pale of our global investigations. Nevertheless, we get a strong sense of how much the study of friendship in fact provides enormously significant insight into the basic social and mental-historical structures of each society or cultural group in the history of Western civilization.<sup>170</sup> The bedrock of this discourse continued to be the

<sup>165</sup> Bray, *The Friend*, 214 (see note 25).

<sup>166</sup> See the contributions to *Rituale der Freundschaft*, ed. Klaus Manger and Ute Pott, 2006 (see note 2).

<sup>167</sup> Maurice Aymard, “Friends and Neighbors,” *Passions of the Renaissance*, ed. Roger Chartier. A History of Private Life, III (1986; Cambridge, MA, and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1989), 447–91; here 453.

<sup>168</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Louis\\_de\\_Rouvroy,\\_duc\\_de\\_Saint-Simon](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Louis_de_Rouvroy,_duc_de_Saint-Simon). For his complete works, see <http://rouvroy.medusis.com/infos/tomes.html> (both last accessed on August 1, 2010).

<sup>169</sup> Aymard, “Friends and Neighbors,” 461.

<sup>170</sup> *Die Kultur der Freundschaft: Praxen und Semantiken in anthropologisch-pädagogischer Perspektive*, ed. Meike Baader. Beltz-Bibliothek (Weinheim and Basel: Beltz, 2008); Barbara Becker-Cantarino, “Zur Theorie der literarischen Freundschaft im 18. Jahrhundert am Beispiel der Sophie La Roche,” *Frauenfreundschaft - Männerfreundschaft: Literarische Diskurse im 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Wolfram Mauser (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1991), 47–74.

philosophical investigations by thinkers such as Aristotle, Cicero, St. Augustine, Aelred of Rievaulx, and Thomas Aquinas, and their concepts and ideals were then adopted and further developed by early-modern philosophers and theologians, such as Benedict de Spinoza, Christian Thomasius, Anthony Earl of Shaftesbury, and Immanuel Kant. Thomasius, above all, identified friendship as one of the fundamental instruments to achieve true happiness here in this life. For him, friendship proves to be a natural, rational inclination of man in his social context to aspire for happiness. Similar minds join in friendship and strive for love of wisdom and goodness. He argued that ideal people embrace friendship as the central value in their life and build their ethics on it. Friendship thus transforms into a profound love for all people and the fatherland. For Shaftesbury friendship is “sublime Heroick Passion” and has universal relevance.<sup>171</sup>

As early as the middle of the sixteenth century friendship found an innovative expression in so called *alba amicorum* (*Freundschaftsalben*, *Philothekoi*, or *Stammbücher*), in which the authors recorded their travel experiences or other observations, comparable to letter collections, and gave these as gifts to their friends or sons.<sup>172</sup> They also contain drawings of famous people, coats of arms, and other objects. The first *Thesaurus Amicorum* was printed by Jean de Tournes in Lyon in 1558, but handwritten *Freundschaftsalben* emerged earlier in 1545 (C. de Senardens), 1548 (C. von Teuffenbach) and 1549 (A. Ulrich).<sup>173</sup> By the end of the century this genre gained in political significance and served as a medium for learned friends to exchange information about a variety of subject matters for the illumination of the prince.<sup>174</sup>

Nevertheless, the concept of friendship itself seems to have faded in significance and overall relevance since the seventeenth century, if we can trust the evidence of the famous encyclopedia by Johann Heinrich Zedler. In his *Grosses vollständiges Universals Lexicon Aller Wissenschaften und Künste*, for instance, there is only a brief entry on the “Freund” (friend), and then primarily seen from a Biblical and a generally moral context. Zedler identifies those as friends who are related to each other through blood and, much more importantly, those who are bonded with

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<sup>171</sup> Ch. Seidel, “Freundschaft: III,” *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie*, 2, 1108–14 (see note 46). See also my more extensive and focused discussion of Shaftesbury’s concept of friendship further below.

<sup>172</sup> Kees Thomassen; Cassandra Bosters, *Alba amicorum: Vijf eeuwen vriendschap op papier gezet: het album amicorum en het poëzialbum in de Nederlanden; verschenen ter gelegenheid van de tentoonstelling ‘Alba Amicorum’ in het Rijksmuseum Meermanno-Westreenianum / Museum van het Boek te ‘s-Gravenhage*, with a foreword by K. Thomassen (‘s-Gravenhage: Schwartz et al., 1990); Mirella Spadafora, *Habent sua fata libelli | gli alba amicorum e il loro straordinario corredo iconografico (1545 - 1630 c.)*. *Voci di clío*, 4 (Bologna: CLUEB: 2009).

<sup>173</sup> Wolfgang Klose, “Freundschaftsalben,” *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik*, ed. Gert Ueding. Vol. 3 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1996), 472–76.

<sup>174</sup> See the contribution to this volume by Vera Keller.

each other because of a similarity in their heartfelt sentiments, such as David and Jonathan (1 Sam. 18; 2 Sam. 1:26). True friendship here on earth mirrors man's friendship with Christ. Moreover, "Ein Freund ist gerne um den andern"<sup>175</sup> (A friend happily spends time with the other). A friend entrusts all his secrets to the other, and supports him in every situation, demonstrating complete loyalty.

Finally: "Ein Freund erzeiget dem anderen alles Liebes und Guts; dazu erkläret er sich ebenfallss, Jer. 32, 41. und thut ihnen auch würcklich Gutes an Leib und Seele, theilet ihnen mit allerley leibliche und geistliche, zeitliche und ewige Wohlthaten, und machet sie endlich gar selig" (ibid.; A friend demonstrates every kind of love and goodness to the others, as it says so, Jer. 31:41, and truly does good to their body and soul. He shares with them all kinds of physical and spiritual, temporal and eternal blessings, and helps them to gain salvation). When we check under the Latin term "amicus," which might be reasonable in light of Zedler's learned orientation, we find nothing but short comments on "Amici" as an honorable title for those kings who had assisted the Roman Republic and for those, later, who provided counsel to the Roman emperors.<sup>176</sup> Then he also discusses "Amicitia," in mythological terms the daughter of night, and "Amicus," a friend in business relationships, or a correspondent of merchants (1731–32).

There is nothing of the drama and intensity associated with friendship as Schiller was to project only a few decades later in his famous ballads (see above). Zedler treats friendship in an almost pedestrian and shorthand fashion, repeating, of course, some of the critical issues as outlined in past philosophical and religious treatises, but basically deals with friendship only in a fairly superficial manner. As we will observe below, other encyclopedists followed Zedler's lead in this regard, continuing to include the topic of 'friendship' in their huge compendia, but paying only secondary attention to the issue at hand.

This is not to ignore the relevance of the topic of friendship for Baroque literature, especially when poets deal with a friend who has passed away.<sup>177</sup> Nevertheless, friendship, as we have observed it in the Middle Ages, not to speak of antiquity, had obviously lost some of its dramatic, ethical relevance. We will observe this below in light of some Baroque (Widmann), and then also of some Anacreontic (Hagedorn) poetry.

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<sup>175</sup> Johann Heinrich Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universal Lexicon Aller Wissenschaften und Künste* . . . Vol. 9 (Halle and Leipzig, Zedler, 1735), 1836.

<sup>176</sup> Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universal Lexicon*, vol. 1, 1733, 1731 (see note 175).

<sup>177</sup> Maria Fürstenwald, "Letztes Ehren=Gedaechtnuess und Himmel=klingendes Schaeferpiel: Der literarische Freundschafts- und Totenkult im Spiegel des barocken Trauerschäferspiels," *Daphnis* 2 (1973): 32-53.

## S. Women as Friends in the Middle Ages and Beyond : Still a Thorny Issue

As we have observed numerous times, the history of friendship takes us very far back to antiquity, and from then on virtually all the major intellectuals delved into the topic of friendship and explored its ethical, moral, political, and religious meanings. Despite some significant differences regarding friendship in the various stages of life, thinkers such as Cicero and Augustine, Ambrose and Aelred, but then also many of the major religious authors of the famous twelfth century, followed by the leading philosophers from the late Middle Ages and the early modern age, all accepted friendship as a bedrock of their value system. This is not to imply that women expressed less concern with or interest in friendship, as our example of Marie de France's *Fables* indicated.<sup>178</sup> But in the history of patriarchal Western literature, friendship among women was mostly excised, ignored, or cast into a shadow of doubt since only men were regarded as strong enough to maintain the serene, mostly rational, idealistic friendship with another person.<sup>179</sup>

In courtly romances we come across numerous cases of friendship between men and women, all sharing the same values and ideals, and all inspired by the classical concept of *amicitia*, such as in the *Lancelot* romance.<sup>180</sup> Nevertheless, we mostly have to realize that those friendships result in regular erotic relationships and cannot be equated with friendship in the classical sense of the word (Cicero).

In fact, in light of all those intensive explorations from antiquity onwards it would be extremely difficult to identify specific discussions about female friendship in medieval literature, composed in Latin or in any vernacular, at the present stage of research. Possibly female monastic communities knew and idealized the concept of friendship among the nuns, and the world of mysticism might also be a promising domain where friendship surfaced as an important topic, as we learn from David F. Tinsley's contribution to this volume. But there are no theoretical treatises on friendship, as far as I can tell, focused on a particular relationship among women.

However, addressing friendship in courtly romances, Rosemarie Deist insightfully comments, "The mutual admiration of friends in classical *amicitia vera* surfaces in the moral qualities of prowess and good repute. Lancelot's spirit, his

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<sup>178</sup> For postmodern perspectives, see the contributions to *Celebrating Women's Friendship*, 1999 (see note 104). However, both the editors and the authors confirm that the topic of female friendship still suffers from having been ignored for far too long until today.

<sup>179</sup> Constant J. Mews and Neville Chiavaroli, "The Latin West," *Friendship: A History*, ed. Barbara Caine. Critical Histories of Subjectivity and Culture (London: Equinox, 2009), 73–110 ; here 73.

<sup>180</sup> Rosemarie Deist, *Gender and Power: Counsellors and Their Masters in Antiquity and Medieval Courtly Romance*. Beiträge zur älteren Literaturgeschichte (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2003), 74–84.

name and renown, are the source of the Sister's affectionate and intimate veneration for him."<sup>181</sup> Already much earlier than that, female nuns in Anglo-Saxon England and Bishop Boniface working as a missionary in Carolingian Germany exchanged numerous letters expressing their deeply-felt affection as friends.<sup>182</sup> There are countless examples of such friendships among members of religious orders, and we only need to think of Peter the Venerable and Bernard of Clairvaux,<sup>183</sup> or, on a more humble level, of Henry Suso (Heinrich Seuse) and Elisabeth Stagel.<sup>184</sup>

It is not quite clear yet why there are so many references to male-male friendship throughout the Middle Ages and early modern time and hardly any to friendship among women. In our volume we will hear of some Anglo-Saxon nuns who entertained a strong friendship with Saint Boniface (Lisa M. C. Weston). And Jennifer Constantine-Jackson offers a penetrating analysis of the friendship between Abelard and Heloise, which is fascinatingly complemented by David F. Tinsley's study of Henry Suso's and Elsbeth Stagel's friendship. All this, however, does not provide us with a good explanation for the absence of friendships between women in late-medieval literary and non-literary documents. We might have simply ignored them so far, though I suspect that the patriarchal framework of medieval and early modern society prevented women from exploring friendship in their own terms and for their own purposes.

Nevertheless, there is no reason to assume that close relationships between women as friends were impossible. On the contrary, these must have certainly also existed, such as among nuns in the countless female convents throughout Europe. Two famous text corpora where we might successfully unearth definite evidence for female-female bonding would be, first, the comments by the tenth-century canoness Hrotsvita of Gandersheim (ca. 935–after 972) (northern Germany) about her learning experiences and personal life in the female community, well taken care of by her teachers and supervisors.<sup>185</sup> In the Preface to her religious legends

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<sup>181</sup> Deist, *Gender and Power*, 84 (see note 180).

<sup>182</sup> Albrecht Classen, "Frauenbriefe an Bonifatius: Frühmittelalterliche Literaturdenkmäler aus moderner mentalitätsgeschichtlicher Sicht," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 72, 2 (1990): 251–73; Joan M. Ferrante, *To the Glory of Her Sex: Women's Roles in the Composition of Medieval Texts*. Women of Letters (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1997), 10–35 (without knowledge of my study). Most important in our context proves to be the contribution to this volume by Lisa M. C. Weston.

<sup>183</sup> Walter Ysebaert, "Medieval Friendships and Networks," *Handbook of Medieval Studies*, ed. Albrecht Classen (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, forthcoming).

<sup>184</sup> David F. Tinsley, *The Scourge and the Cross: Ascetic Mentalities of the Later Middle Ages*. *Medievalia Groningana*, 14 (Leuven, Belgium: Peeters Publishers, 2009); see also his contribution to this volume.

<sup>185</sup> *Hrotsvithae Opera*. Mit Einleitung und Kommentar von H. Homeyer (Munich, Paderborn, and



she emphasizes: "I was first taught by Riccardis, the wisest and kindest of teachers, and by others thereafter, who continued my education / and then, finally, by my lady of high station / Gerberga of royal blood, my merciful abbess, under whose rule I now live. She is younger in years than I, but as befits the Emperor's niece, more advanced in learning. / It was she, who, other authors concerning / continued my instruction / offering me an introduction / to the works of those writers whom she herself studied with learned men."<sup>186</sup> Despite all her expressions of respect and submission under her teachers' authority, we can clearly perceive the emotional bonds among all these women.

The other significant text corpus with clues as to female-female friendship is the the correspondence by the twelfth-century magistra, mystic, healer, and prophetess Hildegard of Bingen (1083–1179), especially when she addressed her fellow-sisters or talked about her own relationship with them.

One among them, Richardis of Stade, a close collaborator in her project of writing down her visions under the title *Scivias* (ca. 1141–1151), Hildegard must have befriended above all, considering the almost desperate fight she put up trying to prevent Richardis from being appointed abbess at Bassum near Bremen (northern Germany), though all that to no avail. In a letter to Richardis's brother, Hartwig, Archbishop of Bremen, shortly after the nun's sudden death in 1151 or 1152,<sup>187</sup> the mystic clearly reveals the degree to which these two women seem to have been bonded together: "my daughter Richardis, whom I call both daughter and mother, because I cherished her with divine love, as indeed the Living Light had instructed me to do in a very vivid vision."<sup>188</sup> And reflecting on a vision she had had concerning Richardis, Hildegard emphasizes: "although the world loved her physical beauty and her worldly wisdom while she was still alive, my soul has the greatest confidence in her salvation . . . Now, as for me, I cast out of my heart that grief you caused me in the matter of this my daughter" (51).

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Vienna: Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh, 1970); see especially her warm comments about her teacher Rikardis and the abbess Gerberga, 38. To what extent we could really talk about female friendship in this case remains debatable, of course. For an overview of some of the latest research on Hrotsvita, see the contributions to *Hrotsvit [sic] of Gandersheim: Contexts, Identities, Affinities, and Performances*, ed. Phyllis R. Brown, Linda A. McMillin, and Katharina M. Wilson (Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 2004).

<sup>186</sup> Hrotsvit of Gandersheim, *A Florilegium of Her Works*. Trans., with Introduction, Interpretive Essay and Notes by Katharina M. Wilson. Library of Medieval Women (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1998), 19.

<sup>187</sup> *The Letters of Hildegard of Bingen*, trans. Joseph L. Baird and Radd K. Ehrman. Vol. 1 (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), Letter No. 13, Hartwig, Archbishop of Bremen, to Hildegard, 1152, 49–50. For the critical edition of her letters, see Hildegardis Bingensis, *Epistolarium*, vols. 1–2 ed. L. van Acker. *Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis*, XCI, XCI A. vol. 3 ed. L. van Acker (†) and M. Klaes-Hachmöller (Turnhout: Brepols, 1991–2001).

<sup>188</sup> *The Letters of Hildegard of Bingen*, No. 13r, p. 51 (see note 186).

In a previous letter to Hartwig, Hildegard had already clearly expressed how passionately she felt about this fellow sister, her friend, whose election as abbess of Bassum she regarded as a personal insult, if not as a case of simony, as Hildegard bitinglly argued in another letter to Hartwig (no. 12, 48). Appealing to the brother in astoundingly passionate terms, the magistra calls out to him: "My spirit is exceedingly sad, because a certain horrible man has trampled underfoot my desire and will (and not mine alone, but also my sisters' and friends'), and has rashly dragged our beloved daughter Richardis out of our cloister" (48). Truly in a desperate mood, Hildegard concludes her letter with a last-ditch effort, appealing to Hartwig: "send my dearest daughter back to me. If you do so, God will give you the blessing which Isaac gave to his son Jacob . . ." (49).<sup>189</sup>

Significantly, there is also a letter which the magistra addressed directly to the newly appointed abbess, and here she resorts very deliberately to the traditional terminology of family relationships: "Daughter, listen to me, your mother, speaking to you in the spirit: my grief flies up to heaven. My sorrow is destroying the great confidence and consolation that I once had in mankind" (vol. I, no. 64, 143). Repeatedly evoking Biblical statements (Ps. 21:2, Matt 27:46; Mark 15:34), Hildegard casts herself as an "orphan" who has been forsaken by the daughter (144). But she is fully aware of the possible danger of transgression, of which she herself might have been guilty: "I so loved the nobility of your character, your wisdom, your chastity, your spirit, and indeed every aspect of your life" (144). Other people noticed this intense emotional attachment and began to question its proper nature, as Hildegard reveals herself in her letter: "many people have said to me: What are you doing?" (144).

Hildegard rounds off her letter with the explicit admission of her love for Richardis: "Now, let all who have grief like mine mourn with me, all who, in the love of God, have had such great love in their hearts and minds for a person—as I had for you—but who was snatched away from them in an instant, as you were from me" (144). Not completely resigned to her own destiny, Hildegard subtly incorporates also a word of warning into the final paragraph, admonishing Richardis that she might lose her happiness if she were to forget about her spiritual mother, Hildegard: "Be mindful of your poor desolate mother, Hildegard, so that your happiness may not fade" (144). Whether here we might recognize same-sex love in the modern sense of the word, that is, lesbian tendencies, cannot be determined and would not really matter in our context, but we know for sure that this relationship between Hildegard and Richardis constituted a powerful friendship between two women, the older one certainly completely domineering,

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<sup>189</sup> Barbara J. Newman, "Introduction" to Hildegard of Bingen, *Scivias*, trans. Mother Columba Hart and Jane Bishop, preface by Caroline Walker Bynum. Classics of Western Spirituality (New York and Mahwah: Paulist Press, 1990), 15.

the younger one apparently quite happy about the opportunity to free herself from the convent in Bingen and to rise to the powerful position as abbess of a convent in the north of Germany.

Hildegard failed, of course, both because the authorities overruled her and because Richardis surprisingly passed away, not to forget Richardis's own desire to find her own way in life and to gain the rank of an abbess, free of Hildegard's overbearing influence. We can be certain that all these expressions of ardent desire to have Richardis return to Bingen and to rejoin the convent under Hildegard's leadership, or dominance, indicate how much the older woman was emotionally attached to the younger and tried with all her might and influence to allure her friend and companion back to her as mother, magistra, or simply friend. We are on safe ground to claim that spiritual friendship determined that relationship, unless we are dealing with Hildegard's motherly instincts and needs to control all her fellow sisters; anything else, as suggestive as it might be, would amount to speculation. But all this will have to be the topic of future research.<sup>190</sup>

Peter Dronke sensitively characterized the unique tone of voice in Hildegard's letters, especially to Richardis, as follows: "So too she does not address Richardis as an equal, an abbess like herself: she is still 'the maiden,' the spiritual daughter, who must listen to her mother. Yet what the mother now brings forth is not a command but a *planctus*. She expresses her sense of betrayal citing the words of Psalm 117:9 . . . which contrast the steadfastness of God's love with the fickleness

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<sup>190</sup> Rosemary Rader, *Breaking Boundaries: Male/Female Friendship in Early Christian Communities. Theological Inquiries* (New York: Paulist Press, 1983). Whether lesbianism was involved here cannot be deduced from Hildegard's statement; but that is a very difficult decision to make at any rate. As in many previous cases, we would walk a very fine line between homosocial and homoerotic relationships. For lesbianism in the Middle Ages, see the contributions to *Same Sex Love and Desire Among Women in the Middle Ages*, ed. Francesca Canadé Sautman and Pamela Sheingorn. *The New Middle Ages* (New York and Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave, 2001). See especially Susan Schibanoff, "Hildegard of Bingen and Richardis of Stade: The Discourse of Desire" (49–83). Older scholarship on lesbianism in the Middle Ages can be found there. The entire issue remains rather theoretical and does not find an easy solution. We, as heirs of the post-Freudian world, constantly face the danger of anachronistic readings into medieval texts, particularly when friendship and love are involved. See now also the sensitive analysis of this relationship by Barbara Beuys, *Denn ich bin krank vor Liebe: Das Leben der Hildegard von Bingen* (Munich and Vienna: Carl Hanser Verlag, 2001), 196–205. For her, Richardis must have been stuck between a rock and a hard stone because her own family had probably pushed her to assume that position as abbess after the nuns in Bassum had elected her. At the same time moving away from Hildegard might have seemed to be liberating for the young woman who might have been delighted to be freed from the domineering *magistra* in Rupertusberg near Bingen. Moreover, Richardis had Hildegard's own independence in mind when she accepted her election as abbess. For the latter, on the other hand, losing her friend, a beloved nun, meant that she had to get used to a new assistant in her effort to copy down her visionary experiences. Finally, as Beuys alerts us, Hildegard must have felt deeply insulted as a prophetess when she was abandoned by such a close collaborator (201–02).

of human hopes.<sup>191</sup> Whatever the relationship between these two women might have been, we can be certain that here we face a most significant case of female friendship in the high Middle Ages. It would be intriguing to explore further to what extent, if at all, Hildegard might have been influenced by Aelred of Rievaulx's teaching, or whether she leaned more in the direction of Augustine, but there is no room here to answer this question to the full extent necessary to do justice to it.

Considering female figures who serve as friends, Brangæne in Gottfried von Strassburg's *Tristan* (ca. 1210) easily comes to mind, an older woman who stands by the young Irish princess Isolde, basically sacrificing herself for her relative and confident without ever experiencing personal happiness and personal fulfillment by and for herself.<sup>192</sup> Would she count as a friend? Brangæne dutifully accepts her role, but she also enjoys a political and emotional intimacy with Isolde that would underscore their friendship.<sup>193</sup>

When we contrast her with the chambermaid in Heinrich Kaufringer's verse narrative "Die unschuldige Mörderin" ('The Innocent Murderess,' ca. 1400) who acts a similar role, we can easily understand the remarkable contrast. In Kaufringer's narrative the maid also substitutes for her mistress during the wedding night because the latter has prematurely lost her virginity—in this case, however, as a result of deception, if not rape.<sup>194</sup> Sexual violence, deception, and abuse dominate this late-medieval narrative, while Gottfried still could conceive of a world where two women closely cooperate to save the one's honor and prevent her marriage from falling apart, which would also have had devastating consequences for the entire country. So we can easily recognize the high moral ground on which Brangæne stands, which indeed could be identified as true friendship in the traditional ethical sense.

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<sup>191</sup> Peter Dronke, *Women Writers of the Middle Ages: A Critical Study of Texts from Perpetua (†203) to Marguerite Porete (†1310)* (Cambridge, London, et al.: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 157.

<sup>192</sup> Miriam Rheingold Fuller, "Shadow, Supprt, and Surrogate: Brangein in the Tristan Legends," *Tristania* XXI (2001–2002): 13–41.

<sup>193</sup> Gottfried von Strassburg, *Tristan*, nach dem Text von Friedrich Ranke neu herausgegeben, ins Neuhochdeutsche übersetzt, mit einem Stellenkommentar und einem Nachwort von Rüdiger Krohn. 3 vols. (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1980); cf. Gisela Hollandt, *Die Hauptgestalten in Gottfrieds Tristan: Wesenszüge, Handlungsfunktion, Motiv der Ilist*. Philologische Studien und Quellen, 30 (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1966), 41–52; however, she only discusses Brangæne's loyalty and purity of mind as Isolde's counselor, advisor, and supporter. Keeping in mind the intriguing Dame de la Tour in Christine de Pizan's *Le Livre de duc de des vrais amans* (1403–1405), whose famous letter to her lady and friend I will discuss further below, we might also identify Brangæne as a true friend.

<sup>194</sup> Quoted from *Novellistik des Mittelalters: Märendichtung*, ed., trans., and commented by Klaus Grubmüller. Bibliothek des Mittelalters, 23 (Frankfurt a. M.: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1996), 798–838; for a solid commentary, see *ibid.*, 1285–91.

By contrast, in Kaufringer's tale, after the copulation and after the husband has fallen asleep, the maid refuses to slip out of the bed and to make room for the legally married wife, utterly foolishly trying to rise to power herself thereby and in this curious situation. In her desperation, the female protagonist then sets fire to the bedroom, rescues her husband and locks the door behind her, so the maid dies in the flames. While we would certainly pay great respect to Brangæne, as a confident and friend, willing to sacrifice virtually everything for her queen and friend, Kaufringer presents the very opposite character who has no interest in friendship and does everything in her power, when the opportunity arises, to destroy her mistress, and this, although she had sworn to be loyal and to be mindful of the many favors she had received from the countess so far (513–15).<sup>195</sup>

The search for friendly relationships among women, especially in the Middle Ages, suffers from the same problem that we face in our search for women's writings in the premodern era. But there is no reason to assume that women were less interested in friendship, and, furthermore, that they cared less about the ancient-classical and medieval studies on friendship (Cicero, Augustine, Aelred). Early Christian literature, especially epistolary texts, abounds with expressions of friendship among nuns, abbesses, and other ecclesiastics.<sup>196</sup>

Perhaps we should add here a few comments on the intense but friendly relationship between the female protagonist in Christine de Pizan's *Le Livre du duc des vrais amans* (1403–1405) and her female counselor and former governess, Sebile de Mont Hault, Dame de la Tour—a remarkable text very much contemporary to Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* (ca. 1399–1400). The Dame strongly advises the lady to abstain from her love affair with the duke because she would risk her social standing and would not gain much truly from that erotic relationship, apart from temporary pleasures. Although Sebile signs her letter only with the formulaic “Vostre humble serl’” (Your humble creature),<sup>197</sup> she clearly emphasizes how much she cares for her well-being and good public reputation: “c’est a savoir que ne

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<sup>195</sup> See my English translation in *Erotic Tales of Medieval Germany*, 2nd ed. 2009, 114 (see note 96): “The maid did not object, and right away promised the queen loyally and without cunning to do everything she had asked of her. Then they entered the chamber and put out the light.”

<sup>196</sup> Rosemary Rader, *Breaking Boundaries: Male/Female Friendship in Early Christian Communities*. Theological Inquiries (New York: Paulist Press, 1983); Ulrike Wiethaus, “In Search of Medieval Women's Friendship: Hildegard von Bingen's Letters to Her Female Contemporaries,” *Maps of Flesh and Light: The Religious Experience of Medieval Women Mystics*, ed. eadem (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1993), 93–111.

<sup>197</sup> Christine de Pizan, *Le Livre du duc des vrais amans*. A Critical Edition by Thelma S. Fenster. Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 124 (Binghamton, NY: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1995), 146. For the English translation, see Christine de Pizan, *The Book of the Duke of True Lovers*. Trans., with an introduction by Thelma S. Fenster. With lyric poetry trans. by Nadia Margolis (New York: Persea Books, 1991), 120.

savez l'entencion de ma requeste, mes de la vostre voulez que je sache que pour mourir n'empireraiés vostre honneur: je vous fais certaine, tres doulce maistresse, et vous assure, que mon vouloir n'est autre chose fors seulement et entierement le vostre" (145; that you do not know the intent of my request, but, as to your own intention, you wish me to know that you would not diminish your honor on pain of death: I assure and reassure you, very sweet mistress, that my will is nothing but to do your will; 95).

Surprisingly, but in full confirmation of what I am trying to bring to light here, the young princess later addresses the Dame de la Tour as "A ma tres chere et bonne amie" (170; To my very good and dear friend; 110) and then emphasizes most explicitly: "Et soiez certaine que vous avez une amie en moy, et le pouez essayer quant vous plaira" (ibid.; Rest assured that you have a friend in me, and that you may put it to the test whenever it pleases you; 110). She then goes on, thereby diversifying her emotional relationship with her former governess, "Chere mere et amie, vous savez assez l'estat comment je suis gouvernee et tenue en grant subgecion et crainte et rudement menee . . . , car je vous sçay si seure que je m'y pourroie fier. Si pouez savoir que c'est moult grant destrece a jeune cuer de tousjours vivre a desplaisance et sans aucune joyeuseté" (ibid.; Dear mother and friend, you know very well how I am governed here and held in extreme submission and fear and treated roughly, and that my lot is very hard, which gives me little pleasure; ibid.).

There is certainly a degree of authority in Sebile's letter and subsequent response to her former mistress, but we also discern clearly how much she cares for her and treats her undoubtedly as a friend, if not as her own daughter: "je suis tenue de vous admonnester vostre bien comme a celle qui a esté en ma gouvernance depuis enfance jusques a ore, tout n'en fusse je mie digne" (171; I am bound to counsel you for your good as someone who has been in my tutelage from childhood until now, however unworthy I may have been; 112). At the end, of course, she then resorts again to most respectful and polite language expected from a governess, calling herself "Vostre tres humble creature" (180; Your humble creature; 120), but the emotional dimension hidden between the lines, basically tantamount to friendship, cannot be overlooked. As the princess admits herself in her letter: "je vous prie sur toute l'amour que avez a moy que, tantost ces letres veues, le plus hastivement que vous pourrés que vous ordeniés de voz besongnes en tele maniere que . . ." (170; I beg you, in the name of all the love you have for me, that, once you have seen this letter, you put your affairs in order as quickly as you can, such that you are ready to come to me . . . ; 111). And she even concludes her letter with the greeting in verse, affirming the deep friendship: "A la dame que clamoit / Moult s'amie, et tres l'amoit" (171, vv. 3166–67; to the lady whom she called her very good friend and whom she loved dearly), as formulaic as that might sound.

We can be sure, however, that future research will unearth many innovative attempts by Renaissance women writers, for instance, to express their great need for and interest in friendship with other women, such as Laura Cereta (1469–1499).<sup>198</sup>

In her letter to Santa Pelegrina she goes to great length to discuss the problems of and with friendship, since people tend to disregard it as a phenomenon that is not “useful”: “And so friendship, though extraordinary in its ethical dimensions and lifelong in its physical aspect, is disregarded among human desires.”<sup>199</sup> Addressing her friend’s long silence and her own feelings of being rejected by her, she emphasizes that friendship does not consist of an “exchange of flattery and gifts” (137). Appealing to the addressee to resume the communication, Laura outlines how a ruptured friendship could be restored: “The question you raise has to be debated, not mocked or belittled, so that the sacred pledge of our loyalty and respect for one another, though now beaten and broken, can be healed, and so that everything—once the sickness in our thoughts about one another has been medicated—may soon be right again between us” (137). For her, friendship amounts to being one of the highest forms of love: “you, who are the most beloved of friends” (138). Probing the causes of their conflict, she then concludes: “After all, this is the hallmark of one’s humanity: the ability to recognize one’s own weakness. Therefore dismiss the thought of a quarrel as the result of our difference of opinion” (138).

Moderata Fonte, or rather Modesta Pozzo (1555–1592), in her *The Worth of Women* (*Il merito delle donne*), written around 1592 and published posthumously in 1600, also engaged in a critical examination of friendship and has her character Leonora state: “. . . ‘this sacred virtue of friendship is utterly pure and unaffected, it rejects all falsity, cares nothing for honor, scorns all boasting, pretense, and simulation, and is never idle, but always eager to show itself concretely in demonstrations of affection’.”<sup>200</sup> Her dialogue partner Corinna confirms her opinion and adds the further comment: “. . . For a man who is a true friend to another must behave toward him in an absolutely frank and open manner: there must be no artifice in his behavior, no polite scruples, no hidden object or secret agenda. He should treat his friend just as he would a brother, a father, a son, that is, he should be as free and easy in all his dealings with him as he might be with

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<sup>198</sup> Carolyn James and Bill Kent, “Renaissance Friendship: Traditional Truths, New and Dissenting Voices,” *Friendship: A History*, 111–64; here 145 (2009; see note 179).

<sup>199</sup> Laura Cereta, *Collected Letters of a Renaissance Feminist*. Transcribed, Translated, and Edited by Diana Robin. *The Other Voice in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1997), 137.

<sup>200</sup> Moderata Fonte (Modesta Pozzo), *The Worth of Women: Wherein Is Clearly Revealed Their Nobility and Their Superiority to Men*. Ed. and Transl. by Virginia Cox. *The Other Voice in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1997), 124.

a blood relative, even feeling at liberty to command favors when he needs them, and he should give his friend license to behave just as freely in return, never denying him anything he asks" (124).

Demonstrating her profound learning, Moderata quotes various authorities from antiquity (Ovid, Seneca, Demetrius, and Cicero) to the early sixteenth century who all confirmed that misfortune brings to light the genuine affection between friends, and exposes those who are only false friends (125–27), a fundamental idea that Boethius had discussed as well in his *Consolatio philosophiae* (see above). Corinna then concludes: "'true friendship, true affinity, is the cause of all good. For it is friendship that keeps the world alive: friendship seals the marriages that preserve the individual in the species, while the friendship and bonding of the elements maintains health in our bodies, and brings fine weather to the air, calm to the sea, and peace to the earth, so that cities can be built, kingdoms grow to greatness, and all creatures live in comfort . . .'" (128).

What was regarded as sincere friendship, what was perceived as simulations? Baroque writers tended to manipulate many of the traditional ethical values as part of the courtly etiquettes, and in this process also could become an instrument for polite manners and gentleness. Madeleine de Scudéry (1607–1701), one of the most popular seventeenth-century European novelists, has one of her speakers in the *Rhetorical Dialogues* say that "friendship is so delicate [a relationship] that you can never be too careful not to endanger it."<sup>201</sup> And a bit later she has a woman called Bérise reflect upon letters of gallantry: "One is able to mock [everything] ingeniously [in these letters], praise and flattery agreeably find their place in them, in them one speaks sometimes of friendship, as if one were speaking of love, in them one searches for novelty; in them one is able also to speak innocent lies" (147). Subsequently she is asked to describe in detail how love letters are to be composed, which allows her also to refer to letters of friendship: "Those who receive an elegant letter of friendship make a point of showing it, while those who receive an elegant love letter are embarrassed to publish it; thus one should not find it strange that one sees so few good ones of this last kind" (148).

Surprisingly, however, as L. Bellee Jones alerts us in her contribution to this volume, sixteenth- and then even seventeenth-century philosophers and writers, such as Michel de Montaigne, explicitly insisted on men's exclusionary claim to possess the power of mind and strength of soul to develop true friendship, whereas that would never be possible among and by women. Curiously, however, the very insistence on this point, formulated with a rather strange hysteria, might indicate the very opposite, as if the male debaters focused on the topic of

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<sup>201</sup> Madeleine de Scudéry, *Selected Letters, Orations, and Rhetorical Dialogues*. Ed. and Trans. by Jane Donawerth and Julie Strongson. *The Other Voice in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2004), 130.



friendship tried deliberately hard to project female friendship and female friends as a matter too absurd and outlandish to exist in reality. Perhaps that was precisely their strategy to hold on to their public and private power, while reality might have been quite the opposite. Where, however, would we have to draw the line between female homosocial friendship and same-sex erotics?<sup>202</sup> That issue, of course, pertains just as much to male-male friendship and cannot be decided here so easily, if at all.

But women have enjoyed friendship, both in the Middle Ages and far beyond. After all, there have been many cases of famous female friendships since the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, both in religious circles, such as the Quakers, and in secular contexts.<sup>203</sup> Why not earlier already? Why not in the Church? Why not among the courtly ladies? Raising these questions implies, of course, that positive answers are just about to be developed. Obviously, our research cannot claim to be exhaustive, and the more aspects we address regarding friendship, the more questions appear on the horizon. The evidence by Laura Cereta and Moderata Fonte, among others, indicates already where we can expect to discover more aspects of friendship between women in the early modern age, thus counterbalancing centuries of male subjugation of women, hence of female friendships as well. "The slighting of female friendship is part, then, of the more general slighting and devaluation of those activities of women that go beyond their traditional connections to men and family."<sup>204</sup>

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<sup>202</sup> Lillian Faderman, *Surpassing the Love of Men: Romantic Friendship and Love Between Women from the Renaissance to the Present* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1981); Harriette Andreadis, *Sappho in Early Modern England: Female Same-Sex Literary Erotics 1550–1714*. Chicago Series on Sexuality, History and Society (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2001).

<sup>203</sup> For examples from earlier centuries, see Rosalind K. Marshal, *Queen Mary's Women: Female Relatives, Servants, Friends and Enemies of Mary, Queen of Scots* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2006); Janice Raymond, *A Passion for Friends: Toward a Philosophy of Female Affection* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986); Margret Hansen, *Freundinnen: Freundschaftserfahrungen in weiblichen Biographien*. Internationale Hochschulschriften, 532 (Münster, New York, et al.: Waxmann, 2009). For Quakers, see Sandra Stanley Holton, *Quaker Women: Personal Life, Memory and Radicalism in the Lives of Women Friends, 1780–1930*. Women's and Gender History (New York and London: Routledge, 2007).

<sup>204</sup> Fern L. Johnson and Elizabeth J. Aries, "The Talk of Women Friends," *Language and Gender: A Reader*, ed. Jennifer Coates (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), 215–25; here 215.

T. Women and Friendship  
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Although the question of friendship with and between women during these periods is still complex and far from clear, new perspectives on the distinctive nature of these friendships have led scholars to challenge earlier assumptions about these relationships. In a study of the lives of early modern women, Sara Mendelson and Patricia Crawford note that the absence of a “literary culture” about women’s friendship makes it very difficult to recover evidence of these relationships, which were “based in activities and oral traditions” and differed markedly between social classes.<sup>205</sup> Karma Lochrie argues that ecclesiastical writers’ labeling of women who talked together as gossipers whose sole topic was sex helped lead to the relative silence about female friendship and love then.<sup>206</sup> Most of the time, as Catherine Mooney points out, “women’s words almost invariably reach us only after having passed through the filters of their male confessors, patrons, and scribes.”<sup>207</sup>

These realizations, David Tinsley notes, have, therefore, sparked three decades of feminist research in which scholars have subjected medieval attitudes toward gender, power, and hierarchy to critical analysis and found new insights.<sup>208</sup> There are, we now know, sets of friendship correspondence written both by and to women in religious communities, for example. These sets are limited in contrast to the immense number of extant letters of friendship written by and to male ecclesiastics mentioned above; however, we do get glimpses into women’s understanding of these networks from them nonetheless. Among this small

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<sup>205</sup> Sara Mendelson and Patricia Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England* (Oxford and New York: Clarendon Press, 1998), 231.

<sup>206</sup> Karma Lochrie, “Between Women,” *Cambridge Companion to Medieval Women’s Writing*, ed. Carolyn Dinshaw and David Wallace. *Cambridge Companions to Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 70–90; here 71–72.

<sup>207</sup> *Gendered Voices: Medieval Saints and their Interpreters*, ed. Catherine M. Mooney. The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 7.

<sup>208</sup> See “The Spiritual Friendship of Henry Suso and Elsbeth Stagel,” in this volume. For insightful studies on the treatment of women’s texts, see Ursula Peters, *Religiöse Erfahrung als literarisches Faktum: Zur Vorgeschichte und Genese frauenmystischer Texte des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts*. *Hermæa*, Neue Folge, 56 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1988); Mooney, *Gendered Voices*; and John Wayland Coakley, *Women, Men, and Spiritual Power: Female Saints and their Male Collaborators* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006); Laurie Finke, *Women’s Writing in English: Medieval England* (London: Longman, 1999); *New Readings on Women in Old English Literature*, ed. Helen Damico and Alexandra Hennessey Olsen (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1990); Claire Less and Gillian Overing, *Double Agents: Women and Clerical Culture in Anglo-Saxon England*. The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001).

number of letters, some are written by religious women who refer to others as “amicitia,” and some are male Church leaders such as Anselm desiring to be in friendship, “amicitiam,” with a woman, as R. Jacob McDonie notes in his article in this volume and Sally Vaughn explores in several recent works.<sup>209</sup> Explicit evidence of women’s participation in formal friendships is shown through the articles within this volume by Jennifer Constantine-Jackson, who details the brilliant exchanges between Heloise and Abelard about the nature of their spiritual friendship, and by Lisa Weston, who examines women’s participation in the Boniface Circle, pointing to the synthetic kinship relationships that both men and women use there to textualize epistolary friendship.<sup>210</sup> In addition, the close-knit groups of Quaker women discussed later in this Introduction as sharing spiritual insights were called Women Friendship groups, and these women were, in the same sense as the men, friends.

Much of the new scholarship about women’s friendships grows out of readers understanding that they must look beyond the male-centered language patterns and literary forms in order to recognize the full involvement of women in, especially, medieval works, scholars having recently attributed the apparent lack of friendship with and between women in many texts to alternate phrasing and differences in proportion and perspective.<sup>211</sup> Thus, despite statements to the contrary, such as Allan Bray’s claim that no evidence exists of female friendship or of friendship between a man and woman in English medieval or Renaissance works, scholars now identify a number of relationships between women and others as friendships.<sup>212</sup> Holle Canatella defines the relationship between Goscelin of Saint Bertin and Eve of Wilton not as a sexual love, but as a spiritual friendship that ennobled, in Jaeger’s terms, both of them.<sup>213</sup> Diane Watt, in *Medieval Women’s*

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<sup>209</sup> R. Jacob McDonie, “Mysterious Friends in the *Prayers* and Letters of Anselm of Canterbury,” in this volume. Sally N. Vaughn, *St. Anselm and the Handmaidens of God: A Study of Anselm’s Correspondence with Women* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2002) and “St. Anselm and his Students Writing about Love: A Theological Foundation for the Rise of Romantic Love in Europe,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 19.1 (2010): 54–73.

<sup>210</sup> Jennifer Constantine-Jackson, “*Sapienter amare poterimus*”: On Rhetoric and Friendship in the Letters of Heloise and Abelard,” in this volume. Lisa M. C. Weston, “Where Textual Bodies Meet: Anglo-Saxon Women’s Epistolary Friendships,” in this volume.

<sup>211</sup> See, for example, *Seeking the Woman in Late Medieval and Renaissance Writings: Essays in Feminist Contextual Criticism*. Ed. Sheila Fisher and Janet E. Halley (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1989); Sister Allen Prudence, R.S.M., *The Concept of Woman: The Aristotelian Revolution, 750 B.C. – A.D. 1250* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1997); and Allen, *The Concept of Woman*, vol. 2: *The Early Humanist Reformation, 1250–1500* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2002). Also a new on-line source: *The Other Voice In Early Modern Europe*, ed Margaret King and Albert Rabil, Jr. A Comprehensive English Language Bibliography. <http://albertrabil.com/othervoicebib.html> (last accessed on August 1, 2010).

<sup>212</sup> *The Friend*, 175 (see note 164)

<sup>213</sup> “Long Distance Love: The Ideology of Male-Female Spiritual Friendship in Goscelin of Sain

*Writings: Works by and for Women in England, 1100–1500*, argues that the relationships between Christina of Markyate and Geoffrey de Gorran, abbot of St. Albans, as well as between her and Roger, a hermit monk and deacon at St. Albans, were true spiritual friendships.<sup>214</sup> Mary Jane Morrow in “Sharing Texts: Anselmian Prayers, A Nunnery’s Psalter, and the Role of Friendship” shows examples of men and women sharing devotional materials in friendship-like contexts,<sup>215</sup> while in this volume, David F. Tinsley outlines the obvious spiritual friendship between Henry Suso and Elsbeth Stagel.<sup>216</sup>

Although we recognize spiritual friendships among male religious figures and saints as a means to gain favor with or feel closer to the Christian God, scholarship has not considered the activities of the medieval women mystics as similar in any way. Despite the obvious differences, the bonds that women mystics created between themselves and Jesus or God gave them a similar sense of immediacy and spiritual realization. Just as men envisioned these relationships as friendships, women visionaries typically bonded with Mary in a relationship visualized as a feudal ceremony in which the devotee took Mary as her feudal Lord and was received into her protection as vassal.

This bonding was analogous to the ritual acts and oaths that bound men to their lords, secular and spiritual. “It is Mary who, as wise guardian and affectionate mother, brings together the saint and her son . . . By allowing her daughters to participate in her experience, she leads them to a mature and compassionate ability to love.”<sup>217</sup> Their relationship with Mary embodies characteristics very similar to their male counterparts’ friendships with saints or their God. If we consider the case of Hildegard of Bingen, for example, Albrecht Classen argues, “The intricate relationship between the gazing mystic and the Godhead itself” makes questions of gendered relationships irrelevant.<sup>218</sup>

At the same time, the intense sense of bonding between men and women or women and women of relatively equal status and sharing similar interests—markers of friendship in the letter collections among men—also appears in other letters as well as other types of writing by women. Karen Cherewatuk and Ulrike Wiethaus in *Dear Sister: Medieval Women and the Epistolary Genre* discuss

Bertin’s *Liber confortatorius*,” *The Journal of the History of Sexuality* 19.1 (2010): 35–53.

<sup>214</sup> Diane Watt, ed. *Medieval Women’s Writings: Works by and for Women in England, 1100–1500* (Cambridge and Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2007), 19 and 67.

<sup>215</sup> *Voices in Dialogue: Reading Women in the Middle Ages*, ed. Linda Olson and Kathryn Kerby-Fulton (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005), 97–113.

<sup>216</sup> “The Spiritual Friendship of Henry Suso and Elsbeth Stagel,” in this volume.

<sup>217</sup> Elizabeth A. Petroff, *Medieval Women’s Visionary Literature*, (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 11.

<sup>218</sup> *The Power of a Woman’s Voice in Medieval and Early Modern Literatures*. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 1 (Walter de Gruyter: Berlin and New York, 2007), 150. See also Classen’s chapter on the sisterbooks of late Medieval Germany, *Woman’s Voice*, 231–69.

secular and religious letters between men and women that show a respect and fondness for one another that could be called “friendship.”<sup>219</sup> Karma Lochrie sees the essence of spiritual friendship in the relationship between Margery Kemp and Julian of Norwich and notes that the letters between Hildegard of Bingen and Richardis are thought to describe the possibility of spiritual friendship between women.<sup>220</sup> Although Christine de Pizan does not provide a theory, she does provide a model of ideal friendship between women when she calls for women’s self-representation and a community that provides spiritual and intellectual strength.<sup>221</sup> Furthermore, Lisa Vollendorf’s statement about a seventeenth-century convent can be applied to women’s religious houses in general:

For all of its variability in genre, style, and purpose, literature produced in the convent emphasizes the importance of women’s alliances with each other. Women’s networks emerge as one of the chief themes in poetry, drama, and *vitae*. As Sor Violante’s discussion of the value of friendship suggests, convent life generated—indeed, required—strong bonds among women. For scholars interested in women’s history, the depictions of female friendship in convent writing are valuable precisely because they cover the positive and negative aspects of the bonds that women forged with each other.<sup>222</sup>

Scholars such as Mary Erler have argued that the lives of late medieval secular women were often quite like those of religious women and, thus, open to friendships:

The closeness of female secular and religious life is visible in a common spirituality which transcends state in life and which often presents only marginally differentiated ideals to secular and religious women: humility, obedience, some degree of physical enclosure. These ideals are supported as well by common texts, which were read both by laywomen and nuns.<sup>223</sup>

Joanne Findon, agrees, noting the similar unofficial networking that existed between women in many medieval communities and remarking in particular on the spiritual relationships created by baptism that show the importance of social bonds of loyalty beyond the biological family.<sup>224</sup>

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<sup>219</sup> *Dear Sister: Medieval Women and the Epistolary Genre*. Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993).

<sup>220</sup> Karma Lochrie, “Between Women,” *Cambridge Companion to Medieval Women’s Writing*, 70–90; here 76–77 (see note 206).

<sup>221</sup> Lochrie, “Between Women,” 77 (see note 206).

<sup>222</sup> Lisa Vollendorf, “The Value of Female Friendship in Seventeenth-Century Spain,” *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 47.4 (Winter 2005): 425–45; here 436.

<sup>223</sup> Mary C. Erler, *Women, Reading, and Piety in Late Medieval England*. Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 46 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 5.

<sup>224</sup> Joanne Findon, “The Other Story: Female Friendship in the Middle English *Ywain and Gawain*,” *Parergon* 22.1 (2005): 71–94; here 76.

If we turn to the secular literature of Anglo-Saxon England, the elegy commonly known as *The Wife's Lament* already presents scholars considerable material to debate, such as what the relationships are among the characters and what has happened to isolate the speaker from her "freond"; however, an examination of the friendship terms in the poem raises even more questions because of the truly masculine connotations the terms carry. Found in the tenth-century compilation of Old English poems known as the *Exeter Book*, the poem was first published in 1842 by Benjamin Thorpe, who considered the speaker in the poem to be a man.<sup>225</sup> Since then, however, most scholars have accepted the speaker as a woman based on the feminine inflections of three words in the first two lines of the poem.<sup>226</sup> Although a number of interpretations have been proposed and contested, in a most basic summary of the poem the woman laments that her husband has traveled across the sea, that his kinsmen have plotted against her or them, and that they condemned her to live alone in an earthen structure under a tree. It is not at all clear why his kinsmen have forced the pair to separate or if the husband is in league with his kinsmen against her.<sup>227</sup>

The Bosworth-Toller Anglo-Saxon dictionary from 1848 cites a line from the poem as a simple example of friendship with no sense of a love relationship between the two participants: "is nu swa hit no wære freondscipe uncer; 2425" (our friendship is now as though it never were).<sup>228</sup> The only friendship word in their dictionary glossed to mean an amorous relationship or love is the compound "freondlufu," with the word for love, "lufu," attached to "freond." Entries in later Anglo-Saxon dictionaries, however, such as *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, Clark Hall and Meritt, and glossaries such as that in *The Cambridge Old English Reader* give "lover" as a possible definition of "freond" and "conjugal love" for one definition of "freondscipe"<sup>229</sup> so that Karl Wentersdorf's comment on a line in the poem is typical of many scholars': "Certainly there is no problem in taking the

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<sup>225</sup> Benjamin Thorpe, *Codex exoniensis. A collection of Anglo-Saxon poetry, from a manuscript in the library of the dean and chapter of the Exeter, with an English translation, notes, and indexes* (London: W. Pickering, 1842), 115a and 115b of Exeter Cathedral Library MS 3501.

<sup>226</sup> "Geomorre" and "minre sylfre."

<sup>227</sup> According to Frederic G. Cassidy and Richard N. Ringler in their revision of *Bright's Old English Grammar and Reader*, 3rd ed. (New York: Holt, Reinhart and Winston, Inc., 1971), 343, "Scholars are now pretty much agreed that the so-called Wife's Lament is a dramatic monologue spoken by a woman. They agree about little else."

<sup>228</sup> Joseph Bosworth, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary: Based on the Manuscript Collections of the Late Joseph Bosworth: Supplement by Thomas Northcote Toller* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1898), 335. Available on-line at: <http://beowulf.engl.uky.edu/~kiernan/BT/Bosworth-Toller.htm> (last accessed on Aug. 1, 2010). Translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

<sup>229</sup> John R. Clark Hall, *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, 4th ed. with Supplement by Herbert D. Meritt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960); and Richard Marsden, *The Cambridge Old English Reader* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

*freond* of 47b to be the same man as the *hlaforð* of 6a, since *freond* not uncommonly denotes ‘lover’ and ‘husband.’”<sup>230</sup>

However, it is actually not easy to find an Old English text where “*freond*” clearly means lover. King Alfred’s translations of Gregory’s *Pastoral Care* and *Orosius* are given by Clark Hall and Meritt as the texts where this usage is found, but in their contexts, the words fit better as simply friend or friendship instead of lover and conjugal love.<sup>231</sup> Moreover, the *Wife’s Lament* is not listed as a source in their dictionary for these uses, and the OED does not list an example of “friend” applied to a lover until a 1490 text printed by Caxton. If there were a clear history of the words delineating heterosexual relationships in Old English literature, then the speaker’s use of them in this poem would be unremarkable, but that is not the case.

Instead, I argue for appropriation of traditional male terms by a lyrical female voice to emphasize the seriousness of the commitment that the two had made to each other. In a study of the word “*beotedan*,” meaning to boast, vow, or promise, which the female speaker uses in the poem to describe the pledge she and her husband had made to each other, Ashby Kinch notes that this word is used elsewhere only to describe an exclusively male-male bond:

By injecting the voice and perspective of a woman into the discourse of warrior culture, the poem implicitly argues that the ethics of warrior culture ought rightly to apply to male-female interpersonal relationships as well: violating an oath is a fundamental abrogation of ethical norms, regardless of the gender of the oath-takers.<sup>232</sup>

Looked at this way, the friendship terms in the poem are an extension of the oaths of loyalty between the couple and call into question the values of this warrior culture where a bride may be married off to an enemy tribe as a peace-weaver and then be discarded when political events intervene. Repeated four times in the poem, forms of “*freond*” indicate the trust and respect that characterized the couple’s relationship before the trouble started and show through contrast their current alienation. In an abruptly short line, the speaker captures the effect of their current alienation: “*is nu swa hit no wære freondscipe uncer*” (2425; our friendship is now as though it never were). With a later line—“*þæt min freond siteð / under stanhlipe, / storme behrimed*” (4748; That my friend may sit under stony cliffs, storms berimed)—it is unclear whether the wife is imagining her husband’s miserable state or cursing him to endure this misery. Either way we interpret “*min*

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<sup>230</sup> “The Situation of the Narrator in the Old English *Wife’s Lament*,” *Speculum*, 56.3 (1981): 492–16; here 493.

<sup>231</sup> *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, 139 (see note 229).

<sup>232</sup> Ashby Kinch, “The Ethical Agency of the Female Lyric Voice: The *Wife’s Lament* and Catullus 64,” *Studies in Philology* 103.2 (2006): 121–52; 125–26.

freond" in this line, however, as bitter irony or not, use of "friend" strengthens the emotion in the lines.<sup>233</sup>

Furthermore, twice forms of "wine," a synonym meaning friend, protector or lord, carrying clearly masculine connotations, are also used: "wineleas wræcca" (10; friendless exile) and "se min wine" (50; this friend of mine). Adopting these terms usually found in Old English heroic poems such as *Beowulf* and *The Tragedy of Hildeburh* to describe men joined in *comitatus* or found in spiritual works such as *The Dream of the Rood* to describe a friend of God dramatically underscores not only the woman's sense of betrayal but also the importance of a relationship like this. Abandoning a lover is one thing, but abandoning a friend is quite another.

If we turn to the noble woman in medieval literature, she is usually flanked by family members, by ladies in waiting or by serving women and seldom interacts to any degree with a woman outside of these intimate, carefully defined networks. As C. Stephen Jaeger explains in *Ennobling Love*, "the old Ciceronian notion of friendship as love of virtue translated into 'love raises the worth of lovers'" for characters in the courtly love literature. While they pursue these chivalric activities, male characters such as Amis and Amilion, for example, are called true friends and act in ways that accord with the patterns outlined in classical friendship treatises. For women characters, though, we might say the Ciceronian notion of friendship as love of virtue is not so much translated as transfigured. Although a good number of women in these romances do lack friends or companions who could be friends, others, recent studies have argued, have someone that meets the test for a true friend but is never called a friend.

It is clear, for example, that the two women Guilliadon and Guildelüec in Marie de France's *Eliduc* have a spiritual relationship that is stronger than the relationship between Eliduc and his wife, Guildelüec.<sup>234</sup> In a reversal of the usual romance plot where men must sacrifice their wives for friendship, here a woman sacrifices her husband for a woman.<sup>235</sup> When Eliduc brings his lover back to England after serving her father, the king of Logres, his first wife discovers her

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<sup>233</sup> For alternate interpretations of this line, see Elinor Lench, "The Wife's Lament: A Poem of the Living Dead," *Comitatus: A Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 1 (1970): 323; Karl P. Wentersdorf, "The Situation of the Narrator in the Old English Wife's Lament," *Old English Shorter Poems: Basic Readings*, ed. Katherine O'Brien O'Keefe. Garland Reference Library of the Humanities, 1432 (New York: Garland, 1994), 357–92 (orig. in *Speculum* 56.3 [1981]: 492–516); and John D. Niles, "The Problem of the Ending of the Wife's 'Lament'," *Speculum* 78.4 (2003): 1107–50.

<sup>234</sup> Marie de France, *Les lais de Marie de France*, ed. Jean Rychner. Classiques français du Moyen Age, 93 (Paris: Champion, 1983). See also Marco D. Roman, "Reclaiming the Self Through Silence: *The Riverside Counselor's Stories* and the *Lais* of Marie de France," *Crossing the Bridge: Comparative Essays on Medieval European and Heian Japanese Women Writers*, ed. Barbara Stevenson and Cynthia Ho. The New Middle Ages (New York and Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave, 2000), 175–88.

<sup>235</sup> Lochrie, "Between Women," 84 (see note 206).



comatose in a tomb and saves her life. The first wife then retreats to an abbey so that the pair can be free to marry. Eventually the second wife joins her in the abbey and the two lovingly serve God together. Marie de France, as usual in her *lais*, has reversed the conventional patterns in medieval literature in order to place women characters in contexts of power, this time as spiritual friends of God.

Whereas a noble woman like Guenevere, Isolde, or Heurodis might spend time with her ladies in waiting or servants, oftentimes within a castle or home, these women, because of their positions, are not called friends. If we expand the restrictive paradigm of friendship once again, however, this time to consider relationships between women of different ranks, we do find friends. Women gain emotional support or advice from another friendly woman in a number of romances, including *William of Palerne*, *Floris Blaunche flour*, *Octovian*, and *Lay le Freine* in English as well as in some of Marie de France's *Lais*.

One striking example is the relationship between the servant Lunet and her mistress Alundyne in the Middle-English version of *Ywain and Gawain*, a romance probably based on but different in important ways from Chrétien de Troyes's *Yvain*.<sup>236</sup> Here Ywain is rescued by Lunet after he has killed a knight in battle. Lunet, the companion of the dead knight's wife, gives him a ring that makes him invisible and convinces the grieving widow, Alundyne, to marry him. Later on, after he does not return from adventuring abroad with Gawain when he promised he would, Alundyne renounces their relationship. After much debate between Alundyne and Lunet, Lunet convinces Alundyne to reconcile with him, thus bringing the tale to a happy ending. In her study of the poem, Joanne Findon argues that, while the male characters test their chivalric values, these two women test and strengthen their loyalty and affection for each other, thus their friendship, and the decisions they make advance the narrative towards its moral and happy ending. "The friendship between Lunet and Alundyne emerges as the key to a type of female discourse that subtly challenges the chivalric male values of the romance text."<sup>237</sup>

As he does so often with social issues, Chaucer complicates our views of women's friendships as he overlays contending discourses about the topic. When the Wife of Bath in the *Canterbury Tales* uses the word "friend" in the context of her acquaintances, the word ironically shifts in meaning as her narrative progresses. One of the false accusations the Wife makes against her first three husbands is their objecting to her having an innocent friendship: "and if I have a gossib or a freend / Withouten gilt, thou chidest as a feend" (and if I have a close companion

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<sup>236</sup> *Ywain and Gawain*, ed. Friedman, Albert B., and Norman T. Harrington. EETS o.s. 254. (1964; London: Oxford University Press, Rpt. 1981).

<sup>237</sup> Joanne Findon "The Other Story," 73 (see note 224).

or a friend quite innocently, you chide me like a fiend).<sup>238</sup> In this context, we assume she means a female “friend.” As soon as we read “his” in the rest of the sentence, however—“If that I walke or pleye unto his hous” (If I walk or play in his house)—we realize that she is actually talking about visiting a male “friend” in his house, quite a different circumstance. Instead of affirming true friendship between women, the lines have reintroduced misogynist views on women’s sexual appetites and the impossibility of women forming innocent relationships of this type.

On the other hand, several relationships in the *Tales* such as that between Custance and the constable’s wife Hermengyld in the *Man of Law’s Tale* illustrate a true friendship between women without mentioning the word “friend” and all of its troubling associations connected to women.<sup>239</sup> Although their time together represents just one part of the plot, it is a key event; before and after her time with Hermengyld, Custance is surrounded by women who plot her death because she is a beautiful young Christian woman whom their sons want to marry. Hermengyld and Custance spend most of the night in prayer before Hermengyld is murdered by a spurned would-be lover of Custance’s while sleeping in the same bed with Custance. Hermengyld, who had taken Custance in and cared for her, is essentially sacrificed in place of Custance. As a result, Findon contends that theirs is an honorable spiritual friendship analogous to those of men.<sup>240</sup>

In another study of a Chaucer tale, Sara Deutch Schotland, as discussed above, argues in this volume that the relationship between Canacee and the female falcon in the *Squire’s Tale* shows that “friendships between women provide protection in a dangerous world.”<sup>241</sup> Questions of women’s security are also raised in Chaucer’s *Troilus and Criseyde* as pervasive irony undercuts the scores of friendship words in *Troilus and Criseyde* to the point where the narrative focuses on Criseyde’s alienation and isolation rather than on her infidelity. The first use of “frend” in the work refers to Criseyde’s isolation as she has not got a “frend to whom she dorste hir mone” (I 98); the first time Pandarus is mentioned in the context of Troilus is as his friend (I 548); the first description of Criseyde that Pandarus gives Troilus says no one else is “frendlyer, n’ a more gracious” than she (I 884); and the first description Pandarus gives Criseyde of Troilus ends with the claim that “therto

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<sup>238</sup> “The Wife of Bath’s Tale,” *The Complete Poetry and Prose of Geoffrey Chaucer*, ed. John Fisher (New York, Chicago, London: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1977; 2nd ed. 1989), III. 1–1264; III. 244–45. In another tale, *The Franklin’s*, Dorigen is also out walking with “friends” when she encounters Aurelius, who pursues her even though she is married. Women wandering around, presumably with friends, instead of staying home was a frequent topic of sermons at the time. See Peggy Knapp, *Chaucer and the Social Context* (New York and London: Routledge, 1990), 97.

<sup>239</sup> “Man of Law’s Tale,” *The Complete Poetry and Prose*, II. 1–1190 (see note 238).

<sup>240</sup> Findon, “The Other Story,” 78 (see note 224).

<sup>241</sup> “Talking Bird and Gentle Heart: Female Homosocial Bonding,” in this volume.

he is the frendlieste man / Of gret estat that evere I saugh my lyve"<sup>242</sup> (II 204–05). As the characters become enmeshed in layer after layer of deceit and betrayal, the more than eighty additional ironical uses of friendship terms make it clear that the one thing Criseyde could have used was a true friend to offer her sound advice and protection.<sup>243</sup> The undercurrent of competing perspectives on this issue in Chaucer's works seems to suggest real anxiety over the questions of women and friendship within his culture.

A number of studies of women in early modern literature also identify relationships that should clearly be considered friendships. While examining Emilia's role in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, by Shakespeare and Fletcher, for example, Laurie J. Shannon contends that willful chastity in women can create the bonds of virtue necessary for female friendships. In this early modern version of the Palamon and Arcite story, Emilia's arguments for remaining chaste instead of entering into a forced marriage include a nostalgic view of an earlier friendship with Flavina that echoes friendships that writers such as Montaigne say are possible only between men. Noting Emilia's devotion to the goddess Diana, Shannon argues that Queen Elizabeth's choice of chastity and the Petrarchan model's rejection of male desire make this "moral ambitious" type of chastity "a pursuit of integrity and autonomy" acting much like the male virtue that proves friendship.<sup>244</sup> Based on this premise, Shannon then builds her case for "chastity, pluralized, strengthened as female friendship, and linked to a proprietary zone of affectionate autonomy, offer[ring] the only contest in the play to political subjugation and unreasonable rule."<sup>245</sup>

English public documents during both the medieval and early modern periods frequently contain the word "friend" used in the context of women to refer to someone designated to ensure the financial or physical well-being of single, engaged, or widowed women. Since financial control lay generally in the hands of men, these friends are almost always men. For example, the term "friends" is used in the piece of royal legislation from the tenth century called *Wifmannes bewedding* to refer to people on the bride's side who must consent along with her to the marriage and also to man's acquaintances who must ensure that he treats

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<sup>242</sup> "Troilus and Criseyde," *The Complete Poetry and Prose*, 403–540 (see note 238). Section and line numbers will be given in the text.

<sup>243</sup> For a concordance of the terms in Chaucer's works, see online at: [www.umm.maine.edu/faculty/necastro/chaucer/concordance/](http://www.umm.maine.edu/faculty/necastro/chaucer/concordance/) (last accessed on Aug. 1, 2010). See now also Gretchen Mieszkowski, "Chaucerian Comedy: *Troilus and Criseyde*," *Laughter in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 5 (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 2010), 457–80.

<sup>244</sup> Laurie J. Shannon, "Emilia's Argument: Friendship and 'Human Title' in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*," *English Literary History* 64.3 (Fall 1997): 657–682; here 659.

<sup>245</sup> *Ibid.*, 676.

her well.<sup>246</sup> In a survey of wills from several areas of England, we can see the common use of this term to refer to someone who, displaying both loyalty and virtue, can be trusted to take care of or protect a woman or her property in the future. When Lady Peryne Clanbowe wrote out her will in 1422, she called those designated to execute her will as “my trusty frendes,” two women and three men, and then lists the things she has willed to them to ensure that they do her business the way she wants it done.

Furthermore, adding a second layer of protective friendship, she also lists the things she is leaving to her brother Robert “vpon this condicion, þat he be good frend to my executours, and þat he lete hem note (let them not) off ministracion off myn other goode on the Manere of Pychardisokell ne elles where (nor elsewhere).”<sup>247</sup> When William Kyme of Ashby wills Thomas Kendall “my best cote to be good frende to my wyff,” on 6 November 1530, he is placing trust in Kendall to look after his wife’s interests while he is gone.<sup>248</sup> In another case, apparently worried that his son might not pay his wife her yearly annuity after his death, John Scamon declares that her security will be judged publicly by the “syghttes of her frendes,” (sights of her friends) and makes arrangements for someone to step in if necessary.<sup>249</sup> Later on, illustrating the changes in the use of the word brought on by the Protestant Reformation, as discussed below, the draper George Pease, when asked how he had ordered his estate, said he had left it to his friends. When asked what he had done for his wife, “he replied that she was one of his friends.”<sup>250</sup>

Beyond this distinct use in wills, “friend” is also employed in the literature of unmarried or widowed women writers during the early modern period, such as Isabella Whitney and Aemilia Lanyer in England, in appeals for financial support. In the prefatory material to Isabella Whitney’s 1587 book of verse entitled *Nosgay*, she repeatedly uses “friend” when she is appealing for the money to stay in London after she has lost her job. The opening dedication of *Nosgay* to George Mainwaring, a prominent figure in Shropshire who owned much property, calls him her chief friend and asks him to accept the work as a present to repay him for

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<sup>246</sup> Andrew Rabin, “Female Advocacy and Royal Protection in Tenth-Century England: The Legal Career of Queen Aelfthryth,” *Speculum* 84.2 (April 2009): 261–81; here 268.

<sup>247</sup> Frederick J. Furnivall, *Fifty Earliest English Wills in the Court of Probate, London: A.D. 1387–1439 with a Priest’s of 1454*, 50–51.

<sup>248</sup> “Lincoln Wills: 1530 (November),” *Lincoln Wills* 3: 1530–1532 (1930), 68–82. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=53724> (last accessed on Aug. 1, 2010).

<sup>249</sup> “Lincoln Wills: 1531 (April),” 125–35.

<sup>250</sup> “Wills: James I (1603–25),” ed. R. R. Sharpe. *Calendar of wills proved and enrolled in the Court of Husting*, London: Part 2: 1358–1688 (1890), 730–51. Online at: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=67039> (last accessed on Aug. 1, 2010). Another frequent use of “friends” in these wills is to speak of the poor, who are to receive some portion of goods to ensure the good health of the testator’s soul.

the things he has done for her in the past.<sup>251</sup> Interestingly, when she includes a verse letter written to her cousin, "I Cosin am, and faithfull friend, / not minding once to swerve. / . . . / Your poore Kinsewoman, Isabella Whitney" (8), claiming a kinship relationship with him is apparently not adequate for her purposes.<sup>252</sup> By defining herself also as a faithful friend, she is appealing to him through a sense of loyalty and virtuous behavior still actively associated with friendship instead of through a sense of kinship at a time when the importance of the extended family was lessening.

Furthermore, she tells her brother Geoffrey Whitney, a court figure frequently listed as receiving bequests from Queen Elizabeth and best known for writing *Choice of Emblems* dedicated to the Earl of Leicester, that without immediate help she will have to remain at home in the country dependent on *friends* as well as on her parents: "But styll to friends I must appeale (and next our Parentes deare)" (7).<sup>253</sup> Notice that she will appeal for support from her friends before asking her parents for help. Within the main poem of the volume, "Wyll and Testament," she uses "friend" again not only to describe people whose financial support she wants ("vpon her Friendes procurement" 12), but also to refer ironically to those who have allowed others to remain in London's debtor's prison the Counter: "And such as Friends wyl not them bayle, / whose coyne is very thin" (14546). These "friends" she wants to send into the bowels of the prison to punish them for their miserliness. In a final interesting touch, as the earliest secular woman seeking publication in England, she also wills her "friends" to buy books from her publisher, Richard Jones, thus potentially adding to her income. Whitney clearly believes friends are those outside of the family obligated to help others financially in late 16th-century London, a place which is defined, according to Danielle Clarke, by "commercial power," "financial rapaciousness," and "lack of charity" for Whitney.<sup>254</sup>

If we look at Aemilia Lanyer, another woman faced with supporting herself and, in her case, her family, a few decades later, she defines her current financial problems as well as social isolation as a loss of friendship:

Vnconstant Fortune, thou art most too blame, Who casts vs downe into so lowe a frame: Where our great friends wee cannot dayly see, So great a difference is there in degree.<sup>255</sup>

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<sup>251</sup> Isabella Whitney, "From a Sweet Nosgay," ed. Danielle Clarke, *Isabella Whitney, Mary Sidney and Aemilia Lanyer: Renaissance Women Poets* (London, New York, and Toronto: Penguin Books, 2000), 3–4.

<sup>252</sup> Isabella Whitney, "From a Sweet Nosgay," 13 (see note 251). Line numbers are given within the text.

<sup>253</sup> *Ibid.*, 8. Italics are mine.

<sup>254</sup> *Isabella Whitney*, xiv (see note 251).

<sup>255</sup> *Salve Deus Rex Judæorum*, "The Description of Cooke-ham," *Isabella Whitney, Mary Sidney and*

Before she became pregnant by Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon, Queen Elizabeth's Lord Chamberlain, Lanyer had lived among court society, very well provided for as his mistress; after she became pregnant, she was paid off and married to a court musician. In the poem she wrote years later about her change in fortune, she refers euphemistically to her poverty as being in too "lowe a frame" to see "great friends." Moreover, by prefacing her book with a series of dedications to wealthy women, Lanyer is said to use the patronage system to negotiate hierarchical relationships between herself and rich women much as her male contemporaries do, according to Amy Greenstadt, and these relationships were "conceived as a form of friendship or *amicitia*."<sup>256</sup>

As a last example of friendship directly connected to women we should examine the poetry and prose of Katherine Philips, a popular English writer of the seventeenth century who established a Friendship Society and wrote a great deal about friendship. Harriette Andreadis, drawing on the work of Alan Bray and others who reconsider friendship in homoerotic as well as homosocial terms, says Philips's works "reveal the ways in which she was determined to prove that women were worthy friends to men as well as able to emulate the 'unions' so familiar in the discourse and ideology of early modern male-male friendship."<sup>257</sup> Philips continued to write about female friendship despite Jeremy Taylor's saying in response to her query on it that true friendship between women was not possible in the work entitled "A Discourse of the Nature, Offices, and Measures, of Friendship, with Rules of Conducting It, in a Letter to the Most Ingenious and Excellent Mrs. Katharine [*sic*] Philips" (1657).<sup>258</sup> Using a Platonic ideal to argue her case, she writes in "The Friend":

If soules no sexes have, for men t'exclude  
Women from friendship's vast capacity,  
Is a design injurious and rude,  
Onely maintain'd by partiall tyranny.  
Love is allow'd to us, and Innocence,  
And noblest friendships doe proceed from thence.      (19–24)<sup>259</sup>

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*Aemilia Lanyer*, ed. Danielle Clark, 274–80; here 103–106 (see note 251). Earlier Christine de Pizan had counseled widows to be self-sufficient without having to appeal for support from friends. See Christine de Pisan, *Le Livre des trois vertus*, éd. Charity Cannon Willard et Eric Hicks. Bibliothèque du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, 50 (Paris: Champion, 1989). For further discussions of Christine's comments on friendship, see Albrecht Classen's comments above.

<sup>256</sup> Amy Greenstadt, "Aemilia Lanyer's Pathetic Phallacy," *The Journal of Early Modern Cultural Studies* 8.1 (2008): 67–97; here 72.

<sup>257</sup> Ibid.

<sup>258</sup> Harriette Andreadis, "Re-Configuring Early Modern Friendship: Katherine Philips and Homoerotic Desire," *Studies in English Literature 1500–1900* 46.3 (2006): 523–42; here 534.

<sup>259</sup> Katherine Philips, *The Collected Works of Katherine Philips: The Matchless Orinda*, 3 vols., ed. Patrick

Another critic, Mark Llewellyn, argues that friendship for Philips and others at that time is an imagining of the spiritual possibilities that can be attained by intermixing an idealized union of two souls and the undercurrents of sexuality associated with a union of souls.<sup>260</sup> He contends that her poetry echoes others' at that time such as John Donne's in that through what has been called a "'sublime spiritual eros' love for a supremely attractive man (or in some versions a woman), stripped of all sensual appetite, could become the pathway to apprehension of, and eventually mystic union with, divine love and beauty."<sup>261</sup> Philips's writings on friendship between men and women as well as between women and other women are thus evidence of an intellectual debate on these topics going back to Plato whose terms are determined in this seventeenth century case by women. Although some men in early modern culture may still maintain that women are incapable of true friendship based on virtuous behavior and shared love of the good, the women at this time apparently do not agree.

## U. Early Modern Friendships: Additional Perspectives (Marilyn Sandidge)

It is safe to say that the appetite early modern humanists had for the works of Greek and Roman writers—available now to the large reading public in print—revived interest in the topic of friendship, as in many other classical ideas. Throughout Europe in the fifteenth century, the popularity of this topic can be attested by the seventy editions printed of Cicero's *Laelius*; in England, from the earliest version of Cicero's works printed, an English translation put out by William Caxton in 1481, until the early eighteenth century, Cicero's works containing *De amicitia* were printed continually, for a total of fifty editions.<sup>262</sup> The interest generated from just this one work must have been considerable. As evidenced in a range of English literary works, including the English Renaissance dramatists' exploration of friendship on the stage, lesser poets' occasional verse on friendships, poets' elegies on fellow writers, protestant religious figures'

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Thomas, G. Greer, and R. Little (Stump Cross, Essex: Stump Cross Books, 1990), Volume One: *The Poems*.

<sup>260</sup> Mark Llewellyn, "Katherine Philips: Friendship, Poetry and Neo-platonic Thought in Seventeenth Century England" *Philological Quarterly* 81.4 (2002): 441–68. See for similar views on seventeenth-century friendships between men and women Frances Harris, *Transformations of Love: Friendship of John Evelyn and Margaret Godolphin* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

<sup>261</sup> Ibid.

<sup>262</sup> The English Short Title Catalogue. [http://estc.bl.uk/F/?func=file&file\\_name=login-bl-estc](http://estc.bl.uk/F/?func=file&file_name=login-bl-estc) (last accessed August 1, 2010). Albrecht Classen examined the same data, pursuing a similar perspective considering the popularity of that text on a European level; see above.

friendship tropes in poetry, as well as nonfiction sources, including letters, friendship albums, journals, political treatises, and the like, a number of early modern writers were drawn to reexamine the power of this concept and all of its associations, to test, in a sense, its viability and to adapt its features to new doctrines, to contemporary political, economic, and religious realities, and to social behaviors and cultural demands of this period. Friendship in a good many of these cases would not meet all of the requirements needed to satisfy the classical definition of the term; however, those who embraced humanism in England were nevertheless clearly drawn toward the concept of friendship as it had been passed down to them, appreciating its prospects for improving not only social relations within the larger community but also the individual life.

Drawing on the ideal of classical virtuous friendship, the educated elite and members of sixteenth-century literary circles formed “noninstrumental” friendships “based in affinity,” with figures such as Fulke Greville in England composing the “familiar letter,” an “intimate letter of friendship as a convention in humanist circles.”<sup>263</sup> The major figures of the time—Montaigne, Shakespeare, Bacon, Jonson, Milton, and others—celebrated personal friendship between two men. Shakespeare, in fact, explores the conflicts between male-male and male-female pairs in seven of his plays.<sup>264</sup> It has even been argued that “the prestige that humanism granted male-male friendship threatened the primacy of kinship networks dependent on marriage.”<sup>265</sup> If we look at the use of friendship terminology, many English poets wrote critiques, praises, defenses, or elegies about their poet friends, such as Henry King’s, “Vpon the Death of my ever Desired freind Dr Donne Deane of Paules” and Andrew Marvell’s, “To His Noble Friend Mr. Richard Lovelace, upon His Poems.” Although not always as positive in their praise as the named “friend” might wish, these poems show a sense of community, called friendship, that learned men, and we will see, women, wished to be a part of.

During the middle of Elizabeth’s reign, poets such as Barnabe Googe, George Turberville, and Thomas Howell incorporated the rhetoric of friendship into their

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<sup>263</sup> Bray, *The Friend*, 2003, 41, 47–48 (see note 25). The English Short Title Catalogue lists many publications of letters and other documents written by lesser known writers addressed to a “friend” during these decades. See ESTC at The British Library online at: [http://estc.bl.uk/F/?func=file&file\\_name=login-bl-estc](http://estc.bl.uk/F/?func=file&file_name=login-bl-estc) (last accessed 8/16/10).

<sup>264</sup> See Robert Sturges, *Chaucer’s Pardoner and Gender Theory: Bodies of Discourse* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2000). Also see for a discussion of male friendships Laurens J. Mills, *One Soul in Bodies Twain: Friendship in Tudor Literature and Stuart Drama* (Bloomington, IN: The Principia Press, 1937).

<sup>265</sup> Gregory Chaplin, “‘One Flesh, One Heart, One Soul’: Renaissance Friendship and Miltonic Marriage,” *Modern Philology* (2001): 266–92. See Lorna Hutson, *The Usurer’s Daughter: Male Friendship and Fictions of Women in Sixteenth-Century England* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994).



collections of sonnets offering advice to young men. Often having begun to write poetry while at Oxford, Cambridge, or the Inns of Court, these mid-Tudor poets wrote coterie pieces full of dialogue, sharing their poems and responding to each other's work in manuscript form before having them printed. With dedications such as Howell's "to his approued Freinde Maister Henry Lassels Gentilmen" (sig A2r) or Googe's, which calls the poems themselves "the numbred heapes of sundrye frendshyps" (sig. A6v), the poets adopted the sonnet form, usually associated with heterosexual relationships, to explore topics male friends would typically discuss.<sup>266</sup> Instead of envisioning a humble male speaker seeking pity from a distant female lover, a number of these poems show uncomplicated homosocial relationships between like-minded peers.

We have to remember that Shakespeare also addressed a young male friend in the first 126 sonnets out of 154 in his collection. Without entering into a debate over the possible homoerotic implications of the male-male friendship in Shakespeare's sonnets, we can see that the poet reflects on both the value and the anxiety inherent in a relationship he repeatedly calls a friendship. Although the two men are not posed as equals, one perhaps as an older poet and the other, perhaps a younger patron, the poems rehearse conversations on virtue, beauty, truth, love, public opinion, time, death—all natural topics of conversation between friends. When Shakespeare talks of the rival woman in these poems, the more virtuous character of the young man is clear through implication, as in Sonnet 138 where the speaker says, "when my love swears that she is made of truth, / . . . I know she lies," the pun on "lies" suggesting both a woman's untruthful and sexual nature.<sup>267</sup> Even when the young man wins over the woman, the speaker can use friendship terms to regain his equilibrium, claiming "but here's the joy, my friend and I are one" (Sonnet 42). Shakespeare's arguably most famous sonnet on the value of friendship is Sonnet 30, where, after pouring over remembrances of woes and losses and pain, he asserts that when "I think on thee, dear friend, / All losses are restor'd." This is not to oversimplify a beautifully complex set of poems that touch on most issues found under discussion in Tudor England, but to indicate that the discourse of friendship and the power it evokes inform many of the lyrical poems that are conventionally associated only with heterosexual relationships.

Alastair Fowler ascribes the growth of a new form of elegy at this time to these groups of like-minded friends:

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<sup>266</sup> Cathy Shrank, "'Matters of love as of discourse': The English Sonnet, 1560–1580," *Studies in Philology* 105.1 (2008): 30–49; here 43–44.

<sup>267</sup> *The Riverside Shakespeare*, ed. G. Blakemore Evans (2nd ed. 1997; Boston, Atlanta, et al.: Houghton Mifflin, 1974), 1774. All citations to Shakespeare are from this edition of his complete works.

The development of literary coteries and new forms of patronage made possible the seventeenth-century genre of critical elegy, a subgenre distinct from epitaph, epicede, and personal funeral elegy. The occasionality of the critical elegy focused on a notional, imaginary ceremony mourning the death of an admired poet. But the actual occasion was often the printing of a volume of similar critical elegies, like the *Justa Eduardo King Naufrago, ab amicis moerentibus*. . . (Cambridge, 1638) for Edward King.<sup>268</sup>

Although “*Lycidas*,” John Milton’s contribution to the worked just cited, *Justa Eduardo King Naufrago, ab amicis moerentibus*, becomes the model for later writers to mourn the loss of friends, especially poet friends, Milton had been invited to write a poem for the collection, and the emotion displayed in it is, therefore, perhaps more conventional than that in his elegy *Epitaphium Damonis*, written two years later about the loss of his childhood friend Diodati, with whom he had clearly experienced a true, emotionally charged and virtuous friendship. “They were partners on a divinely inspired quest toward virtue and self-perfection.”<sup>269</sup> It is hard to judge the sincerity in the works of those who claim friendships during the early modern period, but we should keep in mind that it is not always easy to evaluate the claims of true friendship in earlier writers’ works as well.

If we turn from literature to political considerations, we note that Renaissance selfhood, as defined by Stephen Greenblatt, is a product of an individual’s attempts to fashion an image of a successful participant in a public arena.<sup>270</sup> Whereas many examples of the political uses of friendship during the medieval period have been noted, the calculations behind friendships in the early modern period when one’s choices of friends were crucial to building one’s image are even more striking. Even in the late medieval period, according to Walter Ysebaert, friendship had “acquired a normative and bureaucratic character,” with friendships almost resembling contracts.<sup>271</sup> Yet, as Vera Keller argues in this volume, during earlier periods, “there was no discourse of self interest like the one which developed over the course of the seventeenth century.”<sup>272</sup>

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<sup>268</sup> Alastair Fowler, “The Formation of Genres in the Renaissance and After,” *New Literary History* 34.2 (2003): 185-200; here 187.

<sup>269</sup> Chaplin, ““One Flesh, One Heart, One Soul,”” 276 (see note 265).

<sup>270</sup> See the now iconic *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

<sup>271</sup> Walter Ysebaert, “Friendship,” *Handbook of Medieval Studies*, ed. Albrecht Classen (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, forthcoming). See also Claudia Garnier, *Amicus amicus – inimicus inimicus. Politische Freundschaft und fürstliche Netzwerke im 13. Jahrhundert*. Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, 46 (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 2000); Michael Hicks and P. S. Lewis, “Decayed and Non-Feudalism in Late Medieval France,” *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 37/38 (1964–1965): 157–84.

<sup>272</sup> See Vera Keller’s contribution to this volume.

Friendship was a very useful tool for individuals not only because of the favors friends might bestow, but also because of the public image friendship could project. In an attempt to persuade Erasmus to visit him in England, William Lord Mountjoy flatters him by citing Erasmus's friendship with the new King Henry VIII: "What may not Erasmus augur of a prince whose admirable disposition is so well known to him—whose friendship he possesses—and from whom Erasmus has received a letter written wholly with his own hand? If he could see how nobly, how wisely, the prince behaves, is sure he would hasten to England."<sup>273</sup>

England's Queen Elizabeth, who through control of the poetry, art, and drama presented at court could make her concerns quite clear, patronized the boys' theater companies with their frequent didactic themes on proper behavior for courtiers and diplomats, which included displays of friendship.<sup>274</sup> Underscoring the queen's authority, the plays put on by the Children of Paul's and the Children of the Chapel portrayed nobles as little boys learning, for example, in Richard Edwards's Chapel play *Damon and Pithias* (performed 1564–1565), to equate friendship with submission to a ruler's will: "How happie are the mercifull Princes of their people beloved, / Having sure friendes eueriewheare, no feare doth touch them" (352–53, sig. C1).<sup>275</sup> When a ruler's subjects are his or her friends, there is no need for tyranny.

As the Protestant Reformation forced Western Europe to redraw clerical friendship networks, it also led to new and sometimes radical views of spiritual friendship. According to Gregory Chaplin, "Certain humanist and puritan writings on the family increasingly stressed relationships between spouses in terms close to those of male friendship."<sup>276</sup> Although not described in quite the same idealistic terms as perfect male friendships, marriages were sometimes described by humanists such as Erasmus as pacts in which men and women acted as friends as well as sexual partners and parents.<sup>277</sup> This new view of the nuclear family based on friendship emanating from God then shows up in poetry, for example, from the Westminster School and Christ Church Oxford circles when

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<sup>273</sup> "Henry VIII: May 1509, 16–30," *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, Volume 1: 1509–1514 (1920), 24–34, online at:

<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=102617&strquery=friend> (last accessed on August 1, 2010). See also Romano Ruggeri, *Un amico di Erasmo: Polidoro Virgili*. Biblioteca del Rinascimento: Documenti e ricerche (Urbino: QuattroVenti, 1992).

<sup>274</sup> Jeanne H. McCarthy, "Elizabeth I's 'picture in little': Boy Company Representations of a Queen's Authority," *Studies in Philology* 100.4 (Fall 2003): 425–62.

<sup>275</sup> Quoted in McCarthy, "Elizabeth I's 'picture in little,'" 448–50, 460. For a thorough examination of the the history of that motif in antiquity and the early Middle Ages, see Ernst Gegenschatz, "Die 'pythagoreische Bürgerschaft,'" 1981 (see note 8).

<sup>276</sup> Chaplin, "One Flesh, One Heart, One Soul," 190 (see note 265).

<sup>277</sup> The idea of *amicitia* between husband and wife is central to both of Desiderius Erasmus's works on marriage: *Christiani matrimonij institutio* and *Encomium matrimonii*.

poets such as Henry King and Nicholas Oldisworth write about their wives as equals and friends.<sup>278</sup>

Furthermore, as Andrew Crome's article in this volume explains, those who argued for readmission of Jews to England in 1655 even used the terms "friend" and "friendship" to describe the relationship between England's Christians and God's chosen people. To be a friend to God now meant to be a friend to the Jews; through readmission, England could show God its depth of friendship with the Jews and perhaps make up for its earlier mistreatment of them.<sup>279</sup>

Another radical new use of the term "friend" to represent spiritual relationships developed in Quaker groups, referring not only to Quaker men, but also to Quaker women. Originally called the Children of Light or Friends of Truth, based on the Quaker belief that Christ's spirit lives within the individual person, these believers referred to themselves, whether women or men, as "Friends" to emphasize their shared belief in the Light within. Although the friendship was primarily one with God, Quakers blurred the lines between individual celebrants to move towards an ideal community of "friends/Friends." Since they were said to experience the same inner truth as men, the soul being gender neutral, Quaker women were able to participate fully, forming networks of Friends that "helped foster a culture of active women preachers and missionaries."<sup>280</sup>

While imprisoned for three years by the Inquisition, the two Quaker Friends Katharine Evans and Sarah Cheevers, who claim that their relationship had become a marriage of Friends, wrote a joint treatise called "A Vision" formed, they said, from God's words becoming within them one voice.<sup>281</sup> Despite questions about the erotic possibilities inherent in a "marriage," it appears that the women's relationship with each other and with God has important similarities with early Christian views of *spirituali amicitia*.

Nothing is probably more vital to the formation of human society than our ability to work together rather than to prefer independence and isolation. Clearly, this distinguishing human characteristic is essential as well for us to be able to form friendships, which, along with family structure, provide the basic interconnections between humans. The premise that virtuous, altruistic behavior, or "friendship" in Aristotle's terms, is possible underlies many human social structures. The early

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<sup>278</sup> See John Gows, "Nicholas Oldisworth, Richard Bacon, and the Practices of Caroline Friendship," *Texas Studies in Language and Literature* 47.4 (2005): 366–402; here 373–74.

<sup>279</sup> See Andrew Crome, "'Friendship and Enmity to God and Nation: The Complexities of Jewish-Gentile Relations in the Whitehall Conference of 1655,'" in this volume.

<sup>280</sup> Rachel Warburton, "'The Lord hath joined us together and wo be to them that should part us': Katharine Evans and Sarah Cheevers as Traveling Friends," *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 47.4 (2005): 405–24; here 410–11. For Quaker women friends, see Sandra Stanley Holton, *Quaker Women*, 2007 (see note 203).

<sup>281</sup> Warburton, "'The Lord hath joined us . . .,'" 415 (see note 280).

modern English philosopher and politician Francis Bacon, the subject of an essay in our collection by Stella Achilleos, recognized the central importance of friendship, arguing in his essay “Of Friendship” that

we may go further, and affirm most truly, that it is a mere and miserable solitude to want true friends; without which the world is but a wilderness; and even in this sense also of solitude, whosoever in the frame of his nature and affections, is unfit for friendship, he taketh it of the beast, and not from humanity.<sup>282</sup>

One other early modern philosopher in particular was drawn to the potentially advantageous role friendship could play in society. When he set out to devise his integrated moral system, René Descarte included friendship as an essential element. As described in *Discours* and in correspondence with Princess Elisabeth, daughter of Frederick V, about Machiavelli’s *Prince*, Descartes saw friendship as the obligation someone owes others, allowing proper working of a society bound by generosity, not a contract.<sup>283</sup> Timothy Reiss summarizes Descarte’s views this way:

To fail friendship was to fail social renewal. The individual’s interest, protected by amity, was that of the thinking subject whose will allowed the institution of Method. So to fail friendship was to fail knowledge of truth, prudence, good judgment and the subject agent itself. It was to oppose the *cogitio* and what it was to be human at all.<sup>284</sup>

As late as the 1640s, therefore, European thinkers could still have faith in virtuous, ideal friendship. Although James McEvoy had in mind small, ancient societies when he claimed that certain formal social and legal institutions, such as judicial systems, become unnecessary when networks of friends could take their place, Descarte was envisioning a modern society in which friendship provided the link between the individual’s free will and self-interest and the greater good of a communal society.<sup>285</sup> He believed that the impulses toward altruistic and virtuous behavior inherent in friendship could be taught and then used to underlie the vast expansion of formal and institutional structures in human civilization. From our earliest literature, archetypal heroes such as the eponymous Gilgamesh in the ancient Sumerian epic bearing that name must learn the key types of behavior in friendship—to constrain impulses to dominate others, to value the worth of another human being similar to himself, and to share activities with this like-

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<sup>282</sup> [http://infomotions.com/alex2/authors/bacon-francis/bacon-essays-684/#\\_57649](http://infomotions.com/alex2/authors/bacon-francis/bacon-essays-684/#_57649) (last accessed August 1, 2010).

<sup>283</sup> Timothy J. Reiss, *Mirages of the Self: Patterns of Personhood in Ancient and Early Modern Europe* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), 516.

<sup>284</sup> Ibid.

<sup>285</sup> James McEvoy, “Philia and Amicitia; the Philosophy of Friendship from Plato to Aquinas,” *Sewanee Mediaeval Colloquium* 2 (1985): 1-23; here 2.

minded person; thus, before he learns his second big lesson, to accept human mortality, he learns to behave as a friend.

More than four thousand years ago in the Tigris-Euphrates river valleys, this mythological narrative describes the way the sky-god Anu, at the request of the people, sends Gilgamesh someone said to be a *friend*, someone worthy of him to convince him to reform his behavior and to moderate his sexual desires so that everyone could enjoy the effects of civilization.<sup>286</sup> This same ideal appealed to early modern writers, readers, church leaders, and philosophers in England, I argue, as they turned to classical works for help reorienting themselves in a world torn apart by religious strife and then civil war.

## V. The Opinion of the Encyclopedists: At the Threshold of Modernity

When we turn to early-modern encyclopedias, we find only limited interest in the topic of friendship, as if the urgency to come to terms with it had passed away. In the respective volume of the famous *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné* by Diderot and D'Alembert from 1751 friendship is defined as follows: "L'amitié n'est autre chose que l'habitude d'entretenir avec quelqu'un un commerce honnête & agréable" (Friendship is no other matter than the habit of entertaining an honorable and agreeable relationship with someone).<sup>287</sup> Then, however, the text differentiates more specifically: "Le commerce que nous pouvons avoir avec les hommes, regarde ou l'esprit ou le cœur: le pur commerce de l'esprit s'appelle simplement *connaissance*; le commerce le cœur s'intéresse par l'agrément qu'il en tire, est *amitié*!" (361; The relationship we can enjoy with people pertains either to the mind or to the heart: the relationship of the mind alone is simply called acquaintance; the relationship through the heart, which is concerned with the pleasure one can derive from it, is friendship).

This, however, is not the same as charity which aims to do good for all. Friendship, on the other hand, relies on charity, in fact, it is being predicated on it, and "ajoute une habitude de liaison particuliere, qui fait entre deux personnes un agrément de commerce mutuel" (ibid.; adds a habit of a personal attachment which makes a pleasure of mutual commerce between two people). People who

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<sup>286</sup> *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, trans. Maureen Gallery Kovacs (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990).

<sup>287</sup> *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, par une société de gens de lettres*. Mis en ordre & publié par M. Diderot . . . , par M. D'Alembert. Vol. 1 (Paris: Briasson, David, et al., 1751), 361. For translation help and search options regarding this encyclopedia, see <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/d/did/index.html> (last accessed on Aug. 1, 2010). I would like to express thanks to my colleague Elizabeth Chesney Zegura, Dept. of French and Italian, The University of Arizona, for her assistance in fine-tuning the English translations.

truly search for friends take a slow and considerate approach: "C'est le caractere des hommes de s'approprier peu à peu jusqu'aux graces qu'on leur fait; une longue possession accoûtume naturellement à regarder comme siennes les choses qu'on tient d'autrui" (ibid.; It is man's character to appropriate things for themselves bit by bit including the favors that one grants them; having a long-time control over things that one has received from others gets one naturally used to regard those as one's own).

The desire for friendship is a natural instinct, but it faces numerous challenges and barriers: "on voudroit s'en former un titre pour les gouverner; lorsque ces prétensions sont réciproques, comme il arrive souvent, l'amour propre s'irrite, crie des deux côtés, & produit de l'aigreur, des froideurs, des explications ameres, & la rupture" (ibid.; He would like to make it into a right for himself to control them. When these claims are reciprocal, as often happens, vanity is aroused, cries out on both sides, and produces harshness, coolness, bitter explanations, and rupture).

People with extreme characters would have a hard time finding friends, while those of a milder nature understand and appreciate the sweet values of friendship (362). Moreover, as we then read: "Un ami que l'on aura cultivé pour la douceur & l'agrément de son entretien, exige de vous un service qui intéresseroit votre fortune; l'*amitié* n'étoit point d'un degré à mériter un tel sacrifice" (362; A friend whom one has cultivated for the sweetness and pleasure of his conversation requires of you a service that involves your fortune. The friendship was not of a degree to warrant such a sacrifice). The right measure to determine true friendship consists of an equal exchange and a kind of loving relationship: "il faut que l'un dans son besoin attende ou exige toujours moins que plus de son ami, & que l'autre selon ses facultés donne toujours à son ami plus que moins" (ibid.; it would be appropriate that one always pays less attention or demands less for oneself than for his friend).

Social differences should not matter, whereas a shared "liberté de sentiment & de langage aussi grande, que si l'un des deux n'étoit point supérieurs, ni l'autre inférieur. L'égalité doit se trouver de part & d'autre, dans la douceur du commerce de l'*amitié*; cette douceur est de se proposer mutuellement ses pensées, ses goûts, ses doutes, ses difficultés; mais toujours dans la sphere du caractere de l'*amitié* qui est établi" (ibid.; such great freedom in feelings and language that one of the two is not at all superior, nor the other inferior. Equality must be found in both of them, that is, in the sweetness of the relationship of friendship. This sweetness consists of sharing mutually one's thoughts, one's tastes, one's doubts, one's difficulties, and this always in the sphere of friendship that one has established).

These are general philosophical ruminations, without any reference to Aristotle, Cicero, Aelred, or Thomas Aquinas, and we also do not hear of Montaigne, Bacon, or Herbert. Friendship has become a matter of social negotiations, if not of a social contract, and the author admonishes the reader: "L'*amitié* ne met pas plus d'égalité

que le rapport du sang la parenté entre des parens d'un rang fort différent, ne permet pas certaine familiarité . . . C'est que l'air de familiarité ne convenoit pas au respect dû au rang du Prince; & ce sont des attentions dans l'*amitié*, comme dans la parenté, auxquelles il ne faut pas manquer" (ibid.; Friendship does not imply more equality than blood relation. The relation between relatives of very different ranks does not allow for a certain familiarity. . . . It is that the air of familiarity is not suitable to the respect due to the rank of the ruler, and these are considerations that, in friendship, as in kinship, must not be overlooked).

The *Encyclopædia Britannica* from 1779 has not much to say about friendship and limits itself to the almost meaningless definition: "a state of mutual good-will, or desire of doing good to each other, betwixt two or more individuals."<sup>288</sup> We are then asked to move to the entry on morals, or moral philosophy. But there we only learn about the natural growth from childhood to the teenage years: "In this turbulent period he enters more deeply into a relish of friendship, company, exercise, and diversions, the love of truth, of imitation, and of design, grows upon him . . ."<sup>289</sup>

Maturity is finally reached a few years later, and it is also associated with true friendship: "he forms more intimate friendships, grasps at power, courts honour, lays down cooler plans of interest, and becomes more attentive to the concerns of society" (280). However, the author also cites a variety of opinions regarding friendship that signal how little it is worth to deserve any respect any longer: "There are, indeed, men who affirm that all benevolence is hypocrisy, friendship a cheat, public spirit a farce, fidelity a snare to procure trust and confidence . . . . Others again, too virtuous to accuse themselves and all mankind of direct knavery, yet insist, that whatever affection one may feel, or imagine he feels, for others, no passion is or can be disinterested; that the most generous friendship, however sincere, is only a modification of self-love" (281).

Citing only those sources, and not any that would still define or defend friendship in this context, proves to be most disturbing, and signals, once again, that the topic of friendship, indeed, can be used as a fundamental marker of a paradigm shift. The writer is willing to admit that we still admire "social affections, as compassion, natural affection, friendship, benevolence, and the like" (285), but there is no further interest in investigating the relevance of friendship per se on a larger scale or from a philosophical perspective.

In the huge encyclopedia by Johann Georg Krünitz (vol. 15, 1778) we observe already the tendency to limit the discussion of friendship to an elaboration of the terminology, so as to connecting friendship with blood relationship and family,

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<sup>288</sup> *Encyclopædia Britannica; or a Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, & . . .* 3rd ed. Vol. IV (Edinburgh: J. Balfour and Co. W. Gordon, et al., 1779), 3133.

<sup>289</sup> *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. XII (Edinburgh: A. Bell and C. Macfarquhar, 1797), 279.



with erotic love, acquaintance, although we still learn of a concept of friendship in the ethical sense: "Der Neigung nach, eine Person, die man liebt, deren Bestes man zu befördern sucht, ohne Rücksicht auf das Geschlecht" (According to the inclination, a person whom one loves, whose advantage one tries to promote, irrespective of the gender).<sup>290</sup> In addition, as he emphasizes, many people generally call those friends with whom they entertain regular business or have other affairs with them.

Later scholars contributing to encyclopedias mostly pursue only a historical or linguistic orientation to discuss the range of meanings associated with the term 'friendship.' Ferdinand Wachter, for instance, in his entry to the *Allgemeine Encyclopaedie der Wissenschaften und Kuenste* (1849) limits his interest in the topic to the question where the term appears in medieval literary texts and how much 'friendship' could actually imply blood relationship, companionship, or political contacts, whereas the ethical dimension of friendship hardly finds any attention.<sup>291</sup> In fact, he considers friendship only in terms of etymology, not as an ethical value.

So, altogether, some might speculate, at the risk of ignoring a plethora of additional modern literature and encyclopedias, that friendship certainly played a central role in antiquity and the Middle Ages, and then somewhat still in the early modern age, whereas attempts by Schiller and others to revive that traditional ideal might well have been the last gasps of a failed ideology and strategy. Perhaps the testimony of eighteenth-century women writers might help us to contradict that impression, although we do not really have the same kind of profound theoretical discussion of the phenomenon itself as in the Middle Ages.<sup>292</sup>

This is not to say that people no longer enjoy friendship today, but it might well have turned into a utilitarian, pragmatic relationship, whereas the writers we have considered so far regarded it primarily as the springboard to God. As a final afterthought, if we turn to late twentieth-century socialist statements, we come across the rather amazing comment in the *Great Soviet Encyclopedia*: "Communist morality regards friendship as one of the most important moral feelings and relationships of the personality. Class-antagonistic society, in which the people's interests are dissociated and 'surrogates of collectivity' (K. Marx) are substituted for the free association of people, places its members in mutually hostile relationships. In socialist society, personal friendly attachments are not, as a rule,

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<sup>290</sup> Johann Georg Krünitz, *Oeconomische Encyclopädie, oder allgemeines System der Staats=Stadt=Haus= u. Landtwirtschaft*. Vol. 15 (Berlin: Joachim Pauli, 1778), 30.

<sup>291</sup> Ferdinand Wachter, "Freund," *Allgemeine Encyclopaedie der Wissenschaften und Kuenste*, ed. J. S. Ersch and J. G. Gruber. First Section. A-G, ed. J. G. Gruber. Vol 49 (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1849), 172–77.

<sup>292</sup> Lillian Faderman, *Surpassing the Love of Men*, 1981 (see note 202); Paula R. Backscheider, *Eighteenth-Century Women Poets and Their Poetry: Inventing Agency, Inventing Genre* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005).

opposed to a system of social ties, but, being based on common viewpoints and ideals, supplement these ties and give them concrete expression. The moral evaluation of friendship is determined by its social impact and the values that it affirms. Classical examples of true and high-principled friendship (Marx and Engels, A. I. Herzen and N. P. Ogarev) still serve today as models of morality."<sup>293</sup>

Some of the medieval authors would have certainly agreed with that position, with the proviso only that the epithet 'social' would have been replaced by the noun 'God.' The entry on 'friend' in the *Oxford English Dictionary* confirms that we can trace the history of this phenomenon throughout the ages: "[Com. Teut.: OE. fréond str. masc. = OFris., OS. friund, friond (Du. vriend), OHG. friunt (MHG. vriunt, mod.Ger. freund), ON. (with change of declension in sing.) fr{aeacu}nde (Sw. frände, Da. frænde), Goth. frijônds; the pr. pple. of the OTeut. vb. \*frijôjan to love (OE. fréo{asg}an, fréon, Goth. frijôn; the Ger. freien, Du. vrijen to woo, and the rare ON. friá to caress, are prob. not identical, though from the same root), f. pre-Teut. \*priyo- dear: see FREE a.]"

Here is a list of relevant sources where the term appears, again according to the *OED*: Beowulf 1018 (Gr.) Heorot innan wæs freondum afulled. a1000 Cædmon's Gen. 2025 {Th}a {th}æt inwitspell Abraham sæ{asg}de freondum sinum. c1200 ORMIN 17960, & whase iss {th}att bridgumess frend, He stannt wi{th}{th} himm. c1205 LAY. 703 {Ygh}e sculen..beon mine leofe freond. c1305 Pilate 98-9 in E.E.P. (1862) 114 Gode freond hi were For tui schrewen wolle{th} freond beo. c1400 Destr. Troy 8523 Ho was vnkyndly to knaw of hir kyd frendis. 1484 CAXTON Fables of Æsop III. xiii, A trewe frend is oftyme better at a nede than a Royalme. 1557 Tottel's Misc. (Arb.) 185 A faythfull frende is thing most worth. c1651 HOBBS Rhet. (1840) 455 A friend is he that loves, and he that is beloved. 1768-74 TUCKER Lt. Nat. (1852) II. 310 If we observe the common discourses of mankind, we shall find a friend to be one we frequently visit, who is our boon companion, or joins with us in our pleasures and diversions, or [etc.]. 1801 SOUTHEY Thalaba VIII. i, The sound of his dear native tongue May be like the voice of a friend. 1881 BESANT & RICE Chapl. Fleet I. 91 The doctor is a private friend of the dean."<sup>294</sup>

This does not necessarily mean that friendship was at the heart of each and every one text mentioned here, but we can be certain, in light of that evidence that the discourse on friendship was of central relevance throughout the ages, sometimes less, sometimes more intensive. Ultimately, however, we still can claim,

<sup>293</sup> I. S. Kon, "Friendship," *Great Soviet Encyclopedia*. A trans. of the third ed., ed. A. M. Prokhorov (1970; New York and London: Macmillan and Collier Macmillan, 1975), 511-12; here 512.

<sup>294</sup> [http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/50089947?query\\_type=word&queryword=friend&first=1&max\\_to\\_show=10&sort\\_type=alpha&result\\_place=1&search\\_id=Y4v7-KtTFk-2636&hilit=50089947](http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/50089947?query_type=word&queryword=friend&first=1&max_to_show=10&sort_type=alpha&result_place=1&search_id=Y4v7-KtTFk-2636&hilit=50089947) (last accessed on Aug. 1, 2010). Another good example of the historical depth of the discourse on friendship proves to be Jacob Grimm and Wilhelm Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*. Vol. 4.1, 2nd half: *Forschel-Gefolgsmann* (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1878). 161-64.

I believe, that the idealistic, ethical value of friendship seems to have enjoyed more respect in the Middle Ages than in the subsequent centuries when rationalism, relativism, and cynicism undermined some of its traditional characteristics. Nevertheless, as Walther von der Vogelweide's testimony, among many others, already indicated, those invested in the ideal of friendship were already fully aware of its fragile nature and the great need to invest every power the individual might have available to maintain the high standards of moral and ethical behavior to live up to that ideal.

## W. Some Concluding Remarks

As has become quite apparent throughout our Introduction, despite a certain decline in the philosophical discussions, the discourse on friendship has continued, and there are countless leads from the late antiquity through the Middle Ages and far beyond focusing on the ethical, moral, religious, and philosophical significance of friendship. After all, the ideal of friendship belongs to one of the fundamental values in human life and has therefore regularly attracted far-reaching and ponderous philosophical ruminations. Whether friendship continues to hold the same value today would have to be the topic of other investigations, though I am certain that the modern/postmodern world has moved considerably beyond the traditional value system, including friendship, as embraced by intellectuals throughout antiquity and the Middle Ages.

Altogether, we can conclude that friendship belongs to the central human values, and this throughout times in virtually all cultures, languages, and religions, serving as an extraordinarily rich and complex framework of a communicative community. Friendship has specifically always been a mirror of Western culture—and probably Eastern as well—until today. Virtually every major thinker, writer, artist, or composer has accepted the supreme importance of friendship for human life. Of course, each age has pursued a somewhat different approach to this central concept, and by tracing those variances, individual positions, and the global discourse we can safely assume that we will gain thereby a major foothold in the exploration of the course of Western civilization, both in the secular and the religious domain. Friendship has commonly served as the platform for political relationships, both in the Middle Ages and today.<sup>295</sup>

It was the medium for philosophical exchanges, for religious conversations, for artistic discussions, and yet it has also always been a most personal, intimate, yet powerful and confidence building aspect in human existence. Perhaps not surprisingly, as we have seen above, already as early as in late antiquity

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<sup>295</sup> Claudia Garnier, *Amicus amicus, inimicus inimicus*, 2000 (see note 271).

individuals enjoyed a form of friendship with animals, both pets and wild beasts, which signals to us that the concept of friendship really could express itself in a variety of manifestations and that friendship could be directed both to people and animals.

Losing a real friend can be as devastating as winning a new friend can elevate one to a higher level of happiness, even in a philosophical and religious sense. Through friendship people have discovered their own spirit, and at times even found their way to God. No friendship is like any other, and yet they all share central elements and key values. We can define the character of individuals and of societies by investigating their approach to and evaluation of friendship.<sup>296</sup> Whereas courtly love has traditionally been identified as the bedrock of medieval courtly society, we are now in a good position to add friendship as the most important, somehow complementary value determining all social relationships during that period. Friendship continued to enjoy great significance in subsequent centuries as well, but, as a number of the contributors to this volume note, problems, forms of abuse, lack of true adherence to the ideal, and other issues became more and more noticeable. We are still talking about friendship and embrace our friends, but in a way the link to the schools of thought advocated by Aristotle, Cicero, and Aelred, for instance, seems to be somehow broken.<sup>297</sup>

## X. Critical Summaries of the Contributions to this Volume

The subsequent articles in this volume will investigate the entire history of Western intellectual life from late antiquity to the eighteenth century in light of the theme of friendship because most human relationships draw from and have been inspired by the concept of friendship, if present, available, or realizable. Apart from erotic love, there seems to be hardly anything else more important in human lives than to enjoy the friendship with a like-minded person.<sup>298</sup> Many theologians throughout the ages have thus understandably correlated friendship between

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<sup>296</sup> For psychological and sociological perspectives of a general kind, see the contributions to *The Company They Keep: Friendship in Childhood and Adolescence*, ed. William M. Bukowski, Andrew F. Newcomb, and Willard W. Hartup. Cambridge Studies in Social and Emotional Development (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

<sup>297</sup> See the contributions to *Philosophie der Freundschaft*, ed. Klaus-Dieter Eichler. 2nd ed. (1999; Leipzig: Reclam, 2000); Liz Spencer and Ray Pahl, *Rethinking Friendship: Hidden Solidarities Today* (Princeton, NJ, and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2006).

<sup>298</sup> Igor S. Kon, *Freundschaft: Geschichte und Sozialpsychologie der Freundschaft als soziale Institution und individuelle Beziehung*, trans. from the Russian by Valeri Danilow. Rowohlts deutsche Enzyklopädie, 390 (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1979); William K. Rawlins, *The Compass of Friendship: Narratives, Identities, and Dialogues* (Los Angeles, CA: Sage Publications, 2009).

people with the much more profound concept of friendship between a human being and God.

We should end here with what we started with, quoting Friedrich Schiller's famous and certainly most beautiful verses in his "Ode to Joy" one more time to underscore in summary what the central intent of this volume is to accomplish: "Whoever has had the great fortune, / To be a friend's friend." As we know both from the subsequent lines in Schiller's text and from the wealth of classical-antique, medieval, and early modern literature, the triumph of establishing true and profound friendship gives cause for jubilation. Blessed is the one who can claim one friend in his/her life. In Don Juan Manuel's *Conde Lucanor* we learned that even to have found half a friend constituted an incredible accomplishment and treasure because most people prove to be untrustworthy and unreliable, selfish and hostile. Erasmus Widmann (1572–1634) questioned the entire notion of friendship, casting it as an ideal from the past with no validity at his time because of people's selfishness. The countless friendship albums from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries indicated, in fact, how much the inflation of friendship declarations had already undermined the entire value system, although we can always identify individual voices to the contrary, such as the Baroque poet Simon Dach (1605–1659) with his "Lied der Freundschaft" (before 1640) in which he created a remarkable paean on the ideal of friendship. The title in Latin reflects a sense of triumphancy: "Perstet amicitiae semper venerabile Fædus!," but it seems to be the only one where he truly addresses friendship all by itself. His position was to identify friendship as the one value that is the most essential one in human life, reflecting his most inner noble character: "Der Mensch hat nichts so eigen, / So wohl steht ihm nichts an, / Als daß er Treu' erzeigen / Und Freundschaft halten kann" (1-4; There is nothing so intimate for man, there is nothing so appropriate for him but to show loyalty and keep friendship).<sup>299</sup> Friedrich Schiller, of course, also still believed in true friendship as one of humanity's best, most glorious accomplishments, rare but highly powerful, and, once achieved, of eternal value and relevance.

True friendship, according to him and many medieval precursors, amounts to poetry, to a spiritual experience, even to an epiphany. What intellectual, mystic,

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<sup>299</sup> Quoted from *Der ewige Brunnen: Ein Volksbuch deutscher Dichtung*. Gesammelt und herausgegeben von Ludwig Reiners (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1955), 59. All the other poems in this section dedicated to friendship date from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. See also Simon Dach, *Gedichte*, ed. Walther Ziesemer. Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft. Sonderreihe, 4–7 (Halle a. d. S.: Niemeyer, 1936–1938), vol. 1, no. 62, 66–67. At closer examination we can find a number of significant circles of friendship among Baroque poets, see Barbara Sturzenegger, *Kürbishütte und Caspische See: Simon Dach und Paul Fleming, Topoi der Freundschaft im 17. Jahrhundert*. Deutsche Literatur von den Anfängen bis 1700, 24 (Bern and New York: Peter Lang, 1996).

artist, or writer would have resisted the allure exerted by a phenomenon that can bond us all, even in a most hostile world, if the right circumstances and personal configurations exist?<sup>300</sup>

We have to keep in mind, sort of as an afterthought, that friendship can find expression in a myriad of media and forms, that is, in personal contacts, in letters, in paintings, in musical compositions, in performances and rituals, in gestures, in contracts, in treatises, and so forth.<sup>301</sup> Today the internet, with e-mails, Facebook, Twitter, Skype, etc., has substituted for many traditional media of friendship, but the attempt to find friends and to keep them continues to be essential for all of us. This also means that a proper, thorough, and comprehensive investigation of this institution or sentiment requires as much of an interdisciplinary approach as possible. We must understand the history of friendship, the discourse itself, and the modes of expression of friendship in order to sustain that quasi-religious human quest for a friend.

The present volume combines a wide range of scholarly approaches, and yet, alas, still lacks a number of others, such as sociology or music. Nevertheless, we hope that the subsequent collection of articles will offer a far-reaching scope of individual perspectives extending from the time of Augustine to the late seventeenth century. As has been customary in all previous volumes published in our series “Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture,” here I would like to offer subsequently critical summaries of each individual contribution and to examine at the same time how the specific analysis helps us to grasp the central and decisive philosophical, theological, ethical, and moral implications of that discourse on friendship throughout the ages.

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<sup>300</sup> For modern examples, see Peter Messent, *Mark Twain and Male Friendship: the Twichell, Howells, and Rogers Friendships* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009); Christopher Ricks, *True Friendship: Geoffrey Hill, Anthony Hecht, and Robert Lowell under the Sign of Eliot and Pound*. The Anthony Hecht Lectures in the Humanities (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010); Juan A. Herrero Brasas, *Walt Whitman's Mystical Ethics of Comradeship: Homosexuality and the Marginality of Friendship at the Crossroads of Modernity* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2010).

<sup>301</sup> See the contributions to *Rituale der Freundschaft*, ed. Klaus Manger and Ute Pott, 2006 (see note 2); Graham A. Allan, *Kinship and Friendship in Modern Britain*. Oxford Modern Britain (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); id., *Friendship: Developing a Sociological Perspective*. Studies in Sociology (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1989); Robert Brain, *Friends and Lovers*. Approaches to Anthropology (London: Hart-Davis, Mac Gibbon, 1976); Liz Spencer and Ray Pahl, *Rethinking Friendship: Hidden Solidarities Today* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2006), 210, conclude: “friendship can act as a vital safety-net providing much needed support and intimacy, but also as a safety-valve enabling people to relax and cope with the pressures of contemporary life. Not only this, friendship can be with partners or with other members of a natal family as well as with non-kin. It can take many forms but, at its strongest, it is based on trust, commitment and loyalty. As such, it deserves to be nourished and cherished.”

There is no doubt that friendship itself proves to be equally, if not even more, important as the discourse on erotic love. Our collective effort is consequently aimed at revealing how much this topic actually occupied the intellectuals' minds and dominated public culture throughout the Middle Ages and far beyond. We can be certain that the ideal of friendship has continued to occupy the minds of most leading intellectuals and so deserves to be investigated in a specialized volume focusing on the premodern world.<sup>302</sup> Of course, once we turn to the intellectual and literary history since the eighteenth century, we open a whole floodgate for further discussions of friendship since it has never lost any of its critical impetus and appeal; in fact, it seems that friendship constitutes, perhaps more than ever before, a core value of our society, whether it is truly practiced or not, whether people distrust it or not.<sup>303</sup>

Many of the articles in this volume have been originally presented at two sessions at the Congress on Medieval Studies at the Western Michigan University in Kalamazoo, MI, in 2009, organized by Albrecht Classen. A number of these, however, were also contributed later, energetically solicited by Marilyn Sandidge, once the volume took on concrete shape and then was considered for inclusion in our book series, "Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Studies." Once again, scholarly authors from all over the world came forward and offered their insights as contributions, which made this volume into such an interdisciplinary, and hopefully also fundamental, academic endeavor.

There is no doubt that one could approach friendship from yet still many more perspectives, but we are truly delighted to have collected already so many diverse studies addressing the theme of friendship both in late antiquity and the Middle Ages, both in the Renaissance and in the subsequent centuries, though we decided, for many good reasons, to draw a final line with the late eighteenth century. This does not mean that friendship has no longer been discussed or dealt with since then, on the contrary. But the social, economic, cultural, philosophical, religious, and artistic conditions and framework really changed so profoundly that we cannot help but recognize a major paradigm shift radically moving Western

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<sup>302</sup> See the contributions to *Entdeckung der Freundschaft: von Philia bis Facebook*, ed. Gudrun Kugler and Denis Borel, 2010 (see note 106).

<sup>303</sup> *The Changing Face of Friendship*, ed. Leroy S. Rouner. Boston University Studies in Philosophy and Religion, 15 (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994); Dianne Rothleder, *The Work of Friendship: Rorty, His Critics, and the Project of Solidarity*. SUNY Series in the Philosophy of the Social Sciences (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999); Thomson A. J. P., *Deconstruction and Democracy: Derrida's Politics of Friendship* (London: Continuum, 2005); Joel Backström, *The Fear of Openness: An Essay on Friendship and the Roots of Morality* (Åbo: Åbo akademis förlag, 2007); *Emerson & Thoreau: Figures of Friendship*, ed. John T. Lysaker and William Rossi (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010); Bennett W. Helm, *Love, Friendship and the Self: Intimacy, Identification, and the Social Nature of Persons* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

society out of the late-medieval and early-modern world, finally constituting the basis for the modern world.

It just would not be good enough to deal with this issue by pursuing a narrow perspective chronologically limited, especially because we have certainly learned how much the Middle Ages cannot be simply limited to the time between, say, the eighth and the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>304</sup> Intellectual and cultural history always requires us to keep the enormous influence of antiquity as much in mind as the continuity of medieval concepts and ideas as shaping forces far into the seventeenth and maybe even the eighteenth centuries, hence the 'long eighteenth century.' Those who ever expressed interest in friendship would certainly have been opposed vehemently to any attempts to limit that discourse to any specific age, culture, or period. In this regard, as the subsequent specialized studies will illustrate, the exploration of friendship sheds most important light on the individual cultures, peoples, religions, ethical, and moral communities with respect to their value systems. We might resort, once again, to the old proverb, adapting it slightly for our purposes: Tell me who your friends are, and I will tell you who you are.

### *C. Stephen Jaeger*

Beginning the investigation of friendship in chronological terms, C. Stephen Jaeger first examines how much worldly friendship served Augustine as a medium to develop human values and ideals. The later saint deeply enjoyed a friendship with Alypius, who was eventually appointed Bishop of Thagaste, which lasted all his life and about which he reflected repeatedly in his work. Both men shared their conversion to Christianity and baptism, and they engaged in many different intensive debates over time, but not as opponents; instead as friends, both dreaming of a kind of Christian community of like-minded philosophers who would strive to achieve mutually the same degrees of virtues. As Jaeger outlines, Augustine and his friend helped each other fight against their respective vices, offering each other complementary assistance. In this regard, friendship for Augustine emerged as a fundamental tool to help the other person and to serve as the relevant teaching mechanism through which the imbalance of virtues could be restored.

Very much in the Aristotelian and Ciceronian tradition, Augustine and Alypius felt a strong attraction to each other because they recognized the high level of virtues in each other and delighted in gaining support and assistance in their self-

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<sup>304</sup> See now Klaus W. Hempfer, "Zur Enthierarchisierung von 'religiösem' und 'literarischem' Diskurs in der italienischen Renaissance," *Literarische und religiöse Kommunikation in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit: DFG-Symposium 2006*, ed. Peter Strohschneider (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2009), 183–221.



improvement. In this regard, as Jaeger emphasizes, for Saint Augustine, during his youth, friendship itself proved to be an essential instrument in personal growth in spiritual, moral, and ethical terms. It amounted, in Jaeger's terms, to a transference of excellent qualities relevant for the establishment of harmonious communities determined by friendship—a concept intriguingly connected with the school of the Pythagoreans and of the followers of Plotinus. In this sense friendship functioned as a form of harmonious competition for self-improvement up to the almost utopian point of complete realization of all human virtues—but not for Augustine.

Significantly, as Jaeger emphasizes, Augustine subsequently realized, as he states in the *Confessions*, the inadequacy of friendship to prevent the individual from returning to a life of vices on both sides, Alypius picking up his desire for gladiatorial games again, and Augustine for sexual pleasures. God, however, then intervened and rescued both men, strengthening their friendship and hence their drive for a virtuous life. Conversion to Christianity, hence, provided the critical catalyst for true friendship, whereas ordinary, secular friendship amounted to little more than a social relationship. He assigned it a moral value comparable to the love of women, the sight of gold and silver, worldly honor and power, and ranked it among the vanities of his youth.

Boethius comes to mind again for emphasizing that misfortune alone would serve as the decisive instrument to determine who can really be trusted as a friend. Older, and much current, scholarship assumed an amalgam of Roman *amicitia* with Christian *caritas*, forming a new, uniquely Christian ideal of friendship. Jaeger, by contrast, argues instead that friendship in the Roman aristocratic traditions in which Augustine had grown up proved incompatible with a life of ascetic Christian spirituality. Augustine himself insisted in conversations with some of his friends that their affectionate relationship would only develop into true friendship if it would be supported by their love for God. New friends are not necessarily warmly welcomed and embraced, but instead exhorted to strive for Christian values and to believe in God, which would be the ultimate test. *Amicitia* went the way of other Roman social and cultural ideals in the watershed period of the late fourth and early fifth century.

Jaeger further observes that Augustine did not regard friendship as the final safe haven for two or more individuals, or for society at large because friends continue to worry for each other throughout life, to experience trouble, and to be afraid that the other one might die before oneself. Still, according to Augustine, friendship can offer critical consolation for all the vicissitudes and vagaries that dominate and permeate life, especially death, offering stability, constancy, and virtue. In this respect Augustine was not alone in this approach to friendship, as Jaeger observes in the final section of his investigations with regard to several contemporary authors, such as Basil of Caesarea and Gregory of Nazianzus, who emphasized,

perhaps even more than the famous Church Father, the grounding of friendship in philosophy, in the pursuit of virtue, and in the quest for truth. They regarded, as Jaeger underscores, friendship as the one crucial ethical and moral framework in man's life serving as a critical tool to achieve the ultimate goal of self-perfection.

Others, however, such as Paulinus of Nola, rejected the classical concept of friendship altogether and even went so far as to end their previously friendly relationship with their masters or teachers in order to uphold the new value of the Christian teaching which appeared to be in contradiction to the secular, ancient, concept of friendship as the basis of communal exchanges. After all, the pious one had to handle the competition between the love for Christ and the love for the friend, putting the latter at an insurmountable disadvantage. More poignantly, as Jaeger comments, charity, or the love for all, is pitted against friendship, the love for the individual fellow. After all, friendship undermined coenobitic monasticism with its unavoidable hierarchical structures, and so it sowed the seed of discontent and strife in those communities. In the final analysis, then, Jaeger concludes that the revival of classical friendship really had to wait until the time of Aelred of Rievaulx, that is, the 'Renaissance of the Twelfth Century' (a term he does no longer subscribe to, but for me it still captures the essence of that age — A.C.). Only then did friendship gain in status and was warmly welcomed even by the monastic communities as an essential ingredient of the classical inheritance.

#### *Stavroula Constantinou*

Part and parcel of friendship has also been, throughout the ages, the exchange of gifts as representative and symbolic objects with which one expresses love, respect, and sympathy to achieve and to maintain mutuality and reciprocity among the friends. If a gift giver does not receive anything back, or if the situation prohibits it, then hostility threatens to break out easily. Under such circumstances the gift might actually signal aggression and the attempt by the giver to subordinate the receiver. This finds extraordinary expression in the Old High German epic poem "Hildebrandslied" (ca. 810–820) where the old father Hildebrand, suddenly confronted by his son Heribrand on the battle field after thirty years of exile in the world of the Huns, clumsily tries to reach out to the young man and to convince him that he is his father, indeed. But Heribrand does not accept the gift, firmly convinced that his father had died a long time ago, and quickly readies himself for deadly combat.<sup>305</sup>

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<sup>305</sup> For a thorough discussion of the issue with gift-giving in this poem, see William C. McDonald, "'Too Softly a Gift of Treasure': A Rereading of the Old High German Hildebrandslied," *Euphorion* 78.1 (1984): 1–16. Siegfried Gutenbrunner's study *Von Hildebrand und Hadubrand: Lied, Sage, Mythos*. Germanische Bibliothek. Reihe 3: Untersuchungen und Einzeldarstellungen (Heidelberg: Winter, 1976), provides an excellent introduction to this text. For the online edition of the "Hildebrandslied," see above. Although the poem does not explore friendship per se, the father's

Discussing these critical issues first in light of Mauss's theory and of Old Norse literature,<sup>306</sup> Stavroula Constantinou then turns to the mid fifth-century Greek-Byzantine *Passion of Sergius and Bacchus*, a considerably more detailed and fleshed-out copy of which was produced in the second half of the tenth century.<sup>307</sup> The story of these two saints is profoundly predicated on the notion of friendship; not only are they friends with each other, they are also both friends with Emperor Maximianus, who, deeply incensed and insulted by their conversion to Christianity, sends them to his subservient Antiochus to be prosecuted, who is actually friends with Sergius. The pagan friends try very hard to convince the future martyrs to reject their Christian faith, but every time in vain, so Antiochus is forced to order them to be tortured and executed at the end. But, putting everything in the relevant context, there is also friendship between the two saints and God which supersedes the two saints' relationship with their former secular friends.

Constantinou observes that friendship also plays a certain role in parallel passion narratives, but never as centrally as in *Sergius and Bacchus*, although the rift between the new Christians and their former friend/s underscores that no previous social bonds would be strong enough to prevent the converts from holding on to their new faith. Moreover, insofar as God displays His own friendship toward the martyrs, two types of friendship emerge, the old one being unstable, the new one so strong that it provides the saints with enough courage and steadfastness to sustain even the worst torture. Constantinou emphasizes that

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failure to employ the gift properly clearly indicates the catastrophic consequences for all interhuman relations when such symbolic objects are falsely codified and utilized in the wrong context. Though not mentioned explicitly, the anonymous poet clearly aimed for a discussion of communication as the essential bond among people, the absence of which leads to catastrophes. Similarly, without communication there is no friendship. Reversely, we might say, if there is friendship, there also appears to be good, harmonious communication. In other words, a society that does not know of friendship or communication, or does not appreciate that fundamental mode of relationship on a social level, might just as well be doomed. See Albrecht Classen, *Verzweiflung und Hoffnung: Die Suche nach der kommunikativen Gemeinschaft in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters*. Beihefte zur Mediaevistik, 1 (Frankfurt a. M., Berlin, et al.: Peter Lang, 2002), 1-52.

<sup>306</sup> See also Gerald W. Peterman, *Paul's Gift From Philippi: Conventions of Gift-Exchange and Christian Giving*. Monograph Series: Society for New Testament Studies, 92 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Wendy Davies, *Acts of Giving: Individual, Community, and Church in Tenth-Century Christian Spain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); A.-J. Buijsterveld, *Do ut des: Gift Giving, Memoria, and Conflict Management in the Medieval Low Countries*. Middelieuwe studies en bronnen, 104 (Hilversum: Verloren, 2007); see also the contributions to *Charity and Giving in Monotheistic Religions*, ed. Miriam Frenkel and Yaacov Lev. Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des islamischen Orients, N.F., 22 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2009).

<sup>307</sup> Alfons Hilka, *Beiträge zur lateinischen Erzählliteratur des Mittelalters*. Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse. Neue Folge, 21 (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1928); Christian Høgel, *Symeon Metaphrastes: Rewriting and Canonization* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculaneum Press, 2002).

the gifts exchanged among the various friends can be regarded both as 'gifts' and as 'poison,' if we keep the double-meaning of the original Germanic word in mind.

She distances herself clearly from Derrida's critique of Mauss's theory of gift-giving, emphasizing, instead, that there are instances, such as in the *Passion*, of passing out gifts to friends without any expectations of reciprocity. In fact, the friendship between Sergius and Bacchus emerges as a gift-exchange not based on such expectation because the two martyrs are deeply inspired by the ideal concept of friendship as originally formulated by Aristotle, whether the authors of the two versions (anonymous and Metaphrastes) were familiar with his teachings or not.

Constantinou outlines how much the two men represented, indeed, ideal friends, pursuing the same values and possessing the same characters and bodily skills, never separating from each other. They only suffer their death at different times, but otherwise they are, so to speak, two bodies in one, equally sharing their faith in the Christian God who also equally grants them the same martyrdom. In fact, as Constantinou observes, the closer they get to their death, the more passionate and stronger their friendship becomes. The most important reason for this phenomenon is their earlier union with God already before their execution, so their friendship turns out to be a mirror of God's love for the faithful. Hence, after their deaths these two friends are reunited, but then in God, so their friendship emerges as the basis of their holiness.

All the other friendships described in *Sergius and Bacchus* represent different levels and conform much more to the traditional concept where friends help each other or exchange gifts out of a utilitarian thinking. Antiochus, especially, who owes most of his new powerful administrative position to Sergius, understands his relationship with him only in terms of pragmatic, or profit-oriented, gift-giving. But since Sergius never accepts the offered counter-gift—freedom from prison if he renounces the Christian faith—Antiochus cannot liberate himself from the laws of reciprocity, while this is certainly the case with Sergius who truly illustrates a fundamental Christian teaching in this regard, that is, of giving without expecting anything in return. For Antiochus, hence, there remains only physical violence (torture and execution) to force Sergius to accept his counter-gift, which leads, however, to the latter's death.

By almost the same token, the friendship between, on the one hand, Sergius and Bacchus, and the emperor on the other, is based on a gift exchange, but because of the difference in faith on both sides it is simply unequal and bound to fail when the first major test arrives. These three men share much more in the ideal concept of friendship than Sergius with Antiochus, but this does not help the martyrs to survive because of the huge gulf that opens up between them, separating these friends for good.

The martyrs have basically replaced their friendship with the emperor with a friendship with God, which makes it impossible for them to return to the old

worldly, that is, pedestrian, friendship. Not surprisingly, the emperor expresses his profound frustration through anger and violent treatment of his former friends, but he cannot change their new faith, which thus destroys all previous bonds of friendship. This, in turn, makes it easier for Sergius and Bacchus to bond with God and so strike a new, eternal friendship.

Ultimately then, as Constantinou concludes, this martyrdom narrative explores the various types of friendship and identifies the different categories of gift-giving and reciprocity as fundamental benchmarks in evaluating each paradigm.

*Lisa M. C. Weston*

Friendship must not be confused with erotic, or even sexual, relationships, although the one aspect does not necessarily, or completely, exclude the other. Instead, it represents an ethical ideal and value of high order, so there is nothing to prevent men from enjoying friendship with women, and vice versa. Maybe we could even go one step further and argue that male-female friendship free of sexual undertones demonstrates the highest perception of the ideals determining that relationship. To explore this argument further, Lisa M. C. Weston analyzes the correspondence between the eighth-century Saint Boniface, the Anglo-Saxon missionary to Germany, and his female friends in English monasteries.<sup>308</sup> As we can learn from the letters exchanged over a long period of time, both sides were greatly concerned to support each other spiritually and materially, as the requests for specific objects indicate. Moreover, these monastic friends also sent texts to each other, i.e., specific books, or poems, which they had composed or copied themselves. All participants in this correspondence among friends emerge as highly literate and well educated and so belong to a textual community over long distance.<sup>309</sup> Friendship here manifests itself through the reading and writing process, especially insofar as the correspondents quickly refer to the very texts that they have received and thus confirm the relevance for them and their own appreciation of these literary gifts.

As Weston recognizes, the writers on both sides of the Channel began to use similar formulas and *topoi*, and demonstrated thereby their intellectual proximity. In other words, the term “Boniface Circle” fittingly expresses the degree to which

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<sup>308</sup> Stefan Schipperges, *Bonifatius ac socii eius: eine sozialgeschichtliche Untersuchung des Winfrid-Bonifatius und seines Umfeldes*. Quellen und Abhandlungen zur mittelhochdeutschen Kirchengeschichte, 79 (Mainz: Selbstverlag der Gesellschaft für Mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte, 1996); *Bonifatius – Apostel der Deutschen: Mission und Christianisierung vom 8. bis ins 20. Jahrhundert*. Mainzer Vorträge, 9 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2004); *Bonifatius: vom angelsächsischen Missionar zum Apostel der Deutschen*, ed. Michael Imhof and Gregor K. Stasch (Petersberg: Imhof, 2004).

<sup>309</sup> For a comparative perspective on this phenomenon, see Brian Stock, *Listening for the Text: On the Uses of the Past*. Parallax: Re-Visions of Culture and Society (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990).

both the women in England and Boniface and his male disciples grew together over distance via their correspondence, sharing the same values and ideals, and then also the same educational concepts and literary terms. More important, however, Weston emphasizes how much that intellectual and religious community was bonded through intense emotional feelings, although they tend to hide those behind a highly formulaic and traditional language. Certainly, the correspondents heavily relied on Biblical images and traditional rhetorical strategies in their affective approaches; nevertheless they indicated clearly how much they cherished their friendship and placed great relevance on it, as when they exchange spiritual kisses and embraces, thus assuring each other of their ardent love for the recipient of the letters on the respectively other side of the Channel.

This kind of friendship suddenly granted these epistolary authors a new space, based on the literary discourse and free of all possible suspicions of a too close physical relationship. Weston rightly suggests that the very distance between England and the Continent made this correspondence possible in the first place, which then transformed into the essential platform for these affectionate, yet purely spiritual exchanges. Kinship was not far removed in their minds, and actually existed through multiple links, but the true and fundamental link between them proved to be friendship, which in turn was based on the common desire for spiritual enlightenment and the adherence to God's laws. Irrespective of Boniface's actual tasks and responsibilities in Germany, the nuns still reached out to him asking for his acknowledgment and recognition as friends, crossing all gender lines and physical and chronological barriers. The communally shared literary discourse provided the relevant framework for this gender-blind, as we also could call it, and affectionate circle of friends. It might be justified, as Weston underscores, to recognize the sea which separated both sides from each other, as the decisive catalyst for their friendship to materialize in spiritual terms.

Theirs is a friendship which substituted for the missing brother or sister respectively and provided the support they all needed in body and mind. The female correspondents expressed their feeling of loneliness and hardship in this world, emphasizing thereby their urgent request to be comforted by Boniface in his friendship with them. Not surprisingly, considering the great degree of affection permeating all these letters, we also hear of ardent pleas to Boniface to return in person and to offer consolation when it was most needed — certainly an impossibility, but also a clear indication of the extent to which this circle of friends had grown together by way of their correspondence. But similarly as in the case of *Sergius and Bacchus* (see the contribution by Constantinou), these friends knew just too well that they would ultimately meet again in the future, even though then beyond the physical limitations, that is, in Heaven.

Although there are some rare cases of female-female friendship expressed in letters, the norm proves to be male-male and female-male. But even then when

women exchanged letters affirming their endearment and affection, they also resorted to the same language of friendship used in the Boniface Circle, truly a textual community that shared a large set of values and ideals and could thus maintain an extraordinary network of writing across Europe during the mid-eighth century.

The various authors did not rely on a naive and impulsive rhetoric; instead they created an elaborate system of literary strategies to affirm their friendship over such grand distances, which, in a fascinating fashion, almost entirely removed the differences in gender because the epistolary communication focused almost exclusively on the ideal and the concept of friendship.

*Jennifer Constantine-Jackson*

Personal correspondences often shed important light on what friendship really meant for those involved. Not surprisingly, the almost notorious relationship between Abelard and Heloise easily comes to mind here as well, where the two persons are most famous for their illicit love affair, their marriage, then their separation, and finally their subsequent exchanges via letters in which they probed the meaning of love and friendship in a spiritual-philosophical framework. Jennifer Constantine-Jackson here offers an acute analysis of their letters in light of the larger topic pursued in this volume. As much as Abelard presented himself as primarily dedicated to the study of logic, he also eventually embraced rhetoric as the essential instrument in achieving his intellectual goals. These two disciplines combined well for him, and then also for Heloise, by way of the topic of friendship that created the essential bridge between these two people, after having been lovers and husband and wife.

As Constantine-Jackson argues, Heloise's exchanges with Abelard on the basis of friendship provided him with the most important rhetorical lessons, especially because both people were, following Etienne Gilson's observation, in full agreement that philosophy and theology played each other hand in hand and so were essentially complementary. Or, as Constantine-Jackson formulates it, rhetoric proved to be both a philosophical orientation and a spiritual exercise. Friendship, then, enters the picture at the very intersection of both aspects, which the correspondence between Heloise and Abelard powerfully illustrates.

Abelard focused on rhetoric from early on and developed it consistently throughout his life, increasingly connecting it with theology, similarly to what Augustine did. Heloise drew in her writing as much on classical rhetoric, especially by Cicero, as her correspondent did in his own letters, emphasizing its relevance for achieving wisdom. Both increasingly found ways to reconcile with each other after years of separation, and embraced the idea of friendship in which both could enjoy the pursuit of philosophy and eloquence, or rhetoric on the same level. After all, through eloquence and friendship the pathway toward God was

suddenly opened up, which Constantine-Jackson confirms through her reading of the *Epistolae duorum amantium*, whether those letters can be regarded as authentic or not. Abelard credited Heloise with possessing a profound understanding of friendship, deeper perhaps even than Cicero's, because of her strong emphasis on virtue, which can be realized through this bond between two people. Virtue, however, almost eliminates the erotic and lays the foundation for a philosophical friendship. Significantly, as research by C. Stephen Jaeger and others has demonstrated, until at least the twelfth century friendship and its very modality continued to be the subject of the central curriculum at the cathedral schools and then the universities. Not surprisingly, this can then also be claimed for the intensive intellectual exchanges between Abelard and Heloise.

One of the critical points in Heloise's difficult efforts to convince Abelard of the true value of friendship was her realization that ethics and eloquence correlated with each other. This approach to rhetoric was, however, grounded in the ideal of friendship which she intimately connected with virtues, even at the risk of abandoning rhetoric again because she treated Abelard above all as a teacher with whom she was affectionately bonded in the quest for virtue, or *sapientia*, and so she could forgo eloquence in her exchanges with him. Friendship, however, mediates divine wisdom in the world, a concept which was also embraced by Aelred of Rievaulx in a variety of ways.

Although not addressing rhetoric explicitly, Heloise demonstrated in her *Letters* the degree to which it was intimately tied in with wisdom, and as such forged a way toward friendship through which the true realization of God was only possible for them. Whereas Abelard had addressed an *amicus* in his *Historia Calamitatus*, Heloise insisted in her correspondence with him on their relationship as friends and pushed the philosopher to embrace friendship as well as a centerpiece for the love of God. Friendship overcomes the material, even sexual, desires and aims for a spiritual transformation of the individual in conjunction with the other friend. At the end Abelard accepted Heloise's viewpoints and talked about Christ as the true friend, meaning that their friendship was a mirror of the divine friendship.

Projecting Christ as Heloise's lover, Abelard could distance himself from her and present himself as her friend, connected with her through the pursuit of rhetoric and wisdom. In this way both of them became teacher and students of one another in Christ. The lasting impression confirms the newly established mutualism in friendship, leveling both correspondents in their quest of and for each other and of the Godhead through rhetoric in the service of wisdom. After all, Abelard accepted Heloise's challenge and embraced the notion of friendship for himself as advisor and supporter of the Paraclete community.

As Constantine-Jackson concludes, Abelard, under Heloise's influence, merged and incorporated the language of rhetoric with that of charismatic friendship.



Most significantly, this relationship was realized through epistolary conversations in which both writers revealed their inner thoughts, worries, and trouble to each other, propelling each other to learn, to expand, and to transform into true disciples of God, the highest friend there is.

*Marc Saurette*

When we talk about friendship, we must not ignore its significant role within the public, political discourse, as Marc Saurette observes with regards to the intense and complex use of the word 'friendship' in Peter the Venerable's political correspondence. Famous Cluny was not only a major center of twelfth-century monasticism, it had also developed into a hub of greatest economic, military, and spiritual importance. The abbot was naturally selected from among the highest ranking noble families in the region, who then, of course, maintained close connections with the major power players. Despite its primarily religious function, Cluny entertained multiple political relationships and regularly characterized them in terms of friendship. Peter the Venerable seems to have originated from a family on a rather lower social echelon, which panegyrists and chroniclers tried to ignore in their accounts about him, and who instead alluded to historical roots associating him with the line of the Capetian kings. The authors were particularly inclined to emphasize how much Peter was admired and loved by his subjects, if not venerated as a saint, hence the epithet in his name.

However, the tensions between the abbot and the local aristocracy seem to have run relatively high and were played out in a specific propaganda campaign directed against the latter group as being combative and divisive, while the abbot and the monastery appear as peace loving and caring. Consequently, Peter and his monks made great efforts to reach out to the public, to intervene in political and military conflicts, and to offer their own services in peace negotiations, increasingly incorporating the laity within the spiritual fold of the monastery.

Although Peter mostly stayed at Cluny, he developed an extensive network of friendships by way of an intensive correspondence with at least seventy people far and wide. Friendship was the name of the game in his diplomatic gambit, and it served him well to settle conflicts, to address rancor and grudges, and to overcome serious threats and hostilities in smaller and larger contexts.

We have to be careful, however, as Saurette admonishes us, to differentiate between Peter's friendship with the monks in his monastery, regularly expressed in highly affectionate terms, and friendship with lay aristocrats, including kings and other high ranking nobles, with whom he endeavored to establish closer connections through more formal, that is, ritualistic and political maneuvers. Nevertheless, we still cannot simply dismiss these carefully crafted and utilized tropes of friendship as nothing but rhetorical strategies without having any basis in any individual, honest feelings. Instead, Peter achieved his political goals

precisely because he seems to have invested his political and diplomatic endeavors with true emotions strongly appealing to the outside world wherever strife and conflict raged to establish peace according to the ideals as they were practiced behind the monastery's walls.

It is no longer all that believable that emotions displayed in public were nothing but staged gestures, mimicry, and ritual; instead we would be well advised to see behind those rituals also actual feelings; hence Peter's concern to extend his friendship as abbot to the laity as well, coaxing and pleading with them to accept his authority and to subscribe to the Christian value of friendship, cannot only be regarded as a theatrical operation.<sup>310</sup> Not assuming that everyone would simply follow him in his recommendations, the abbot coaxingly suggested over and over again that all human differences could be easily overcome by turning to the absolute love of and by God as the ultimate friend. With his letters to his many worldly 'friends,' Peter thus developed his opinions from a religious point of view with the intent of influencing the political world outside of Cluny as well, requesting that his addressees embrace charity as their *modus operandi* because they lived in a world of sinfulness and needed to develop a new approach in their social interactions which ought to be determined by Christian ideals.

However, as Saurette also notices, for Peter friendship was not a constant and enduring phenomenon; instead it could easily fade and disappear again, being highly fragile within the actual political and social context, if not enough attention and care were applied. This could imply gifts, immaterial support, advice or assistance, whatever it would take, which Peter himself tried to carry out in practice. Insofar as the abbot clearly distinguished between false and true friends, very much in the vein of Boethian teachings (*Consolation of Philosophy*), we can trust his statements in his letters as sincere efforts to reach out to the laity and to provide a roadmap of how to overcome strife and violence by way of friendship. Combining religious ideals as they were, so he claimed, already realized in the community of Cluny with attempts to reach out to the secular aristocracy, Peter hoped to establish a new, broad-ranging community, intimately connecting the monastery as its center, or hub, with all outside members, including kings and bishops, especially those intimately affiliated with Cluny, by way of the bonds of friendship. Those who were friends of Cluny, as expressed by gifts and donations, received highest praise in Peter's letters, although, as Saurette finally underscores,

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<sup>310</sup> The old position was strongly advocated by Gerd Althoff, *Die Macht der Rituale: Symbolik und Herrschaft im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftlicher Buchverlag, 2003); id., *Inszenierte Herrschaft: Geschichtsschreibung und politisches Handeln im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftlicher Buchverlag, 2003); by contrast, arguing energetically and rather convincingly against it, Peter Dinzelbacher pleads for a much more complex approach, embracing both aspects, ritual and emotions as the two sides of the same coin, *Warum weint der König?: eine Kritik des mediävistischen Panritualismus* (Badenweiler: Bachmann, 2009).

true friendship showed itself, according to the abbot, more through the demonstration of sincere love, i.e., through gestures and words coming from the heart.

In fact, to be called a friend of Cluny signaled a particular character and was a badge of honor within the religious and the political realm. In this sense Peter operated very successfully with the discourse of friendship in order to support individual rulers, to coax them to pursue a peaceful agenda, and to abandon their former hostility against each other. Moreover, the abbot called those people friends who had demonstrated through their benevolent rule or their foresightedness and circumspection in dealing with their people to be ideal characters worthy to be included in the circle of Cluny friends.

Consequently, turning to the political dimension of friendship, Saurette observes how much Peter used the ideal of friendship with Cluny as an instrument to convince rulers to perform in a specific, Christian way and to strive for the establishment of peace with their previous opponents, for instance. The reward consisted of, as Saurette recognizes, the promise to be regarded as a member of the community of friends, which held considerable benefits for the laity, that is, the aristocracy and the worldly rulers.

Of course, as we also have to realize, there was no guarantee that Peter's rhetorical strategies to pacify hostile combatants would work since much still depended on the addressee's willingness or readiness to comply with the abbot's requests. Nevertheless, as Saurette concludes, submitting under the ideal of friendship as offered by Cluny entailed many advantages both for the monastery and the laity without appearing mercenary to the public.

There is no reason to assume that Peter simply manipulated the lords and ecclesiastics whom he addressed in his numerous letters for selfish reasons, although he certainly employed the ideal of friendship in a rather political and most astute manner. He fully believed in the ideal of Christian friendship, and yet also operated with it rather skillfully on the highest diplomatic levels. There would not be any good way to distinguish between honest embracing of friendship and strategically utilizing it for political purposes. He certainly played with, or employed, rituals of friendship, but they proved to be so effective precisely because they were anchored in a world of convictions and feelings, after all. Should we infer from this that no good actor can play his/her role without being somewhat personally invested in it? But that would be the cynic's point of view.

*R. Jacob McDonie*

We could hardly identify any major intellectual from the long twelfth-century who would not have engaged in the discourse of friendship, as St. Anselm of Canterbury demonstrates, whose letters and *Prayers* are the object of critical examination by R. Jacob McDonie. Friends do not need to be present to provide

the support and love expected from them. This mysterious friendship could be tantamount to a true spiritual community without which an individual would not be able to cope well in life. The honest friends emerge as reflections of the own self and of the Christian community unified in love for the others and, above all, for God. Although Anselm did not dismiss the monastic community as primary, where no individualized friendship was really tolerated, he still advocated for friendship as a medium to gain a new degree of spirituality and love. This comes to the fore in Anselm's relatively little examined *Prayers*, the object of McDonie's investigations.

He points out especially Anselm's approach to friends as metaphysical entities, as soul-mates, and not necessarily as people in one's immediate physical presence. Hence, he primarily looked for friendship with saints who could provide him with the religious succor so necessary for a Christian in this world in order to gain God's love in a triangular fashion because He is already in a narrative discourse with them and would be willing to extend his friendship with them to the Christian still seeking that connection. Anselm underscored in his *Prayers* the dramatic nature of the sinful soul searching for God's grace, which leads directly to a new awareness of the individual willing to submit himself under self-examination. By means of prayers, then, addressed to saints as intercessors with God, friendship transforms into a religious instrument to liberate the abject soul from its isolation and promises to uplift it into the divine light where the sinfulness might be forgiven.

At Anselm's time, McDonie reminds us, the transition from the traditional image of the triumphant and somehow inaccessible Christ to the suffering Christ approachable through pious devotion had not quite yet set in. Hence reaching out to the saints as spiritual but close friends in the metaphysical realm offered much hope and provided confidence that sinfulness could be overcome and forgiven. Christ, according to Anselm, did not quickly die a salvific death on the cross; instead He lived among people for a long time, became their friends, and then, beyond His death, extended that friendship to the saints as well. Those in turn could bridge the gap between Christ and the human sinner, meaning that friendship suddenly assumes, in Anselmian terms, a healing power through which the individual has, after all, a chance to appeal and pray to God because the saintly friends intervene on his behalf and become the crucial intermediaries.

Human friends, by contrast, threaten to obscure the quest for the self in the effort to cleanse oneself from sins which prove to be most daunting and might even destroy the individual once they have been confessed. In other words, McDonie refers here to friends in Anselm's immediate physical presence, whereas distant friends emerge as major catalysts in the struggle to reach out to the Virgin Mary and Christ Himself. Both saints and such distant friends can perform the necessary task of helping the sinful soul to gain assistance and forgiveness from God.

Imagining those friends, or invoking their spiritual presence, proves to be sufficient, if not even better, for Anselm in his effort to meditate and pray and thus to reach out to God.

When friends are in a geographic distance, letters are not really necessary to connect with them because the ideal of friendship rests in the mind, not in the body, which in turn explains, once again, why Anselm more or less identified saints as friends and his true friends in this world almost as saints. After all, for Anselm the ultimate truth does not rest in the body, but in the mind, and it is there where the saints and God interact, and so also the friends. The only logical conclusion for him then is the argument that true friends can only join in heaven where their hearts can finally be unified.

Significantly, as McDonie highlights in his article, this kind of friendship transgressed traditional gender lines, since Anselm expressed himself similarly in letters to female friends.<sup>311</sup> Hence it would be absurd to insinuate, considering his most affectionate and passionate language, any homosexual tendencies in Anselm's writings because for him true friendship is absolute spiritualization, though friends still could compete against each other in achieving virtues in worldly terms. Nevertheless, since he intended most, if not all, of his letters for public reading, he deliberately toned down the erotic language when writing to a female correspondent to avoid any suspicion on the part of his audience.

Returning to Anselm's saint-friends, McDonie observes how much the author relied on an image of friendship almost opposite to that propounded in classical times, since that relationship is hierarchical, utilitarian, contingent, and impenetrable. Most important, since the saints had been human, they would be capable of understanding the sinner's frailty and need of help, and thus would intercede on his/her behalf with God. So the saints are definitely not alter-egos; instead they prove to be far removed, and even difficult to reach; thus the prayers to them address them as friends of human origin, now in Heaven where they have a chance to reach out to God on behalf of the sinner.

After all, as McDonie emphasizes—and rightly so—Anselm even turned toward the saints' shortcomings and failures in their lifetime to build a bridge to his own human existence in order to evoke sympathy for himself as a sinner. "Sympathetic identification" emerges as the catalyst for spiritual friendship, as McDonie formulates it, and since Anselm projected the saints as overflowing with goodness, he obviously implied that they could easily share some of that for their friends on earth. Insofar as God is perceived as an unmovable and terrifying judge of the sinner, the saints grow in value for the worshipper because they serve in the

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<sup>311</sup> See also the contributions to this volume by Lisa M. C. Weston and Jennifer Constantine-Jackson. For a discussion of female friendships, see above in this volume (both Marilyn Sandidge's and my own parts).

important function of communicating the latter's request to Him since they are bonded to the people through friendship and thus can intercede because they are merciful and gracious to their earthly friends and are also friends with God Himself at the same time (especially St. John and Christ at the Last Supper).

McDonie subsequently turns to the last critical question regarding friendship in Anselm's letters and considers the problem of the saints hating sinfulness just as much as God does. Anselm finds the solution in the philosophy of Atonement, a form of metonymical friendship insofar as the saint simply stands in for the sinner, who thus can suddenly lean on God himself as if he were the saint. This leads to two forms of friendship, the one by the saint with God, the other by the saint with the sinner, and neither contradicting the other in philosophical and religious terms. In this way Anselm believed that he could secure God's mercy as if he were the saint himself, which is all made possible because saint and sinner are friends as well.

In sum, as McDonie elaborates, Anselm predicated his *Prayers* indeed on the notion of friendship, but he distanced himself in physical terms from the earthly friends and reached out to the saints as the most potent advocates for the sinner in the face of God. Anselm was most probably familiar with the classical model of friendship as developed by Cicero, but he turned against it and suggested a rather idiosyncratic, spiritual one, indeed, which was to witness a considerable popularity in the late Middle Ages.

#### *Julian Haseldine*

Insofar as friendship was regarded as one of the central topics intensively discussed in the long twelfth century, Julian Haseldine's contribution offers a most welcome sweeping overview with a focus on the debate about friendship within the monastic world, reflecting both on St. Anselm and on Aelred of Rievaulx, not to forget Bernard of Clairvaux and many of their concerns regarding the proper interpretation of *The Rule of St. Benedict*. The learned and sophisticated letter was one of the most favorite intellectual weapons in the global debate about the significance of *caritas* as an expression of friendship in the struggle by the Cistercians to defend themselves against public accusations of an extreme form of austerity and their attempt thus to establish their superiority over the other monastic orders. Whatever 'friendship' really might have meant, it became, as Haseldine emphasizes, a key word in the plethora of epistolary exchanges and public discourse, serving extraordinarily well to reach out to collaborators, to build political alliances, to strengthen coalitions, and to defend their own case.

In order to explore this thorny issue further, Haseldine focuses on the correspondence between, on the one hand, Bernard of Clairvaux, Peter the Venerable, and Peter of Celle, and highly appreciated friends far away who were regarded as deserving such letters, masterpieces of political and diplomatic

endeavors. Not surprisingly, however, he begins his study with an analysis of St. Anselm's letters, and from there proceeds to the later epistolary authors. These letters shed important light on how the Cistercians defined and utilized the term 'friendship,' one of the sensitive issues in the acrimonious tensions with the Benedictines as the older monastic order. We need to keep in mind, however, as Haseldine alerts us, that the expressions of intensive emotions, even of passion, should not be read naively as such; instead they were all highlights of epistolary art and rhetoric, and these writers pursued, through the reference to emotions, specific religious and political goals.

As many of Bernard's letters indicate, friendship was regarded as a matter of public esteem and could stand the test of public scrutiny, especially because true friendship lasted for ever. Terms such as 'love' and 'friendship' proved to be convenient for the public discourse, bonding allies and collaborators together, confirming their commitment to each other so that the common goal could assuredly be achieved. Writing to female addressees, Bernard tended to resort to highly emotional language, but certainly not out of any erotic interests; instead, as Haseldine underscores, because he presented himself, especially when there was no direct personal intimacy, hence no ground for any suspicion, as their advisor whom they could completely trust as their friend. At a closer look we can also note the absence of particularly situations when Bernard formulated unique friendly expressions. The significance of rhetorical strategies in these letters can never be underestimated.

Haseldine points out how much contemporaries such as Peter of Celle almost playfully operated with such terms of endearment, calling a variety of addressees 'friends' for a number of purposes. Nevertheless, in Peter's case there is sufficient evidence to confirm that he truly corresponded with good friends from the time of his student years; and yet this does not take away the rhetorical properties of his letters—again an interesting case where ritual, or formalistic expressions, clashes with the claim to speak from the heart. The correspondence between Bernard and Peter the Venerable, for instance, reveals that despite the jovial, often mocking tone of voice, despite the jokes, wit, and banter, the deliberate strategy to achieve a specific end was never ignored. As much as friendship dominated those exchanges, it was a tool for highly educated men to demonstrate in public with whom they were politically and administratively closely associated, or rather bonded together as friends.

This argument allows us to understand why so many seemingly private, in reality rather public letters were collected and preserved in the monastic libraries. Haseldine underscores how much friendship, as reflected in these correspondences, was not necessarily an expression of intimate relationship; instead it served exceedingly well for political maneuvering, though this still does not completely exclude actual emotional relationships among those 'friends.' Not

surprisingly, then, in some cases friendship was extended even to strangers because of political convenience and expedience, or the letter writer was driven by the desire to convert the addressee to the monastic life. Ultimately, as Haseldine comments, the trope of friendship could serve a wide range of functions, and would have to be employed with great care when utilized in these monastic correspondences.

Nevertheless, friendship continued to be problematic for the Cistercians, as Brian Patrick McGuire has pointed out. After all, once their monastic communities had grown in size, the fear of sexual misconduct grew considerably, hence also the fear for the well-being of the community of monks or nuns, which could be at risk if cliques of friends might form.<sup>312</sup> But the overwhelming evidence indicates, after all, that friendship continued to be of significant importance and was embraced even in theoretical terms as a key element of brotherly love for the Cistercians, as we have seen above in our discussion of Aelred's treatise, and as Haseldine's arguments here convincingly illustrate further.

Literary circles carried by letters often resorted to the term 'friendship' as a most convenient one to express the intellectual, religious, and spiritual connections among them all. Even apparent rebuffs to friendly overtures could be part of a literary ritual for entry into formal or spiritual friendship bonds, as several cases in the correspondences of Peter of Celle and of Bernard of Clairvaux indicate. Extending friendship to newly appointed church administrators or abbots thus has to be viewed as a skillful rhetorical strategy allowing the letter writer to position himself in a humbling, yet somehow still dominating position. In another context friendship could be forged between communities, or between an individual and a community, each time predicated on political operations, not necessarily, if at all, on explicit emotional attachments, which were impossible at any rate in such cases. In all of these contexts friendship is expressed in terms of law, allegiance, debt, obligation, or privilege, reflecting the public nature of this relationship. Friendship could, however, end when the commonly shared set of values was no longer quite in place. On the other hand, as Anselm clearly expressed, one could never have enough friends, both personally and politically.

This does not mean, of course, as Haseldine makes us aware, friendship, whether private or public, was hardly ever completely free of conflict and strife. And it also was repeatedly used as a medium to appeal for help when legal or economic problems with other parties and individuals arose. The rich networks among the twelfth-century intellectuals were commonly established on the notion of friendship which appears as the most flexible and multi-functional glue holding those communities together and protecting them from external threats.

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<sup>312</sup> Brian Patrick McGuire, "The Cistercians and the Transformation of Monastic Friendship," *Analecta Cisterciensia* 37.1–2 (1983): 3–65.



It proves to be rather difficult to distinguish more clearly between the express use of the term *amicitia* and *amor*, or *dilectio*, in the political, legal, economic, and religious discourse carried out by way of letters. Appeals for help regularly allude to friendship, whereas expressions of a personal state of mind rely on the latter term. Significantly, Bernard, for instance, resorted to friendship even in letters that addressed bitter enemies in order to underscore his own upholding of the values that had connected them until recently.

Haseldine points to a striking feature in all of these collections: those recipients who were truly intimates or confidants, and who were addressed with expressions of love and affection at other times, are explicitly called friends almost exclusively in the contexts of clashes or disputes during moments of crisis. In the case of some letters by Peter of Celle, friendship is invoked in the context of rebuke and criticism, probably to ensure that no bridges to other people would be torn down in the long run. References to friendship could also serve to uphold the opponent to higher ethical and moral standards. But then the allusion to friendship also fulfilled the important function to ameliorate and heal broken relations and to reestablish peace. Those who declared to be friends, despite all enmity, refused to let hostility and material conflicts come between those who exchanged those letters. Of course, this did not necessarily mean a willingness to let go of the own position in a debate; on the contrary, to operate with the term friendship strengthened one's case in face of the other's aggressiveness.

Haseldine finally warns us not to read too many emotional elements into the expressions of friendship contained in those letter collections, since these regularly served political, religious, or institutional purposes and were important instruments in the diplomatic exchanges, parallel to, but certainly quite distinct from, the obligation to extend monastic *caritas*. Friendship thus emerges, as Haseldine concludes, as a powerful rhetorical instrument in the countless exchanges and interactions among the many highly influential twelfth-century ecclesiastics.

#### *John A. Dempsey*

In the following study John A. Dempsey invites us to consider friendship from quite a different perspective, that is, a form of friendship as pursued by members of the Patavine movement in eleventh-century northern Italy. His main witness, Bishop Bonizo of Sutri, composed a significant treatise, the *Liber ad amicum* of ca. 1085–1086, in which he at first sight primarily deals with the interactions and tensions between Pope Gregory VII and Henry IV of Germany. In reality, however, as Dempsey elaborates, this is a treatise about the Patavine movement and its ideological foundation based on the idea of politico-religious friendship through which that movement was held together, irrespective of the members' social background, since they belonged both to the clergy and the laity. Bonizo

developed the ideology that even a knight could defend with his sword orthodox Christianity against a heretical emperor, whereby they would demonstrate their friendship with the true religion, hence were embraced by the clergy as the intimate friends of that movement.

Previous scholarship tended to read his text as a defense treatise for Pope Gregory VII, but Dempsey argues that Bonizo really addressed the other Patarenes and appealed to them to realize the dream of Christian friendship which formed the ideological basis of their movement. The author ardently urged his friends to remember and avenge the assassination of their leader Erlembald Cotta in 1075 and hence to take up arms against the imperial forces of Henry IV of Germany as an assumed heretic. They would, as he suggested, thereby defend the side of Pope Gregory and the Countess Matilda of Canossa, who had arranged the peace negotiation between these two forces. Altogether, however, for Bonizo these political and military events were only the foil before which he situated the Pataria, to whom he strongly recommended forming better friendships and thus a more solid religious community.<sup>313</sup>

Dempsey underscores how much the Patarenes had found each other by being attracted to the ideal of a reformed church strictly opposed to rampant ecclesiastical abuses. They derived their strongest inspiration to establish such a cohesiveness among themselves from the ideal of friendship and tried to live it out in practical terms as well, closely imitating the *vita apostolica*, known as *Canonica*. This in turn facilitated the enormous outreach both to the illiterate poor and the knightly class, who were all invited to join the movement carried by the Patarene literate clerics who tried, primarily relying on the Biblical text and the writings of the Church Fathers, to reestablish man's pure relationship with God in contrast to the pervasive corruption among the traditional clergy. Since the Patarenes operated within the framework of friendship, they proved to be very inclusive and could, indeed, energize the wider population in their favor, indirectly calling for military actions against those members of the Church hierarchy who had become guilty of simony, Nicolaitism, and lay investiture. Under the leadership of Erlembald Cotta the Pataria took violent actions and created something like an urban militia in Milan and nearby cities, but Erlembald overdid his rigid rule and in a way brought about his own death in a battle between a strong conservative counter-movement all over Lombardy and the Patarenes in 1075.

Bonizo worked hard to convince his readers/listeners of his treatise *ad amicum* that the time had come to launch a holy civil war against the arch-enemy of the

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<sup>313</sup> Steven Runciman, *The Medieval Manichee: A Study of the Christian Dualist Heresy* (1947; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); Piet F. M. Fontaine, *Gnostic-Dualistic Tendencies in the History of Medieval Europe. The Light and the Dark: a Cultural History of Dualism*, 20 (Groningen: Gopher Publisher, 2004).

true Christian community, the Henrician forces, i.e., the German King Henry IV himself and his supporters, including those in Milan and elsewhere. Erlembald's death and that of other Patarene martyrs served Bonizo to present absolute role models for the friends in the movement. Most poignantly, however, Bonizo challenged his audience to prove their friendship by truly taking sides and hence to rally to arms in order to defend their religious cause. While their role models, the apostles and martyrs, did not have the chance to defend their faith with weapons, the Patarene friends could and should do so according to Bonizo, especially to avenge the murder of Erlembald and to fend off the heretical forces threatening the well-being of the true Christian Church.

Bonizo's task in his *ad amicum* was a risky and heavy one because he wanted to raise the rallying cry among all friends of the Pataria to rise up against a Christian emperor, a ruler whose position vis-à-vis the Church might be the correct one, after all. Dempsey illustrates how the author skillfully drew from a variety of texts in the Old Testament to prove his case justifying the military defense against Henry IV by the Patarenes. Bonizo emphasized how much the friends' suffering under imperial oppression had to be read in parallel to Jesus's suffering, which granted the Patarenes, at least according to him, a spiritual justification of the highest order. Playing on a famous example from late antiquity, Bonizo referred to the Roman Emperor Constantine who had finally been converted, a clear sign of the ultimate triumph that the Pataria could expect, assuming, of course, that they were the true followers of the Christian Church in contrast to the heretics on the side of the German Emperor Henry IV.

The *amici* thus were entitled to take up arms and 'to continue' with the struggle against the enemies of the Christian faith which the martyrs had already begun a long time ago. Quite naturally Bonizo sought a political and military alliance with the papacy, the natural opponent to all so-called heretics. Hence, the papal troops who fell in battle were suddenly portrayed as the new martyrs in the old struggle.

Pushing his agenda further, Bonizo glorified both the 'martyred' Elembrecht and Pope Gregory VII as the decisive role models for all the friends in the Pataria, particularly because both advocated the same values, such as their opposition to lay investiture and simony. Moreover, as Dempsey illustrates, Bonizo made great efforts to convince the friends that Gregory indeed was the right person to fight against the 'evil' German emperor; so relying on the organizational structure based on friendship the author moved his audience into the desired direction of supporting the papacy without any reserve and fighting the Henrician front with all their might. Whether Bonizo was fully aware that his friends had already waged a war against Emperor Henry quite a while before, we cannot say, but he certainly and most energetically requested them to (re)turn to the weapons and to continue with the fight.

Since he identified himself as the friend of many friends, and appealed to them all to stand behind him, his *ad amicum* can be regarded as a remarkable manifesto of military-religious friendship. Bonizo did not write as a naive chronicler. Instead, he operated with his text within the context of a wide circle of friends and appealed to them to keep in mind the ideals of friendship for the political, religious, and military objectives that were on the plate at that time. Of course, as we know just too well, Bonizo ultimately failed in his goals and could not preserve the Pataria either. Late in his life he was attacked, brutally maltreated, losing nose, ears, eyes, and his tongue, but he kept writing, constantly insisting on the value of friendship for political and religious purposes in the name of the Pataria. His persistence in pursuing his many different goals, despite losing the next pope's full support (Urban), his regular efforts at reaching out to his friends, and his idealization of friendship as a most foundational platform for religious and political reform deserve our full attention because they shed far-reaching light on the discourse itself, hence of the idealization of friendship as the safe haven for true Christians, i.e., Patarenes, as he saw it.

#### *Albrecht Classen*

Friendship, even mentioned by that name, does not always mean the same thing, as we can easily perceive in medieval heroic epics. As Albrecht Classen emphasizes in his contribution, in the Middle High German *Nibelungenlied* the main protagonists seem at first to form a variety of strong bonds of friendship, but at closer analysis we have to realize that these bonds are political and military in nature, not affectionate and passionate bonds. Friendship was a characteristic feature of the courtly world, here disregarding monastic and other religious writers (see above). So it does not come as a surprise that the anonymous poet of the *Nibelungenlied* operated with the term 'friendship' only loosely without investing much ideological value into it for the development of his narrative.

Nevertheless, as Classen demonstrates, in light of the operation by one figure alone we suddenly observe the emergence of true friendship almost in the classical sense of the word, that is, in the case of the hero Rüedegêr. Although he also belongs to the larger Burgundian family, he lives as an exile in the vicinity of the Hunnish court to the east of the Germanic territory, in Pöchlarn (today near Vienna) and regularly bemoans his destiny, although we do not learn clearly what had brought about that exile. Rüedegêr always appears as a highly skilled diplomatic negotiator, advisor, and then also ally and friend, but he is, at the end, destroyed because of the insurmountable aporia of his own existence, being caught between his pledge of loyalty to his queen, Kriemhilt, and his close family ties with the Burgundians. After all, he even betroths his own daughter to one of their kings, Giselher, brother of King Gunther.

Family relationships clash bitterly with feudal conditions, and at the end the latter overrule any attempt to maintain friendship and to develop new marriage ties in order to secure peace and mutual respect. As the heroic epic illustrates just too clearly and painfully, Rüedegêr tries the impossible, bringing together two hostile forces all by himself by way of marriage arrangements. He is responsible for Kriemhilt's final agreement to accept Etzel's wooing, and he is the one initiating the marriage arrangement for his daughter and the young Burgundian warrior Gishelher. But once the hostilities have erupted in bitter fighting, Rüedegêr suddenly realizes that even friendship can fail in the world of heroic conflicts and tensions. He is bound by his oaths both to his queen and his king, though sworn under separate conditions and in a different situation, and he cannot, as he understands too late, sidestep the fundamental dilemma pitting friendship versus brutal political and military structures and conditions.

Despite all his attempts to find a last-minute solution, he is publicly shamed into action, gets involved in the final battle with the Burgundians, and then, after having killed many of them, succumbs to death as well, together with one of his future in-laws, Gernot, another of King Gunther's brothers.

Most amazingly, the liminal, hardly human figure Hagen, the true leader of the Burgundians behind the scene, steps forth when Rüedegêr is about to throw himself upon them, and engages him in a discussion, revealing, suddenly, the deep-seated desire by this battle-experienced man to reach out to the opponent and to remind him of their friendship. But the framework of the entire scene and the mutually exclusive oaths to their various lords and ladies make all efforts to restore peace, or at least to continue with the attempt to tolerate the other side, futile, and the slaughter resumes, once again, this time at the hands of friends who mow each other down in scores.

Certainly, the *Nibelungenlied* author idealizes the heroic world and portrays the Burgundians, above all, at least in the last quarter of his epic, as most outstanding and awe-inspiring warriors, far removed from their previously treacherous and deceptive behavior in face of superior powers (Siegfried and Brünhild). But there is the nagging feeling that he deeply regrets the development of events, at least as far as Rüedegêr is concerned. We hardly find any more moving scene in this monumental poem than the one when Hagen steps forward, reminds Rüedegêr of their friendship, of the many valuable gifts they all have received from him, and when he appeals to him one last time to remember who they all really are.

However, that is all to no avail, so Hagen is left with nothing but to offer a simple pledge that he himself will never fight against their friend Rüedegêr whatever might happen. Witnessing this scene, all these by now truly desperate men who surround them actually begin to cry out of profound sorrow that friendship is about to become the most painful victim in these terrible battles,

caused by one woman's deadly wrath against Hagen for the murder of her first husband.

We might identify the *Nibelungenlied* as the last literary example of the heroic age at a time when the courtly world had long overtaken the previous culture. Courtly love finds practically no reflection here, and likewise very few true emotions come to the fore, except Kriemhilt's grief over Siegfried's death, which ultimately leads to deadly fury that dominates and finally even engulfs them all, except King Etzel. Amazingly, however, friendship in the purest possible form emerges after all, albeit it cannot be maintained and does not succeed in preventing further killing. In the Burgundians' darkest hour, briefly before they all will be slaughtered, along with uncountable scores of Hunnish opponents, a friend appears, Rüedegêr, the one man whom they trust and respect the most. However, their faint hope to survive despite all odds is quickly dashed again when they realize, and are explicitly told by the Margrave, how much he is also a victim of the feudal structures and hence cannot extricate himself from the loyalty oath to his lord and Queen Kriemhilt. As much as friendship proves to be an ideal from the past, so its seems, strongly upheld by the *Nibelungenlied* poet, it can do nothing to break through the aporias of the military and political conditions.

Destiny is against them all because, not to forget, Hagen had killed Siegfried in revenge for his alleged mistreatment of Brünhild, because Gunther had wooed the latter, and because both men had cooperated in an evil scheme to deceive the Icelandic queen. Siegfried's faults and misbehavior at the beginning during his arrival at Worms must also not be forgotten, so it would be difficult, if not impossible, to point a finger toward the one and only one culprit.<sup>314</sup>

In face of the Armageddon in which this epic poem culminates it would be almost too pecuniary and pedestrian to calculate precisely the degree of guilt and to point out the various faults, if not crimes committed by individual heroes in a mercantile manner. Human lives are quickly intertwined and easily find themselves on a collision course from which there is no realistic, if any, escape. But despite all this doom and gloom, the short exchanges between the Burgundians and Rüedegêr suddenly highlight a glimmer of hope, though quickly quenched again. As the poet indicates, friendship represents a profound, though here just too evanescent, ideal that might—but really only might—overcome deadly hostilities and pave the way for a new harmonious community.

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<sup>314</sup> Recent attempts to psychologize the entire configuration of the protagonists might be fruitful, but they also border on speculation; see Irmgard Gephart, "Mythos und Antimythos in der Figur Siegfrieds," *Schätze der Erinnerung: Geschichte, Mythos und Literatur in der Überlieferung des Nibelungenlieds. Dokumentation des 7. wissenschaftlichen Symposiums der Nibelungenliedgesellschaft Worms e.V. und der Stadt Worms vom 17. bis 19. Oktober 2008*, ed. Volker Gallé (Worm: Worms Verlag, 2009), 61–77. She does not address friendship in concrete terms, however.

Of course, that is not the case here at all since death awaits everyone, except for King Etzel and his two allied warriors Dietrich and Hildebrand, who later leave him as we learn in the equally anonymous *Diu Klage*. Ultimately, then, as Classen outlines, the *Nibelungenlied* can be identified, even though only in those short and small episodes and scenes, as a literary paean on friendship, and this, oddly, in a heroic context.

But we can also recognize another highly problematic strategy to establish friendship, and this by way of gift-giving to establish networks of friends and loyal supporters for political and military purposes. The female protagonist Kriemhilt tries to 'buy' a cohort of trustworthy warriors with whose help she eventually hopes to avenge the murder of her husband, Siegfried. The end result is, however, total Armageddon for both sides, and only the few outsiders survive. In other words, gifts can easily be double-edged, building friendship and cutting the other badly. Little wonder that friendship has always constituted such a fundamental, yet also deeply problematic social instrument and framework. We cannot really live without friends, but there are hardly any really good friends out there, as both Beowulf in the Anglo-Saxon epic poem and Siegfried and Kriemhilt in the *Nibelungenlied* learn only too quickly and too painfully.<sup>315</sup>

#### *Antonella Liuzzo Scorpo*

As we have seen already above, the discourse of friendship spanned many centuries, literary genres, languages, and intellectual communities. Moving from medieval German heroic epic literature (Classen) to thirteenth-century Spanish religious poetry, Antonella Liuzzo Scorpo offers an insightful discussion of the *Cantigas de Santa María* by Alfonso X of Castile who apparently also joined the discourse of friendship for his socio-religious purposes. But Liuzzo Scorpo at first warns us not to ignore the multiple meanings and uses of the term *amicitia* in the high Middle Ages across Europe, and so also on the Iberian peninsula, since it could serve to describe both political and private relationships, and those between men and women, men and men, or women and women. In the Spanish context, the term *amigo* carried polyvalent meanings and could be used to address the lord, a companion, a lover, or a vassal—a phenomenon that actually applies to most medieval literatures.<sup>316</sup> Focusing on the *Cantigas*, after having succinctly

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<sup>315</sup> Clark, *Between Medieval Men*, 2009 (see note 52)

<sup>316</sup> For a very early but impressive analysis of the Middle High German term 'friunt,' see Ferdinand Wachter, "Freund," *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste*, 1849, 172–77 (see note 291); consult also Verena Epp, *Amicitia: zur Geschichte personaler, sozialer und geistlicher Beziehungen*, 1999 (see note 44); for examples pertaining to early-modern Humanist literature, see Johannes Klaus Kipf, "Humanistische Freundschaft im Brief: zur Bedeutung von amicus, amicitia und verwandter Begriffe in Briefcorpora deutscher Humanisten 1480–1520," *Verwandtschaft, Freundschaft, Bruderschaft: soziale Lebens- und Kommunikationsformen im Mittelalter. Akten des 12.*

introduced both the author (Alfonso) and the work, Liuzzo Scorpo examines how the term 'friend' functions in this huge context, observing, above all, that the king-poet regarded himself both as God's friend and as friend of the people. As already in the case of Peter the Venerable (see above) and other theologians in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the royal poet strongly aimed for spiritual friendship, connecting him as a human being with God. For Alfonso it was particularly easy to forge that connection of friendship because he regarded himself already as God's vassal here on earth and so only needed to respond to God's love to realize the ideal of spiritual friendship.

Liuzzo Scorpo emphasizes, in addition, that this kind of friendship could also extend to the Virgin, the apostle, the saints, and many other holy figures. Nevertheless, God Himself emerges as the most ideal, the perfect friend, particularly in light of classical definitions (Cicero), although only few people prove to be holy enough to be graced with such, that is, God's friendship. Nevertheless, it became a very common usage to identify the true Christian believers as God's friends, creating a universal community bonded together by the same ethics, morals, values, and religion above all. Family ties were, by contrast, not at all the same as friendship and could easily be severed. Angels, on the other hand, especially Gabriel, also proved to be members, though subordinated under God and the Virgin, of the circle of friends in the spiritual domain. Logically, the apostles and saints, and others among the heavenly host, also gained the title of friends of God and could thus serve even better as intermediaries between the human soul and the divine being.

Eve, on the other hand, originally also God's friend because she was likewise His creature, demonstrated the inherent problem of friendship, especially when betrayal occurred, since it always required a careful examination and selection of those who are truly worthy of that noble title of 'friend.' Significantly, as Liuzzo Scorpo discovers, if minstrels are identified as friends, this specifically referred to their bonding on a spiritual level, and certainly excluded any human relationship. Knights who felt deadly tortured by unrequited love were encouraged to pray to the Virgin Mary who then would descend from Heaven and compete with the worldly lady for the knight's heart, assuming the center of all of his attention as the true, the spiritual, friend, and also as mother, counselor, and companion.

Liuzzo Scorpo unearths the rich and complex relationship between Christian believers and their friends in Heaven, which is often contrasted by examples of evil, untrustworthy friends here on earth, who often prove to be the devil's

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*Symposiums des Mediävistenverbandes vom 19. bis 22. März 2007 in Trier*, ed. Gerhard Krieger (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2009), 491-509; cf. also *La Société des amis à Rome et dans la littérature médiévale et humaniste*, ed. Perrine Galand-Hallyn and Perrine Galand-Hallyn. *Latinitates*, 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008).



servants. The *Cantigas* present the true friendship with God as a privilege for the believer, which included, ultimately, everybody worthy of that title, despite the obvious preference for Alfonso X as the primary protagonist, creator, and practitioner of these religious songs. As a friend of God, and particularly of the Virgin Mary, Alfonso claimed an important position as an intermediary himself, almost like a saintly friend already here on earth, or, more precisely, as Mary's friend, vassal, and even lover. Nevertheless, he could only fulfill this self-selected role if the Virgin came to his assistance and provided him additionally with the important insight into how to differentiate among good and bad friends.

In contrast to the kings in England and France, Alfonso X never tried to elevate himself to a sacrosanct figure who could exert almost divine power through the *touche royale*.<sup>317</sup> As much as he saw himself as privileged, being the Virgin's chosen friend, he strategically humbled himself as well, insisting that when people came to him for help in incurable cases, he did not play the role of the miraculous healer, but referred the suffering person/s to the Virgin to whom they all could appeal, asking for her friendship and hence her help. But that is not to ignore, as Liuzzo Scorpo finally observes, that Alfonso X certainly regarded himself as the primary friend of Mary, and then also as her lover and vassal in exclusionary terms. In these roles he was granted the power to communicate between the divine and all his people because he had grasped the true essence and significance of friendship.

*David F. Tinsley*

Two central problems in the medieval gender relationships provide the framework for David F. Tinsley's contribution. First, to formulate it as questions, how much do we really know about women in the Middle Ages, if most of their texts, particularly when they had formulated religious, mystical thoughts, had been copied down, translated, maybe even edited, by their male confessors? Second, what was the true relationship between a confessor and the nun/disciple? Or, what power differential determined their interaction and hence the ensuing written documents? More specifically then, with the focus on the central theme of this volume in mind, could there have been a true spiritual friendship between both?

Tinsley turns his attention to the fourteenth-century German Dominican priest and mystic Heinrich Seuse (Henry Suso) and his disciple Elsbeth Stigel who apparently enjoyed a remarkable spiritual friendship between themselves which was not necessarily dominated by his patriarchal position as her confessor. Nevertheless, as Tinsley correctly alerts us, Cicero's and the various opinions by subsequent writers (see above) regarding friendship as being totally determined by equality and mutuality was not necessarily shared by everyone, especially not

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<sup>317</sup> Marc Bloch, *The Royal Touch: Sacred Monarchy and Scrofula in England and France*, trans. J. E. Anderson (1924; London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973).

in the Middle Ages when friendship was often defined and described as a form of guardianship, or as the relationship between teacher and disciple, as already exemplified by Jesus and John and the other apostles. Gender difference was, hence, no barrier to friendship at all, especially within the world of monastics (see also the study by Jennifer Constantine-Jackson), irrespective of the fact that this seems to have been highly contested by the patriarchal authorities.

For the Dominicans, Augustine's teachings were of paramount importance, and so also his thoughts on friendship and on the relationship between the genders. Although Stigel and Suso did not, and could not, share the same monastery, they were in constant contact with each other and systematically collaborated, despite being located so far apart (Constance vs. Zürich) on the creation of his *Vita*, a document of significant importance with respect to the mystical confessions contained therein.

The basis of their friendship can be found in Augustinian thinking, advocating the ideal of communal living, which was the foundational concept of Dominican teachings regarding the social interaction in their monasteries. Nevertheless, the relationship between Seuse and Stigel still appears as most unusual and deserves closer analysis because the two religious figures operated over distance, similar to parallel cases, as when Suso expresses his profound love to a dying nun to whom he writes in a letter about his spiritual friendship with her. But that friendship is not based on equality; instead it is based on love granted by a superior to an inferior, as Augustine had already taught.

This finds its confirmation in Stigel's express wish to be regarded as Suso's spiritual daughter since her friendship with him is determined by respect and admiration—very different than in the case of Abelard and Heloise, of course (see above). Suso differentiated subsequently, very much in line with Augustinian thinking, that sacrifice and submission under the rules had to be accommodated according to each individual's needs, abilities, and even motivation. As Tinsley observes, Suso drew much inspiration for his concept of spiritual friendship, as formulated in his *Vita*, from the *Desert Fathers* (*Vitaspatrum*), such as the account of Maria Meretrix.

True friends, then, find each other through suffering, which creates the necessary degree of humbleness within the monastic community, a lesson which Suso enjoined to Stigel, recommending her to read the *Vitaspatrum*. In fact, the relationship between the *abba* Abraham and his fallen niece Maria proves to be analogous to the one between Suso and Stigel, both predicated on friendship in a spiritual sense and both people interacting with each other through teaching (male to female), living at separate spaces, and yet virtually embracing each other in their quest for God's grace as religious companions, or friends. Even though that analogy might face some criticism, Tinsley rightly emphasizes how much the actual relationship between Suso and Stigel as friends resembles the one between

Abraham and Maria, between older advisor and younger disciple, both bonded together via friendship with and love for God.

In other words, friendship can not only be practiced in concrete terms, it can also be imitated and then realized in literary terms over time and space. To what extent the so-called group of "Gottesfreunde" exerted an influence, if they actually existed or represented only an idea behind a network of like-minded clerics firmly committed to the ideal of friendship in a religious context, remains an elusive question.

In essence, however, as Suso underscores, the process of finding God has to start in oneself; only then can that realization be shared with the spiritual friend who then pursues that path as well, which always involves suffering. The friend of God, to whom Suso refers himself, is privileged to witness his suffering, a grace of divine nature, that is, in a vision (Stagel). But it also needs to be kept in mind that even the friends are not perfect beings and are called upon to continue with further struggle to reach God by means of ever stronger suffering, such as life-long illness. Suso ultimately identifies Stagel as one of these friends, giving her thus highest accolades as one privileged by God, which then entirely overcomes any gender differences because all that matters for this friendship is the divine grace itself, best expressed in friendship with God Himself, or *caritas*.

#### *Robert Stretter*

Already in antiquity, and certainly throughout the Middle Ages many men swore brotherhood to each other, forming, as Robert Stretter observes in his contribution, intense and politically, if not even militarily, stable friendships. But the Middle Ages also experienced the revolutionary emergence of a new culture in which women played a significant role as well, leading to the powerful and pervasive phenomenon of *fin' amors*, which in a way almost threatened the existence of such a brotherhood society.<sup>318</sup> As Stretter's analysis primarily of Middle English romances indicates, the competition between both forces had significant consequences for the overarching development of courtly society and courtly literature.<sup>319</sup>

Whereas sworn brotherhood served exceedingly well, so it seems, to maintain and develop further the ideals of heroism and military ideology, with the rise of *fin' amors* tensions and conflicts became noticeable, ultimately leading to the considerable transformation of the discourse on friendship, which increasingly had to give way to other more burning issues in intergender relationships, as perhaps best illustrated in Chaucer's "The Knight's Tale." The pan-European tradition of

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<sup>318</sup> This is brilliantly illuminated by C. Stephen Jaeger in his *Ennobling Love*, 1999 (see note 27).

<sup>319</sup> For an early study with a fairly broad sweep, see Rob Roy Urdy, "The Friendship Motif in Middle English Literature," *Vanderbilt Studies in the Humanities* 1 (1951): 113-41.

the *Amis and Amiloun* narrative still demonstrated the virtually indestructible male-male relationship, which made it possible for the two protagonists to achieve all their desires and to realize their dreams despite serious social and even religious challenges. The two male friends support each other even under most unlikely circumstances, triumph over all challengers, and ultimately gain God's grace because of their high degree of virtuosity and absolute dedication to each other.<sup>320</sup>

In the late Middle Ages that kind of sworn brotherhood lost its traction, so to speak, and gave way to dangerous internecine strife because erotic love began to dominate the protagonists' hearts. Homosocial bonding was suddenly replaced by intergender, or heterosexual, relationships which hence led to a whole host of different personal conflicts. Ultimately, these proved to be highly problematic and regularly led to psychological pressure, melancholy, even depression, as reflected in Thomas Malory's *Morte d'Arthur* (completed in 1470, first printed by Caxton in 1485). Rivalry over women characterizes late-medieval and early modern literature, which only found a constructive solution with the new emphasis on marriage in public discourse and in practice.<sup>321</sup> But that, again, excluded the development of true friendship among men, or at least problematized it considerably.<sup>322</sup>

Although documentary evidence for sworn brotherhood in the Middle Ages is rather thin, Stretter confirms that it was of great relevance at least far into the fifteenth century. Writers tended to refer to it mostly fleetingly, and then with the assumption that the readers would be so familiar with that institution that further discussion would not be necessary, such as in the case of the fourteenth-century romance *Guy of Warwick*. Insofar as sworn brotherhood in essence implied military assistance or fighting on behalf of the friend, it was quite natural that the world of the early, and to some extent still of the high, Middle Ages showed more interest in that topic (see the twelfth-century chanson de geste, *Daurel et Beton*), whereas in the late Middle Ages and the early modern age that was no longer quite the case.<sup>323</sup> In a simplified manner, we could say, with Stretter, that at a certain point

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<sup>320</sup> *Amis and Amiloun, Robert of Cisyle, and Sir Amadace*, ed. Edward E. Forster, 2nd ed. Consortium for the Teaching of the Middle Ages (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 2007).

<sup>321</sup> Albrecht Classen, *Der Liebes- und Ehediskurs vom hohen Mittelalter bis zum frühen 17. Jahrhundert*. Volkslied-Studien, 5 (Münster, New York, et al.: Waxmann, 2005).

<sup>322</sup> Paul Trio, "Confraternities in the Low Countries and the Increase in Written Source Material in the Middle Ages," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 38 (2004): 415–26; see also the contributions to *Verwandschaft, Freundschaft, Bruderschaft*, ed. Gerhard Krieger, 2009; and to *Mittelalterliche Bruderschaften in europäischen Städten: Funktionen, Formen, Akteure = Medieval Confraternities in European Towns*, ed. Monika Escher-Apsner. Inklusion, Exklusion, 12 (Frankfurt a. M. and New York: Peter Lang, 2009).

<sup>323</sup> There were exceptions, of course, but then mostly in very different contexts, such as brotherhoods

the explorations of emotions took precedence over rituals; hence sworn brotherhood could no longer serve the public needs and was replaced by the topic of courtly love, meaning that critical tensions were internalized and found solution, if available at all, in intense efforts to come to terms with emotions.

However, as Stretter also warns us, we cannot simply draw strict historical demarcations as to when sworn brotherhood was in fashion and when it faded in popularity. Much depends on the popularity of a specific genre, and some narrative motifs where sworn brotherhood plays a significant role survived far into the late Middle Ages, such as the one best captured by *Amis and Amiloun*, which appeared in English first in the thirteenth-century Auchinleck manuscript. This does not mean, however, that here women do not function prominently at all; nevertheless, while marriage also ensues, it is always subordinated under the two friends' brotherhood which can be regarded as so significant as to justify the slaughter of children to save one of the friends' lives from leprosy, to which even the mother agrees in this version.

Stretter subsequently turns to the fourteenth-century Middle English *Sir Amadace* where he discovers very similar expressions of male hierarchy and sworn brotherhood that takes complete precedence over marriage and family life. In Chaucer's *Knight's Tale*, on the other hand, *fin' amour* decisively intervenes and changes all the rules of the game, now profoundly endangering the male friendship because the two knightly protagonists compete for the love of a woman and so turn bitterly against each other. Chaucer might well have been the first European writer to have courtly love clash so drastically and bitterly with sworn brotherhood, which completely breaks down because of the appearance of the female protagonist Emelye whose beauty and erotic allure succeed to destroy the principles of male bonding.

Stretter observes a general lament about the loss of *trouthe* in late-medieval English literature, and with it the loss of sworn brotherhood. The anonymous masterpiece of medieval English literature, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (late fourteenth century), might actually have been, as I venture to suggest, the last text where the protagonist, and hence also the company of men in the Round Table, resists the woman's temptations and seductive forces. The attempt to set female love aside and to remember the primacy of male friendship is powerfully symbolized by them all putting on a green belt as a sign of their communal humiliation and hence brotherhood with Gawain. It seems, however, to be a very fragile maneuver to resist the overarching allure of female attractiveness and to maintain the traditional bonds among men.

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among canons; see David Levine, *A Brotherhood of Canons Serving God: English Secular Cathedrals in the Later Middle Ages*. Studies in the History of Medieval Religion (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1995).

Finally, Stretter points out that this lament found its most moving expression in Thomas Malory's *Morte Darthur* (completed in 1470, first printed by Caxton in 1485) where King Arthur bemoans the disappearance of his good knights and hence the dissolution of the Round Table, whereas the loss of his queen troubles him much less. Lancelot, however, establishes this distance between himself and Arthur because of his erotic attraction to Guinevere who wins out in this male-male competition, similarly as Emelye in Chaucer's "Knight's Tale."

The company of the Round Table can no longer compensate for the erotic attraction of the other gender, so the male bonding is in danger of falling apart, which was, of course, already anticipated by many courtly authors since the late twelfth century. In the 'classical' world of King Arthur (twelfth and thirteenth century), however, male-male friendship was not yet in a deadly clinch with the male-female love relationship. By contrast, in Malory's work Lancelot opts for Guinevere over traditional companionship with Arthur. Ultimately, then, erotic love wins over male friendship, or sworn brotherhood, at least in the English context.<sup>324</sup> Stretter concludes that this phenomenon resulted from the collision, and final loss, of the patriarchal folk tradition in its unsuccessful competition with the culture of the courtly world (courtly romance) and triumphant heterosexual eros.

I would like to add, in order to discriminate the argument just a bit further, that by the end of the Middle Ages marriage ruled above all, to the disadvantage of male-male bonding. Friends do not disappear, but they meet in the tavern, or in more sophisticated spaces, whereas husband and wife spend time together at home, as I already alluded to in the discussion of Heinrich Kaufringer's "The Search for the Happily Married Couple" (ca. 1400).

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<sup>324</sup> On the continent the situation seems to have been somewhat different because Konrad von Würzburg's *Engelhard* from ca. 1280 or 1290, a Middle High German version of that text tradition, has only survived in an early-modern print from 1573 (four copies), so we can be certain that the motif was still attractive enough for a wider readership at that time; see Konrad von Würzburg, *Engelhard*, ed. Paul Gereke and Ingo Reiffenstein. 3rd newly rev. ed. Altdeutsche Textbibliothek, 17 (1912; Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1982); see also *Ein schöne Historia von Engelhart auss Burgunt: der 'Engelhard' Konrads von Würzburg in Abbildung des Frankfurter Drucks von 1573*, mit einer bibliographischen Notiz zu Kilian Han, ed. Hans-Hugo Steinhoff. Litterae, 107 (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1987). However, the sixteenth-century literary market was very diverse and offered printed texts of virtually every genre and with any kind of motif. For a broader study of Konrad, see Wolfgang Monecke, *Studien zur epischen Technik Konrads von Würzburg: Das Erzählprinzip der wildekeit*. Mit einem Geleitwort von Ulrich Pretzel. Germanistische Abhandlungen (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1968). For an excellent critical introduction to Konrad's complete oeuvre, see Horst Brunner, "Konrad von Würzburg," 272–304; esp. 294–95. For a good summary of Konrad research, see Rüdiger Brandt, *Konrad von Würzburg*. Erträge der Forschung, 249 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1987).

*Sara Deutch Schotland*

In her contribution to the present volume Sara Deutch Schotland allows us to gain, indirectly, more insight into this kind of relationship between females through her critical examination of Chaucer's "Squire's Tale," which is determined by the 'friendship' between the Princess Canacee and a female falcon, a formel. The latter bitterly laments having been abandoned by her lover and shares her deep emotional pain with the newly found female friend. In fact, the formel, imitating the mythical, and Christological motif of the pelican who stabs itself to perform the action of self-sacrifice (for mankind), has already badly hurt it(her)self with the beak and does not want to live any longer, so the encounter with the Princess proves to be most convenient to express all her pain and suffering at the hand of her former lover. This exchange in turn provides her with enough external succor and internal strength to survive. These two females quickly realize how much they can sympathize with each other and form, through their strong empathy, a kind of female friendship.

While some scholars have suggested that medieval writers mostly ignored such friendships out of misogynist fear,<sup>325</sup> Deutch Schotland observes in Chaucer's text the very opposite, with the poet deliberately bringing out female suffering at the hand of unreliable and untrustworthy male lovers and singing a song of praise on women protagonists supporting each other, listening to the laments voiced by the other, and looking for a constructive solution for the new friend. First, however, the sorrowful victim warns the young Princess of deceitful men and alerts her to the traps in courtly love which normally hurt the women partners, though without condemning manhood altogether.

Although many Chaucer scholars have opined that the poet almost failed in his narrative skill here, as if he had offered nothing but a rather pale and ineffective account, Deutch Schotland disagrees and suggests that the formel's instruction for Canacee helps the latter to gain foresightfulness and inner strength, and to learn to be prepared for handling a dangerous world out there determined by a male, patriarchal society. Female bonding can help women to protect themselves communally against male threats and aggressiveness, so female friendship emerges as a significant defensive mechanism and proactive instrument in women's lives within a dangerous context.

As we have already observed with regard to Stretter's contribution, Chaucer depicts male sworn brotherhood, at least in "The Knight's Tale," as a very fragile institution and as being easily subject to being undermined, if not dissolved, because of the new force of erotic love between, on the one hand, the two knights and the courtly lady on the other. Attraction to the female, however, suddenly

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<sup>325</sup> Pat O'Connor, *Friendship Between Women*, 1992 (see note 103); see also the contributions to *Celebrating Women's Friendship*, 1999 (see note 104).

makes these two men bitter enemies who completely forget the previous ideals of male-male friendship and only seek ways to push and defeat the other (male) in their pursuit of erotic love with Emilye.

Whenever Chaucer introduces women as friends, by contrast, such as in "The Man of Law's Tale," the opposite seems to be the case. In "The Squire's Tale," the male lover has badly misused his lady (the formel), abandoning her at a whim, but she finds, in turn, a good female friend and can thus constructively overcome her sorrow and pain. In this process both female protagonists gain in self-confidence and identity, sharing in the new-found self-assurance based on friendship and collaboration by way of coming to terms with emotional suffering.

In this process Chaucer also explores the need to look beyond gender specifics, social differences, and species characteristics, almost as if appealing to a humanist and universal acceptance of otherness, especially when individual suffering is involved. Despite the obvious differences in species, communication, especially through the ekphrastic genre Canacee employs for the murals in the formel's mewe, is possible and essential. As Deutch Schotland underscores, Princess Canacee's sympathy with the formel, and her decision to take the wounded friend into her protection, offering a most pleasant mewe, which is certainly not a cage but a resting place, also indicates that female-female sympathy can transcend formal differences by empathizing with the emotional distress the other is experiencing, lending support even under most unusual circumstances because the Princess commands a gentle heart.

This renders the projected possibility of friendship between women even more praiseworthy, and this through the lens of a male poet. By contrast, looking at a 'classical' courtly romance, Enite's suffering at her husband Erec's hand is deeply lamented by the courtly ladies during the couple's short stay for a respite at King Arthur's court (in Chrétien de Troye's or Hartmann von Aue's eponymous romance (ca. 1160 and ca. 1170 respectively). Nevertheless, there is no indication of true or intensive friendship that might develop from all the women's certainly strong empathy with the female 'victim' who has to suffer so much from her husband

We regularly observe bebies of noble ladies on the imaginary stage who collaborate, spend time together, or serve in their public roles as wives or maids. But we would be hard pressed to recognize among their throngs specific friends, confidants, or allies. The dearth of allusions to female friendship hence makes the evidence unearthed by Deutch Schotland focusing on Chaucer's "Squire's Tale" the more remarkable, as I have discussed above at greater length.

*Theodore F. Kaouk*

In the late sixteenth century a new approach to friendship emerged, as Theodore F. Kaouk suggests in his contribution to this volume, which was predicated on the



principle of sovereignty apart from the polis, that is, the political public where strong hierarchies ruled. By contrast, the ideal of friendship then developed insisted on free choice based on equality also in social terms, which subsequently offered freedom from the pressures exerted by commercial and political actions. Sixteenth-century intellectuals and essayists such as Michel de Montaigne (*Essais*) formulated almost utopian ideals of sovereign friendship which distanced itself from patriarchal rule and the pressures of absolutist society subjugated under the king and projected the realization of individual freedom within the bounds of true friendship. To contrast this new concept with the traditional norms, Kaouk turns to Shakespeare's *Hamlet* where the young prince allows his father's ghost to resume and to perpetuate the all-pervasive paternal power over the young man, who thus loses all sovereignty and allows the dead father continued rule through him. Montaigne, however, in his "Of Vanity," the last contribution to his *Essais* from 1588, where he also reflects on his personal relationship with his father, establishes distance to the dead figure and creates breathing room for himself by way of leisurely carrying out his father's requests of translating, for instance, Sebond's *Theologia Naturalis*, as he expresses in his "Apology for Raymond Sebond," thus resorting to a strategic delay and to criticism of Sebond's concept of 'natural theology.'

Moreover, in his essay on friendship, Montaigne strongly advocates a model of social bonding that is based on completely free choice and mutual agreement, respect, and affection. He also relies on the term 'sovereignty' to describe friendship—hence 'sovereign friendship'—but this in a deliberate reversal of the word's traditional meaning, explicitly rejecting the patriarchal rule of a king or father. Blood relationship (e.g., father and son) cannot substitute the need for a true friend who gives freely upon his/her own volition and demonstrates a higher, or at least equal, level of virtue. However, when that friend then passes away, the writer feels exposed to profound pain and suffering without the ability to cope adequately—a phenomenon we have already observed to some extent in Saint Augustine's writings (see above).

Returning to Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, Kaouk discovers significant parallels in the discourse with Montaigne insofar as Hamlet also refers to the soul as the only true monarch, determining the relationship with the friend, whereas the father, or king, tends to rule autocratically and subjects the son or citizen. However, in *Hamlet*, the protagonist does not really possess the freedom to escape from the political system and hence cannot simply pursue the goal of finding the ideal friend, the role assigned to Horatio in the play, Hamlet's model of a Stoic self impervious to fortune capable of achieving sovereign friendship. Nevertheless, Hamlet has the opportunity, as Montaigne outlines for his own purposes, to replace the sovereignty of the monarch with the sovereignty of friendship, the former completely hierarchical, the latter on an equal and mutually supporting level. But

that realization appears as rather limited, if not impossible because of the need to distance oneself completely from reality insofar as that kind of friendship would always collide with the concrete political and economic conditions.

Moreover, as Kaouk emphasizes, Hamlet is bound to Denmark and cannot free himself from the role the political system has imposed on him. Naturally, then, friendship as described above serves as an ideal the protagonist can only dream of, without ever having a true chance to realize it, which Hamlet himself seems to recognize at the end of the play. No doubt, as Shakespeare implied, the ideal of friendship, which is so intimately bound with subjectivity and self-determination, proves to be highly evanescent and might not have a concrete chance in the political arena of getting truly realized.

As an afterthought, we might return to Robert Stretter's comments regarding the replacement, or loss, of sworn brotherhood through the growing power of erotic love and relevance of marriage at the end of the Middle Ages. We could now draw the conclusion, in light of Hamlet's rather tragic learning process and Montaigne's somber teachings in his *Essais*, that the idea of friendship certainly continued to foster in the sixteenth century, but by then increasingly in the shadow of being just an illusion that amounts to nothing but an ephemeral dream. We might then actually recognize surprising parallels between Malory's statements filled with melancholy and Shakespeare's sobering comments about sovereign friendship, as voiced through Hamlet's mouth, hoping in vain to liberate himself from his father's ghost, metaphorically and literally, which would have cleared a passage toward a new community of equally positioned friends. That, however, is ultimately not possible since the ghost of the past, the father, continues to rule; hence the deep sense of frustration and disappointment over not gaining the desired freedom through friendship.

The extent to which the ideal of friendship might have gained a different framework or might have been categorized on another level, and this quite dramatically in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, will be the topic of the subsequent pages. To foreshadow L. Bellee Jones's paper on Donne, however, we also need to keep in mind that the essays on friendship by Cicero and Montaigne became central school texts in the early modern world after all and so established this topic as central for the various school and university curricula.<sup>326</sup> Of course, that does not automatically imply that the public or the learned communities embraced friendship correspondingly as a fundamental value. Rather, as Vera Keller's article in this volume demonstrates, within the political and learned circles

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<sup>326</sup> The British Library, for instance, contains almost countless printed copies of Cicero's *De amicitia* in Latin, English, Czech, French, Greek, Portuguese, Hungarian, Polish, and Swedish from 1478 onwards. See *The British Library General Catalogue of Printed Books to 1975*. Vol. 62 (London: Clive Bingley; London, Munich, et al.: K. G. Saur, 1980), 409–12.

the entire notion of friendship experienced a tremendous inflation and was subsequently scathingly criticized and basically rejected as false and disingenuous, as nothing but a rhetorical device for dissimulation.

*Miriam Sarah Marotzki*

Much depends, of course, on specific conditions and circumstances throughout time. Friendship as an ideal did not simply disappear—it never has—and instead morphed into new manifestations or began to serve different purposes and different media. In fact, the discourse of friendship continued to exert a tremendous influence, despite all negative opinions, and even showed up also in significant art works, such as a famous *drawing* of two men in profile created by Leonardo da Vinci sometime between 1500 and 1505, today housed in the *Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe* in der *Galleria degli Uffizi* in Florence. The image presents an enigma and has so far escaped truly convincing interpretations. One option might well be that here we face the portrait of a father and a son, considering the age-difference between both; another might be, as Marotzki suggests, that Leonardo portrayed two friends. She finds support for that claim in the entire set-up, the bodily postures of the two men, their looks, and especially the physical proximity of old and young man, particularly because only the older one focuses on the younger, whereas the latter gazes into an indeterminable distance, clearly detached from the other man.

Miriam Sarah Marotzki argues in her contribution to this volume—finally a study on the topic of friendship by an art-historian, which most profitably widens the interdisciplinary scope of our collective efforts!—that these two men might represent two types of male-male friendship which Leonardo enjoyed in his life. The younger friend was apparently Salaì, serving as the partner for Leonardo's homoerotic needs, the older one, Francesco Melzi, serving as partner for his homosocial needs. Marotzki offers a painstaking analysis of all the relevant evidence and the specific pertinent circumstances in Leonardo's life to support her claim, which opens many new perspectives on Leonardo and the phenomenon of friendship itself in the sixteenth century. Although the drawing cannot be taken as portraits of these two men, it served well to reflect the artist's general interests in homosocial relationships. Marotzki is the first to recognize here, and this with good reasons, a *Freundschaftsbild* (picture of a friendship).<sup>327</sup>

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<sup>327</sup> The term is actually more commonly used in the Romantic period; see Klaus Lankheit, *Das Freundschaftsbild der Romantik*. Heidelberger kunstgeschichtliche Abhandlungen, N.F., 1 (Heidelberg: Winter, 1952), but it also applies very well to the Renaissance. Now see the contributions to *Humanist Biography in Renaissance Italy and Reformation Germany: Friendship and Rhetoric*, ed. James Michael Weiss. Variorum Collected Studies Series, CS947 (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate/ Variorum: 2010).

Although these two men in the drawing appear to be ten or more years apart in age from each other, such a pairing of two characters appeared to be most attractive to and important for Leonardo, so it seems most reasonable to categorize them as intimate friends, despite their considerable differences in age, character, and manners. These differences, however, apparently deeply appealed to the artist since both men satisfied specific needs in his personal life, both spiritual and physical, so it seems.

Marotzki moves from this intriguing drawing to the artist's personal relationships, studying, in particular, his friendship with the nobleman Francesco Melzi and with the younger man as the artist's servant and manager Salai, both later identified as recipients of major parts of the artist's property and paintings after his death. Most importantly, both were Leonardo's disciples and belonged to the close circle of friends around the master artist. It remains highly enigmatic what role Salai truly played in Leonardo's life because he seems to have been a rather nasty and arrogant young person when he showed up first in the documents, who did not even shy away from regular petty theft. Later, however, he grew considerably in Leonardo's appreciation, perhaps even love, despite being highly demanding and eccentric without ever achieving the desired artistic skills. Salai operated in many shady circles and appears to have had available large amounts of money through ominous channels, whereas his actual salary always remained rather low, being nothing but Leonardo's disciple, servant, and later also business manager and butler. Melzi, on the other hand, rose in rank as an artist and later enjoyed Leonardo's highest respect, with whom he actually carried out significant projects together or whose plans he realized precisely in the master's style.

Marotzki here impressively succeeds in reading between the lines of the various letters and other documents, especially when Leonardo refrained from further comments about Salai's negative characteristics, especially with regards to money, clearly signaling how much the artist was more afraid of losing his young 'friend' than to get a fair deal from him. Most significantly, in one letter Leonardo writes to Salai how much he considers himself as the young man's foster-father and also wet-nurse (!), perhaps curiously playing on a hermaphroditic inclination in himself.

Linguistic and mythographic research has already confirmed, as Marotzki underscores, to identify the true name of this Salai, that is, Gian Giacomo Caprotti, who is known as Leonardo's early male lover and who is mentioned by this name until 1491; thereafter we only hear of Salai. The complex set of circumstances solidifies the argument developed here, which then makes understandable Leonardo's life-long interest in creating beautiful images of young men, all conforming to the Salai type, though it does not matter whether Leonardo portrayed that young man specifically or had only recognized in him the ideal

type that he tried to capture in his drawings throughout his career, idealizing an androgynous adolescent beauty, such as in Leonardo's later paintings of the *Mona Lisa*—even there!—and *John the Baptist*.

As to the friendship relationships with these two men, Marotzki underscores that Melzi emerged as the one who truly took over the essential parts of Leonardo's inheritance, proving himself as an ideal partner in their profound friendship, reflecting the trust which the artist had placed in his former disciple and subsequently close collaborator. Salai was not on the same level as Melzi; he did not have the same artistic skills, and certainly lacked the character qualities that made Melzi stand out so much as a highly respected friend. Leonardo was apparently primarily aesthetically enamored of Salai, which helped him to ignore in the long run the young man's numerous character flaws and his lack of abilities as a painter. Or, as Marotzki emphasizes, the very transgressions, then also his eccentricities, arrogance, and of course his physical beauty made Salai so attractive to the famous artist, who was very afraid of losing this young friend at any moment's notice. Consequently, he regularly dropped all charges and later even entrusted Salai with some of his own financial business.

Whether all this would justify identifying Leonardo as homosexual cannot be decided easily, and Marotzki also prefers to leave this issue somewhat open, opting rather for the approach that the artist was greatly fascinated by the apparent conflict between beautiful form and weak moral character, or the tension between external appearance and internal condition.

Melzi, on the other hand, was undoubtedly Leonardo's great admirer and could also carry on his talent through his own work to some extent. Here we encounter a friend in the 'classical' sense of the word, as Cicero would have characterized him. Salai, on the other hand, seems to have copied his master's pieces without gaining any independence or displaying significant brilliance as a painter. Perhaps not surprisingly, already Leonardo's early-modern contemporary Vasari recognized the remarkable differences between these two students, identifying Melzi as Leonardo's disciple, who ultimately established his own ground under his feet in artistic terms, and Salai as Leonardo's 'creation,' who never managed to do more than to imitate the master; and even in that regard he barely succeeded.

Some sources specifically identify Leonardo's relationship with Salai as homosexual, while Melzi appears as a true friend, that is, as an intellectual and artistic equal, and so also in terms of character and morality. Suspicions concerning Leonardo's homosexual preferences were not raised with regards to Melzi, although he as well emerges as a very close friend, though on a very different level than Salai, that is, intellectual, cultural, and artistic.

Marotzki finally discusses at length the question whether Leonardo could be affirmatively identified as a homosexual, but she rejects such a simple binary position, especially because the artist appears to have struggled long and hard

with a tendency toward androgyny, for which Salai proved to be the ideal object. In sum, as Marotzki concludes, Leonardo's relationship/friendship with Salai was based on the older man's sexual attraction to the younger and on the latter's thinking in terms of economic and social advantages, that is, basically, in terms of financial profit. Leonardo's relationship with Melzi, on the other hand, was based on virtues and artistic ideals. Salai was a desirable object for Leonardo, whereas Melzi served as an active, self-assured, independent subject who greatly admired the master and collaborated with him to an ever growing extent until the latter's death.

Melzi and Leonardo treated each other as male friends on an equal basis; Salai, on the other hand, represented the 'female' component, to which Leonardo could only respond, not interact with mutually. Ultimately, then, for Leonardo there were two types of friendship possible, the one focused on the partnership with a male in intellectual terms, the other focused on a relationship with a female character in physical/sexual (?) terms. As Marotzki can demonstrate, the artist obviously endeavored to combine both tendencies and needs in his life, which appealed deeply to his perhaps bisexual nature and which now harmoniously offers the best and most reasonable explanation of his drawing with these two male figures.<sup>328</sup>

Several points as to the genre itself, the *Freundschaftsbild*, deserve to be added here, which transcend the summary of Marotzki's contribution and might provide additional material to understand the cultural-historical context better. Sixteenth-century artists tended to portray friends, or especially artists as friends, but the motif itself did not gain in preponderance and significance until the end of the eighteenth century with the emergence of the Romantic movement, that is, at a time when the discourse on friendship picked up in intensity again.<sup>329</sup> In one sense,

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<sup>328</sup> Hyatte, *The Art of Friendship*, 1994 (see note 87); Robin Hodgson, "The Marriage of True Minds: Of the Rise and Fall of the Idealized Conception of Friendship in the Renaissance," Ph.D. University of Hannover, 2003; Dale V. Kent, *Friendship, Love, and Trust in Renaissance Florence*. The Bernard Berenson Lectures on the Italian Renaissance (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 2009).

<sup>329</sup> Marc Lippuner: "Heinrichs Selbstinszenierung in den Briefen an Gleim," *Männlichkeiten in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Wolfgang Schmale, online at: <http://www.univie.ac.at/igl.geschichte/maennlichkeiten/Lippuner/index.htm> Lankheit, *Das Freundschaftsbild der Romantik* 23, refers to Paolo Veronese's "Wedding of Cana" and several works by Titian. For the discussion of friendship in late eighteenth-century art and literature, see Wolf Dietrich Rasch, *Die Freundschaft bei Jean Paul*. Sprache und Kultur der germanischen und romanischen Völker. B. Germanistische Reihe, 2 (Breslau: Priebsch, 1929). Cf. also Margaret Doyle, "Self-Portraiture: Britain," *Encyclopedia of the Romantic Era: 1760–1850*, ed. Christopher John Murray (New York: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2004), vol. 2, 1033–36 ([http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=wgS2nYRIuUEC&pg=PA1036&lpg=PA1036&dq=freundschaftsbild&source=bl&ots=bA-oxg10BE&sig=hi5Fd9Hmg4EmCi1CGR8MLvX3Gns&hl=en&ei=THNMTPvqCZTP4gbo6fWZDA&sa=X&oi=book\\_result&ct=result&resnum=3&ved=0CCAQ6](http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=wgS2nYRIuUEC&pg=PA1036&lpg=PA1036&dq=freundschaftsbild&source=bl&ots=bA-oxg10BE&sig=hi5Fd9Hmg4EmCi1CGR8MLvX3Gns&hl=en&ei=THNMTPvqCZTP4gbo6fWZDA&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=3&ved=0CCAQ6)

then, Leonardo's drawing does not represent an exceptional motif, but in another we can discover here already a remarkably sensitive approach to the motif of friendship itself, in response to the critical issues which Marotzki has cogently exposed in her analysis.<sup>330</sup>

### *Stella Achilleos*

If the question how to define a good and true friend might have been vexing for Leonardo, then the one whether one can trust a friend as a counselor follows immediately suit as well. Who was a true friend, who was only a flatterer? This issue was raised already in (late) antiquity, if we think, for instance, of Boethius's treatment of this problem with friends (see above). Throughout the Middle Ages we hear many comments about good counselors, some of whom can certainly be regarded as the protagonists' friends, both male and female.<sup>331</sup>

The first in the early modern age to address this topic of the true friend being also the best counselor, however, and this not only fleetingly, but in a fully theoretical fashion, was Francis Bacon (1561–1626), who examined the issue closely in his essay *The Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall* (1597, rev. in 1612, final edition in 1625).<sup>332</sup> He emphasized, above all, the need for *parrhesia*, that is, the freedom to speak openly to the friend without flattering him or oneself. Only frank

AEwAjkK#v=onpage&q=freundschaftsbild&f=false (last accessed on August 1, 2010). The *Freundschaftsbild* gained in interest again only in the early twentieth century, such as Otto Kokoschkas painting "Die Freunde" from 1917/1918; Ernst Ludwig Kirchner's "Brücke" from 1925, and Max Ernst's "Rendez-vous der Freunde" from 1922. Since then, however, the motif faded away again. See the lecture by Harald Lemke, "Freundschaft als Thema, Ursprung und Gegenstand von Kunst," held in the Sprengel Museum Hanover, Yearly Meeting of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Ästhetik, March 1996, available online at:

[http://www.haraldlemke.de/texte/Lemke\\_Kunst\\_Freund.pdf](http://www.haraldlemke.de/texte/Lemke_Kunst_Freund.pdf) (last accessed on August 1, 2010); see also his *Freundschaft: ein philosophischer Essay* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2000).

<sup>330</sup> The extent to which the ideal of friendship emerged not really until the late eighteenth-century art (Classicism, Romanticism, and *Biedermeier*), is underscored by Anne Schulten, "Einer den andern gemalt: Das Freundschaftsbild zwischen empfindsamer Pathosformel und bildgewordenem Programm," *Im Tempel der Kunst: Die Künstlermythen der Deutschen*, ed. Bernhard Maaz (Berlin: SMB Nationalgalerie Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 2009), 86–91. This observation, not new by and in itself, sheds further light on the remarkable case of Leonardo's *Freundschaftsbild* as an astonishing precursor. In other words, we can hardly expect to find such pictorial motifs in medieval and Renaissance art.

<sup>331</sup> Joseph M. Sullivan, *Counsel in Middle High German Arthurian Romance*. Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik, 690 (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 2001).

<sup>332</sup> <http://bacon.classicauthors.net/EssaysOrCounselsCivilAndMoral/EssaysOrCounselsCivilAndMoral21.html>. See also the surprisingly well researched article in *Wikipedia* at [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Essays\\_%28Francis\\_Bacon%29](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Essays_%28Francis_Bacon%29); better even the entry on Bacon in the *Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy* at: <http://www.iep.utm.edu/bacon/> (both last accessed on August 1, 2010). Bacon changed the titles of the collection of essays from edition to edition. The original title was *Essays: Religious Meditations. Places of perswasion and disswasions. Seene and allowed.*

exchanges of opinions would be ethical enough to sustain friendship, even if the one who would provide advice might hurt the other's vanity or sensitivity. Bacon obviously pursued, as Stella Achilleos observes in her contribution, also personal interests in this regard since he tried to find employment from various patrons of high standing. Nevertheless, he still added important philosophical and ethical criteria to the discourse on friendship because he returned to Platonic ideas about the basic nature of man as a social being in need of company, and ideally of friendship, which, however, was rare and hard to find, particularly during Bacon's lifetime, at least as he saw it.

Being so fortunate to enjoy a true friendship would certainly contribute to an individual's physical and mental health. According to Bacon, having a friend entails, for instance, that one can exchange ideas and thus organize them in a rational manner, whereas solitary meditation and rumination could lead to the confusion of the mind. As Achilleos underscores, Bacon argued most fervently that individuals wielding political power would need more help from good and true friends than anyone else below them because of the necessity to administer and to rule in an objective and just manner. Without good advisors many errors could be committed, but only advisors who also emerged as trustworthy friends could meet that requirement and expectation.

Drawing from ancient wisdom literature and popular contemporary apothegms, Bacon insisted that only a loving friend would be able to keep a ruler on track and help him to maintain a sober and clear mind. Bacon was of course not the only one deeply concerned about the dangers of the political culture at court, as Erasmus of Rotterdam's *The Education of a Christian Prince*, for instance, indicates. Nevertheless, Bacon took a very strong stance in this regard, trying hard to combine the moral-ethical aspect of honest advising of a prince with the ideal of friendship.

Subsequently Achilleos observes that Bacon drew many of his ideas pertaining to the combination of friendship with honest advising from Plutarch's (ca. 46–120 C.E.) *Moralia*, developing the ideal of friendship in combination with a practical, personal perspective, looking for the chance to gain employment at court as both the prince's friend and advisor. Plutarch had already warned of excessive self-love, which could lead to devastating self-illusion and the loss of objective judgments. The higher an individual rose in political ranks, the more the danger of self-flattery increased. Hence the friend was called upon, according to Bacon, to intervene and serve as the critical advisor, an issue of great concern for sixteenth- and seventeenth-century intellectuals who tried hard to find patrons, or, as we would say today, employment, and relied much on the ideal of friendship to facilitate their efforts. Bacon was no exception in this regard, but he went through most dramatic ups and downs in his political ambitions, rising to the position of Lord Chancellor in 1618, and losing that again in 1621 because he was impeached by



Parliament on judicial bribery charges. To be an advisor in high political circles proved to be very precarious, hence Bacon's repeated but fruitless attempts—see also his essay “Of Counsell” —to present himself as the king's most trusted friend.

Achilleos emphasizes how much the philosopher-turned-politician insisted on the liberty that a good friend would have to enjoy in order to tell his partner—here the English king or queen—openly and freely his own opinion, providing advice and correctives, without having to fear negative ramifications.<sup>333</sup> Such friendship constitutes a healthy communication and can only be of greatest use for the ruler, as Bacon underscored, relying on a medical metaphor to make his point as clear as possible, although, as he also realized, that kind of ‘medicine’ would be a rarity and was hard to find in the political reality of his time. Nevertheless, disagreement and even conflicts between friends can also serve as some of the best criteria to verify the sincerity of the advice given.

Comparing Bacon's approach to friendship, which can at times even be biting and hurtful, with a variety of ancient Greek sources, Achilleos demonstrates how much the former readily combined his classical learning with his own ethical and political concerns to establish *parrhesia* in the political assembly, the *ekklesia*. Friendship hence finds, according to Bacon, true realization to the fullest extent precisely when great political danger looms and the well-being of a country or people might be at risk. To be a good friend, and thus also to be an honest advisor, requires strength and courage in face of possible anger and bitter criticism resulting in a retort from the other friend, here the ruler, or advisee.

In contrast to most classical and medieval definitions of friendship, Bacon explored friendship not among equals, but among those of different social classes and ranks.<sup>334</sup> He found, as Achilleos alerts us, numerous examples for such friendships already in Roman antiquity, and he suggested to his potential readers—ideally those princes still in need of good advisors—that they might not even have a choice in this regard and should by necessity look for such friends upon whom they could rely in the everyday political decision making processes. The absence of true friends would constitute a grave danger for the political system, planting the seed for irrational decisions and the perversion of the established and harmonious order.

Looking for and cooperating with counselors would not represent a weakening of the prince's position; on the contrary, only those who are surrounded by good friends could claim to be strong and wise rulers. Nevertheless, as Achilleos also brings to light, Bacon was fully aware of the precarious nature of that friendship between king and advisor, portraying cannibalistic images drawn from Greek

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<sup>333</sup> We would call this institution ‘tenure’ today, at least in an academic setting.

<sup>334</sup> I have discussed a parallel case in late-medieval German literature above in this Introduction, in Ruprecht von Würzburg's verse narrative “Von zwein kaufman” (late fourteenth century).

mythology to indicate how easily a ruler could turn to absolutism and tyranny, engulfing then easily the friend as his first victim. Ultimately, then, Bacon indirectly alludes to the king being tempted to abuse his advisors and to take their ideas and statements as his own.

However, as Achilleos also recognizes in Bacon's essay, the author explicitly avers that the advisors' best ideas would remain barren and useless if those could not be transferred to the center of power. In other words, that kind of political friendship functions only, following Bacon, if both sides engage in a symbiotic relationship insofar as the counselor, or friend, cannot realize his ideas without the prince enacting them. We could probably call this a utilitarian friendship, with the proviso, however, that Bacon did not turn into a Machiavellian because he still embraced the ideal of charity as essential for friendship to become true in the highly contested arena of high-stakes politics.<sup>335</sup>

Vera Keller

The ideal of friendship found strongest support by the Flemish Humanist Justus Lipsius (1547–1606) who claimed in his highly popular treatise *De Constantia* (Antwerp: Plantijn, 1584) that intellectuals could find refuge from the turmoil of the outside world in the company of good friends.<sup>336</sup> In his *Politica* and *Monita et exempla politica* (1605) he extended this discussion, but addressed it then to princes and rulers. At the courts, however, the danger was great that friendships could disintegrate into shallow, deceptive, or false types of friendship. Nevertheless, as Vera Keller argues in her contribution, much of political data collection on behalf of princes took place through the institution of learned friendship, insofar as many of the members went on extensive travels to acquire as much information as possible and to transmit that to their rulers. This meant, unfortunately, as Keller alerts us, that the classical ideal of friendship was increasingly instrumentalized for the effective absolutist ruler who had only pragmatic-political purposes in mind.

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<sup>335</sup> John Channing Briggs, "Francis Bacon," *British Prose Writers of the Early Seventeenth Century*, ed. Clayton B. Lein. Dictionary of Literary Biography, 151 (Detroit, Washington, DC., and London: Gale Research, 1995), 21–39. He emphasizes that it was rather unusual for Bacon ever to omit anything from previous editions; instead he regularly only expanded and elaborated. In the case of his discussion of friendship, however, in the 1612 and 1625 editions Bacon took quite a different turn and described friendship in much more favorable turns. "The new versions suggest that the real value of friendship might lie in sophisticated calculations of usefulness and in its reflection of a physical law: the attraction manifested by all bodies of like to like" (30). See now Greg Miller, "George Herbert, Francis Bacon, and Traditional Friendship," id., *George Herbert's "Holy Patterns": Reforming Individuals in Community* (New York and London: Continuum, 2007), 107–18.

<sup>336</sup> See now Karl Beuth, *Weisheit und Geistesstärke: eine philosophiegeschichtliche Untersuchung zur 'Constantia' des Justus Lipsius*. Europäische Hochschulschriften. Reihe XX. Philosophie, 297 (Frankfurt a. M., Bern, New York, and Paris: Peter Lang, 1990).

This seems to have been the case with the Humanist Lipsius as well, if we consider his friendship with the political theorist and polemicist Kaspar Schoppe (1576–1649). The rather contested term ‘late humanism’ might be useful in characterizing this phenomenon, although it remains debatable to what extent we really can talk about true friendship in the Ciceronian vein. One literary expression for this new type of politically founded friendship was the *album amicorum*, which facilitated the practical side of friendship, but also served explicitly political purposes. Little wonder then that friendship in the classical sense experienced, as Keller points out, a disturbing crisis because it became increasingly functionalized for the well-being of the early-modern state in its absolutist dimensions. Friendship seemed to morph into a learned and political institution, both of which were severely criticized, which in turn accelerated the decline of those circles of friends.

The British ambassador Thomas Wotton, for instance, caused a scandal when he jotted down in his friend Christoph Fleckhammer’s album that a diplomat is an honest man sent abroad to lie about his own country for political reasons. The polemicist Schoppe discovered the bon-mot and published it, which angered many in the higher political circles. Wotton tried later to defend himself, arguing that Schoppe had inappropriately blurred the difference between public statements and private comments among friends. But it was too late, especially because the album of friends had already gained, as a genre, public functions and was no longer a medium of and for private exchanges or reflections. Instead, the *album amicorum* had turned into a tool for learned and politically minded travelers throughout the seventeenth century who systematically collected information and signatures by well-known and famous persons.

In this respect, as Keller highlights, any statement issued in the world of *De Constantia* immediately became known in the world of the *Politica*, and both actually functioned in a complementary fashion, one showing friendship as a refuge and the other as an illusion, although this created a kind of crisis of interest. Still, friendship proved to be the convenient segue from private to public, which ultimately eliminated the former completely. Schoppe was a very effective ideologizing orator and propagandist who operated highly successfully in the political arena, converting many of the contemporary intellectuals to the Catholic cause in the name of friendship, Lipsius among them, and this at a time when the religious conflicts gained in intensity, ultimately leading to the Thirty Years War (1618–1648).

The consequences for friendship itself, particularly in a learned context, were almost devastating, bringing many satirists onto the political stage ridiculing those who claimed to be learned humanists, deriding those who still performed under the guise of educated friends. Keller thus contextualizes the validity of Lipsius’s own claims as to the relevance of friendship in the traditional sense of the word

(Cicero) because it had broadly turned into an effective political ploy to open secret archives and libraries which were otherwise under the control of those 'friends' in foreign lands. These intellectuals, hence, who traveled in the name of friendship, had become traveling political spies who tried their best to collect any kind of useful data for their own rulers back home. Almost tragically, we could say, in this process they undermined the traditional ideal of friendship and subsumed it under political ideology and utilitarianism, leading to questions about the validity of learned friendship.

In this regard we can return at this point to several critical issues raised already several times. The trope of friendship in the context of the *album amicorum* proves to be more determined by political expediency, if not blatant deception, than by high ethical and moral standards. Robert Stretter in his contribution raises the question whether the ideal of friendship might not have been fading in the fifteenth century at large. And modern critics have also sharply argued against the 'pretense' by Classicist writers such as Friedrich Schiller (see our introductory section), doubting their honesty and the authenticity of their dedication to friendship, wondering aloud about its possible hollowness and ignorance of the political reality at the end of the eighteenth century. Keller underscores the problem even further by pointing out how much already sixteenth-century emblematic statements revealed the extent that dissimulation was the true name of the game, casting the entire discourse on friendship into serious doubt.

Many album owners unabashedly asked their friends for laudatory statements about themselves, treating the entire circle of friends as a collective of political pragmatists and utilitarians, whereas the traditional Ciceronian concept of friendship was transformed to meet pragmatic, political needs, which seriously problematized it. In fact, critics of the massive expansion of the genre of the *album amicorum*, such as the Herborn rector Johann Heinrich Alsted, strongly voiced their opposition to the wide-spread abuse of the ideal of friendship in the name of political expediency; and yet he as well signed other albums, not able to turn down such requests by his own 'friends.'

Curiously, a postmodern parallel to this inflationary collection of 'friends' in those books might well be the online *Facebook*, where the idea of friendship also seems to be nothing but a faint cry from the classical meaning of a friend.<sup>337</sup> This begs the question, of course, whether we still can talk about true friendship, or whether this has not already, maybe for a long time by now, become a faint

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<sup>337</sup> Martin Simons, *Vom Zauber des Privaten : was wir verlieren, wenn wir alles offenbaren* (Frankfurt a. M. and New York: Campus Verlag, 2009); David I. Kirkpatrick, *The Facebook Effect: and How It Is Changing Our Lives* (London: Virgin, 2010); See also the contributions to *Entdeckung der Freundschaft: von Philia bis Facebook*, ed. Gudrun Kugler, 2010; Bernadette Kneidinger, *Facebook und Co.: eine soziologische Analyse von Interaktionsformen in Online Social Networks*. VS Research (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2010).

reflection of an ideal that more or less had petered out in the late Middle Ages, as Sebastian Brant had already formulated in his famous *Narrenschiff* from 1494 (see above).

In the seventeenth century, moralists such as the Marburg (north of Frankfurt) preacher Johann Balthasar Schupp (1610–1661), specifically attacked the entire fashion to subscribe to such a friendship network, and yet neither he nor any other critic seems to have altered anything in this regard. Keller points out that these albums primarily served as the nodes in a ever growing communicative network in which quantity took precedence over quality because public and political pressures ruled supreme to be ahead of the crowd and to gain the most influence, seemingly secured through the largest number of friends who had signed one's album.<sup>338</sup>

The almost hectic, if not hysterical, quest to accumulate as many names as possible can be traced back, according Keller, to the politicization of private lives and to the ever growing impact of the state as the all-encompassing *raison d'être* for all intellectuals and bureaucrats. Friendship, though a most popular word in the mouths of virtually everyone making public statements, might have been one of the most tragic victims of this early-modern development, as terribly reflected by the Thirty Years War.

Concomitantly, the intelligentsia so deeply invested in this politically motivated discourse on friendship, met with growing criticism against their very own learning because it became increasingly undermined by false pretenses and lack of true ethics, Johann Burkhard Mencke's *Charlatanry of the Learned* (1713 ) being one of the best, but late, examples, while Traiano Boccalini's *Advertisements from Parnassus* of 1612 (*Ragguagli di Parnaso*) might well be one of the earliest, to name just two of the many authors identified by Keller who significantly contributed to that wave of serious criticism both of official learning and the pretense of friendship, now in the throes of degeneration and mock appearance.

As much as Lipsius, with whom Keller began her study, still advocated and glorified friendship in private and public, for most critics that ideal was almost nothing but an empty shell, a contemptible tool in the hands of the learned and the politicians, if not a rather convenient pretense for the burgeoning bureaucracy in early modern Europe.

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<sup>338</sup> Johann Luehmann, *Johann Balthasar Schupp: Beiträge zu seiner Würdigung*. Beiträge zur deutschen Literaturwissenschaft, 4 (1907; New York : Johnson Reproductions, 1968); Hildegard E. Wichter, *Johann Balthasar Schupp and the Baroque Satire in Germany*. Columbia University Germanic Studies, N.S. 22 (New York: King's Crown Press, 1952); Maïke Schauer, *Johann Balthasar Schupp: Prediger in Hamburg 1649 – 1661; eine volkskundliche Untersuchung*. Volkskundliche Studien (Hamburg: Hamburger Museumsverein e. V., 1973).

L. Bellee Jones

Recent scholarship on late-Renaissance literature has opened a new window in the debate on how much friendship truly figured as an important, if not even central, trope of public discourse.<sup>339</sup> L. Bellee Jones here investigates the testimony of John Donne's (1572–1631) *Songs and Sonnets* where she discovers, contrary to previous research, significant expressions of homosocial friendship which could serve exceedingly well to counterbalance dangers resulting from erotic, heterosexual love relationships and help the individual to find a safe haven of ethical and moral ideals and values. More specifically, as Jones discovers in Donne's poems, the conceptual thrust there consists of aiming for a healing of the soul deeply wounded by the vagaries of erotic love, directing it toward the esoteric, philosophical concept of friendship determined primarily by social and ethical values and ideals. Jones focuses, above all, on the following poems: "The Broken Heart," "The Legacie," "The Message," and "The Blossome." Here the expression of friendship is intimately connected with heartfelt feelings that are more anchored in profound homosocial bonds than in heterosexual, erotic relationships.

Following an older patriarchal tradition that can be traced at least to classical antiquity, Donne relegated women to the margin in the entire discourse on friendship, claiming, as many others before him had done (such as Montaigne), that women were not really capable of developing true friendship out of the fickleness of their heart. Since friendship was profoundly predicated on a deep feeling in the soul, which again was somehow located in the heart—not uncharacteristic for early-modern physiological theories regarding the nature of the heart, mind, and soul constellation—only men could, according to Donne, truly develop friendship which required spiritual and intellectual strength, confidence, loyalty, and a high level of ethics and morality.

Donne makes the speaker of his poems a teacher of male friendship, instructing the listeners how to comprehend the essences of Love (with the capital L) as the critical bond among men in an ideal society. These 'friendship' poems hence assume a critical pedagogical function aiming at the education of the courtly audience in homosocial matters, that is, as Jones rightly emphasizes, in virtues.<sup>340</sup> Although Donne's poems were written in the context of heterosexual love, Jones,

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<sup>339</sup> Jeffrey Masten, *Textual Intercourse: Collaboration, Authorship, and Sexualities in Renaissance Drama*. Cambridge Studies in Renaissance Literature and Culture, 14 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Laurie Shannon, *Sovereign Amity: Figures of Friendship in Shakespearean Contexts* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

<sup>340</sup> At closer analysis we can discover significant avatars of that ethical (and aesthetic) approach to friendship already in the high Middle Ages; see James A. Schultz, *Courtly Love, the Love of Courtliness, and the History of Sexuality* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2006); he heavily relies on the important study by C. Stephen Jaeger, *Ennobling Love*, 1999 (see note 27); see also Jaeger's contribution to this volume.

in full agreement with previous scholarship on that matter, argues that the central concern was actually not the competition of homosocial versus homosexual love. By contrast, the ethical values taught by Donne allowed the male audience to comprehend the central importance of male friendship as a complement to heterosexual love.

Already Cicero had insisted that only good men could aspire for ethical ideals, and hence could form true friendship. Montaigne continued with that line of argument and found in Donne a strong follower as well. And all assumed that friendship proved itself mostly in overcoming hardship, which required the highest level of affection, hence friendship, something women were allegedly not capable of. The poet, following a long-maintained tradition, resorted to medical metaphors involving the wounded, or damaged heart, associating that with women, whereas men would have a strong, whole, and bold heart which empowers them to establish true friendship with other males. In fact, as Jones concludes, Love itself is attacked for its instability and hurtful nature, whereas homosocial bonds prove to be strong, steady, and fruitful. Erotic love, then, emerges as a danger for a man who should turn his full affection really only toward men, which Donne understands in the context of virtues and morality. Falling in love with a women would carry the perilous risk of hurting the heart for good and debilitating the individual. Friendship with a man, however, not in a homoerotic sense of the word, would provide inner strength and health and could particularly heal the wounded heart, badly hurt by a fickle woman.

To what extent, however, Donne might not reveal, after all, some subtle homosexual leanings, despite Jones's convincing argument as to the supremacy of male-male friendship in an ethical and moral context only, still might need to be explored further.<sup>341</sup> But we can certainly, though still somewhat tentatively, accept her central thesis that Donne continued with the discourse on friendship, now with a clear detriment to women whom he deemed unworthy of this noble homosocial bonding.

#### *Jean-Christophe Van Thienen*

In the seventeenth century the term 'friendship' had almost assumed an inflationary dimension, as reflected by the Anglican priest and poet George Herbert (1593–1633). In his English poems of *The Temple* (1633), above all, he described man's relationship with Christ most extensively as a friendship,

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<sup>341</sup> For recent comparative approaches, see Theresa M. DiPasquale, *Refiguring the Sacred Feminine: the Poems of John Donne, Aemilia Lanyer, and John Milton*. Medieval & Renaissance Literary Studies (Pittsburgh, PA: Duquesne Univ. Press, 2008); cf. also Ramie Targoff, *John Donne: Body and Soul* (2008; Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2009); Markus Kempf, *Lyrische Liebesgeschichten: narrative Konstruktionen von Identität und Intimität in der englischen Dichtung – John Donne, Robert Browning, D. H. Lawrence*. Schriftenreihe Narrare, 2 (Hamburg: Kovac, 2010).

although man could never be simply an equal to Christ. The very opposite proves to be the case, as Jean-Christophe Van Thienen emphasizes in his contribution, and yet Herbert relied heavily on the highest possible authority to justify his approach, Christ's own statements in *John* 15:13–14. Moreover, he drew extensively from medieval theological writers who had similarly projected Christ as a friend who had thus become approachable and personal. Thomas à Kempis, for instance, appears to have influenced Herbert in this regard (see also above), but the latter went beyond his medieval forerunners in that he aimed for a mode of conversation with Christ as a friend, which finds its perhaps best expression in his collection of religious poems, *The Temple*, published posthumously by his friend Nicholas Ferrar in 1633.

However, Herbert struggled hard throughout his life to define his relationship with Christ as a kind of friendship, although he saw himself as a “crawling worm,” as he called himself in “Sighs and Groanes” (5–6) in relationship to the Lord and so could only beg to be accepted by Him as a friend. Other poems, such as “The Pilgrimage,” extended these efforts further, which somehow resulted in Herbert's optimism and faith that Christ would indeed extend his arms as a friend to the poor sinner and accept him in his divine realm, as a friend, copying through His behavior His own statement in John's Gospel.

Van Thienen successfully correlates Herbert's religious poems with those composed by medieval mystics, such as Heinrich Seuse (Henry Suso), and recognizes how much both the former and the mystics freely utilized medieval courtly love poetry to express their passion to become Christ's friends and their hope to be welcomed and received by the Lord as His friends.<sup>342</sup> But in Herbert's poems there are also friends with whom he can share the mysterious visions and the sensations of brutal physical pain that he has experienced. Moreover, as Van Thienen explicates, the poet was indebted to many different medieval and early-modern voices in the development of those friendship images.

Herbert succeeded thus to present Christ as a true supporter and friend of man. According to the poet, He would be easily swayed, if one prayed to Him properly, to intervene on behalf of man when the latter tried to appeal to God. The request, as formulated by Herbert, did not, however, extend to the potential idea of ever asking for an equal position with God, or Christ, despite the concept of friendship that was supposed to bond both sides together. Herbert's poems rather aimed specifically at supporting Protestant iconoclasm directed radically against the Catholic Counter-Reformation with its powerful media campaign using the (pictorial) emblem book. With *The Temple* the poet clearly promulgated that the word alone would suffice to establish the intimate friendship with Christ. Herbert poignantly relied on vernacular English in his poems, closely following the model

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<sup>342</sup> See also David F. Tinsley's contribution to his volume.



provided by the recently published King-James Bible (1611), projecting England as the new Eden where the individual would be empowered to join Christ's circle of friends, that is, also the new Church of England.<sup>343</sup>

Van Thienen establishes good evidence to support his claim that Herbert heavily drew inspiration from continental medieval and early-modern mystics for his highly erotically charged images of devotion to and friendship with Christ. The poet enjoyed utilizing even mystical concepts of pain and suffering in imitation of His passion, which subsequently strengthened his efforts to connect with Christ as a friend by way of rejecting the court and worldly society without entering cloistered life, of course, considering his Anglican orientation as a parish priest. In fact, as Van Thienen discovers, Herbert cast himself as Christ's bride, a most intimate, erotic alternative to the term 'friend.' This steganography in *The Temple*, as the author calls it, establishes a most intense and yet secret relationship with Christ as a friend who enjoys the private connection with the poet and priest. Creating a secret code in his poems, using anagrams, playing with the reversal of letters and words, etc., much in the vein of similar poetry already developed in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages (e.g., Hrabanus Maurus), Herbert successfully mystified his private friendship with Christ, yet still casting it in literary terms.

The attentive reader, however, who could decipher those codes, would then be invited to become also one of Christ's friends. The parallels in religious strategy to contemporary emblem books are quite obvious, but Van Thienen certainly uncovers a new dimension in Herbert's poems after all where the decoding strategy in the vernacular forms the basis of a theological friendship, involving a circle of friends, which the readers are ultimately invited to join. In this sense, Herbert strategized to establish a new religious, text-based community explicitly opposed to the Catholic Counter-Reformation with its myriad of innovative and also traditional media tools and organizational elements. His poetry of tears, according to Van Thienen, drawing some of its central strengths from late-medieval popular religion and mysticism, hence from a fringe movement in the Catholic Church, successfully established an innovative personal approach to the Godhead, similar, perhaps to the fifteenth-century *Devotio moderna*, yet now within an Anglican context.

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<sup>343</sup> Greg Miller, *George Herbert's "Holy Patterns": Reforming Individuals in Community* (New York and London: Continuum, 2007), 115, offers the additional illuminating point: "Christ is often the friend who allows the poet to imagine alternatives to self-containment and self-definition. In 'Love' (III), it is 'quick-eyed Love' that knows the speaker, allows him to sharpen his wit, and brings him to communion."

*Andrew Crome*

In the last contribution to our volume, Andrew Crome introduces a rather surprising use of the terms ‘friend’ and ‘friendship,’ this time in a religious and political context. In 1290 all Jews had been expelled from England,<sup>344</sup> but by the mid seventeenth century pressure had developed in public and had reached critical mass to readmit them. In 1655 Oliver Cromwell convened a conference of learned doctors and preachers at Whitehall to examine the question and to reach a politically astute decision. In those deliberations one of the principal criteria debated referred to the social community of friends, which ought to include Jews to do justice to the Christian value system. Much literature published in England before, during, and after the conference focused on this Jewish question, regularly using, as its starting and ending point, the idea of religiously determined friendship across the boundaries of one’s own faith, which allows Crome to investigate the central topic of our collective efforts yet again from another perspective.

At first, well before 1655, the trope of ‘friendship’ in the pre-conference literature targeted only the relationship between Jews and God. However, when the Amsterdam Rabbi Menasseh ben Israel stayed in London for the purpose of the conference and struck a concrete friendship with the delegate Henry Jessey, the issue of friendship became a very personal and a concrete matter the various political writers had to deal with most specifically, some of whom certainly and suddenly revealed long-held but privately kept anti-Semitic sentiments.

At the same time, as Crome uncovers, since the sixteenth century interest in Jews and a fascination with their faith had grown in England, involving the study of Hebrew and questions as to apocalyptic, or millennial, conversions of Jews to Christianity, as propounded, above all, by the Cambridge scholar Joseph Mede (1586–1638). These eschatological perspectives were predicated on the notion that anyone who wanted to be a friend of God also had to be a friend of the Jews—in the Augustinian teaching they were still the letters of the law<sup>345</sup>—which finds some of its most curious expression in the notion that the Jews’ return to England would fulfill prophecies in the Old Testament.

Crome, however, reminds us of the deeply anti-Semitic attitudes that still influenced England at the end of the sixteenth century (see Shakespeare’s *Merchant*

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<sup>344</sup> Cecil Roth, *A History of the Jews in England*. 3rd. ed. (1941; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964); Jonathan A. Romain, *Anglo-Jewry in Evidence: A History of the Jews in England Through Original Sources and Illustrations*, with contributions by Jon Epstein and Amanda Golby (London: Michael Goulston Educational Foundation, 1985); see also the contributions to *Cultural Diversity in the British Middle Ages: Archipelago, Island, England*, ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen. The New Middle Ages (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

<sup>345</sup> Jeremy Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law: Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, et al.: University of California Press, 1999).

of Venice, ca. 1596–1598).<sup>346</sup> Nevertheless, soon enough contacts were made by Dutch Baptists and Jews, developing into friendship-like links, which then led to the political move to appeal to the English government to readmit the latter to that country. The motives were a mixture of sentiments of guilt regarding previous terrible acts of violence committed against the Jews in the Middle Ages, and the hope that the readmission would make possible the Jews' conversion to Christianity. That, in turn would have meant the return of Jews to Palestine, hence the restoration of ancient prophecies from a millenarian perspective.

Crome traces the sometimes rather contradictory and conflict-ridden debate in England about what the readmission of Jews would entail, whether they would completely merge with the English population or would, after conversion, emigrate to Palestine. At any rate, the entire debate was predicated on the assumption that there could be, or rather should be, friendship between the English and the Jewish nation, which would be pleasing to God, and this in close parallel to the dialectical relationship between the Old and the New Testaments. The detractors, however, were not small in numbers, expressing visceral hatred of all Jews whom they distrusted under any circumstances and could not even imagine as possible friends.

When it became apparent that the Jews were not even considering conversion, criticism of the readmission idea increased, making the Millenarians look rather foolish. But Rabbi Menasseh's arrival in London in 1655 proved to be ominous, seemingly signaling the arrival of a new age, according to some speculative Biblical chronology. Menasseh also relied heavily on the friendship trope in his appeals to Cromwell to allow the return of Jews, reflecting the widespread interest in this discourse—see also Keller's discussion of friendship in political circles in our volume. The entire framework of the Whitehall conference proved to be supportive of the request, both in religious and economic terms, not to forget Henry Jesse's strong philo-Semitism which led to his friendship with Menasseh.

Crome also points out how many other delegates were on friendly terms with the Rabbi. Nevertheless, this did not mean that the negotiations went smoothly or quickly, probably because both sides had quite opposite agendas and ideals. The delegates only agreed quite easily to grant Jews a legal status in England, particularly because that helped the Christians to escape from God's possible wrath about their previous mistreatment of the Jewish nation. In other words, friendship enjoyed a religious connotation of supreme importance in those deliberations, at least for a fairly short time.

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<sup>346</sup> James S. Shapiro, *Shakespeare and the Jews*. The Parkes Lecture ([Southampton: University of Southampton, 1992]; Lionel Ifrah, *De Shylock à Samons: Juifs et judaïsme en Angleterre au temps de Shakespeare et Milton*. Bibliothèque d'études juives, 8 (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1999); Janet Adelman, *Blood Relations: Christian and Jew in the Merchant of Venice* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press; Bristol: University Presses Marketing, 2008).

While the philo-Semites, or centrists, were also aware of the economic advantages of readmitting the Jews, despite many fears by the other side of Jewish usury business, the Rabbi emphasized how much loyalty and friendship England stood to gain from its new Jewish citizens. However, he was also very clear about the continued difference between the Christians and the distinct Jewish identity. Ultimately, however, and this deserves to be repeated, his insistence that the Jews would not simply convert disturbed many and weakened the Judeo-centrists' position in favor of readmission.

In other words, fear about the possible division of the English population, if not most dreaded conversion of Christians to Judaism, quickly undermined the entire friendship discourse employed by the Millenarians for their own religious purposes. Even the strongest proponents began to drop their friendship rhetoric, perceiving more the Jews' difference than their proximity to the English people. The argument was even raised that the Jews falsely used their claim of friendship for them in order to gain their readmission for purely selfish reasons. Some opponents even went so far as to declare Jews as enemies of the English nation, as dangerous people, and especially as enemies of God. The medieval blood-libel trope (Little Hugh of Lincoln) was revived again to combat the friendship argument, which then generally lost in glamour and respect all over Europe, as we have already seen in Keller's contribution, although there for totally different reasons and in a different context.

Ultimately, then, the friendship argument, not even in a religious context, did not prove to be successful, although some of the most fervent supporters and actual friends of the Rabbi, such as Jessey, certainly continued with their efforts, demonstrating that they were standing firm in their commitment to their Jewish friends. The Whitehall conference basically failed, but in the course of the upcoming war with Spain, a tiny Spanish-Jewish community in London appealed to the state to be accepted as Jews, not as Spaniards. This became reality in 1656, for the first time since 1290, and they actually proved ever since to be some of England's best friends, as Crome then concludes. Friendship was not established in the way expected and hoped for by the Christian participants in the Whitehall conference. Nevertheless, at least that small group of Jews found a refuge in London and so could survive. Unfortunately, they survived not because they found friends powerful enough to protect them, but because they did not represent a real threat and could argue convincingly enough that they would easily adapt to English society, despite their religious difference.

## Y. The Decline of the Friendship Ideal? The Transformation of a Trope Some Final Reflections

Friendship has always been a very delicate phenomenon, easily shakeable if not well founded. The more we move into the early modern age, so it seems, the more the ideal of friendship was at risk. Friedrich Schiller still believed in it, as his paean on friendship in his famous ballad “Die Bürgschaft” from 1798 (see above at the beginning). Nevertheless, early seventeenth-century poets, dealing with the very same motif, such as the German organist, teacher, and poet Erasmus Widmann in Rothenburg ob der Tauber, realized already how much it was only a dream no longer realizable at their time. In his song “DAmon vnd Pythias gut freund allzeit bestendig gwesen seind” (1613; Damon and Pythias have been loyal friends all the time) Widmann comments quite sarcastically and with a deep sense of frustration: “Dergleichen freund man wenig find / Die in gefahr so bstendig sind” (You find very few such friends who prove to be so loyal in the case of danger).<sup>347</sup>

For Widmann, and probably many of his contemporaries, those who vociferously claimed to be someone’s best friend were nothing but “Maulfreund” (stanza 6, 1; chatter mouths). In most cases, all those people who swarmed around the fortunate one would be immediately gone as soon as misfortune set in: “Maulfreund aber genug auff Erdn / Jetzung gar leichtlich gfunden werdn/ Doch nur allweil es eim wol geht / Im vnglück aber keiner bsteht” (stanza 6; Chatter mouths are aplenty here on earth and can be found easily, but only as long as one is fortunate. When misfortune befalls you, no one stays behind).<sup>348</sup>

Widmann and other seventeenth-century critics had already turned into strong misanthropists because they and their families had by then suffered through

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<sup>347</sup> *Musicalischer Tugendspiegel Gantz newer Gesaeng mit schoenen Historischen vnd Poetischen Texten sehr nutzlich zu lesen vnd lieblich zu singen* (Nuremberg: Abraham Wagenmann, 1613); here quoted from the facsimile edition, *Musicalischer Tugendspiegel . . .* Faksimile-Edition Schermar-Bibliothek Ulm, 6 (Stuttgart: Cornetto-Verlag, 1999), no. XVI, stanza 5, 3–4. For background on Widemann, whose work is practically unknown today except among some musicologists, see Martin Loeser, “Widmann, Erasmus,” *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. Sec. newly prepared ed., ed. Ludwig Finscher. Personenteil, 17 (Kassel, Basel, et al.: Bärenreiter, 2007), 867–69. See also Jocelyn Mackey, “Widmann, Erasmus,” *The New Grove: Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. Sec. ed. by Stanley Sadie. Executive ed. John Tyrrell. Vol. 27 (1878; London and New York: Macmillan, 2001), 357–58.

<sup>348</sup> As far as I can tell, this is the very first discussion of Widmann’s poems. Ernst Gegenschatz, “Die ‘pythagoreische Bürgschaft,’” 1981 (see note 8) traces the motif from the Greek poet Aristoxenos (b. 370 B.C.E.) down to Cicero, Valerius Maximus, Lactantius (ca. 300 C.E.), and Saint Ambrosius (340–397), mentions also its revival in the *Legenda aurea* by Jacobus de Voragine (d. 1298) and in the chess allegory, *Solatium ludi scacorum sive liber de moribus hominum et de officiis nobilium ac popularium*, by Jacobus de Cessolis (ca. 1275), and from there he jumps over hundreds of years to Friedrich Schiller, i.e., to the late eighteenth century.

decades of religious strife and warfare, which finally erupted into the Thirty Years War in 1618. They probably remembered Boethius's teachings contained in his famous *De consolazione philosophiae*, and so addressed very explicitly the hollowness of the classical ideal of friendship, at least in their existence (see also the contributions to this volume by Theodore Kaouk, Stella Achilleos, and Vera Keller).

This did not mean, however, that the discourse on friendship then came to a sudden end, as the rich examples provided by L. Bellee Jones, Jean-Christophe Van Thienen, and Andrew Crome in their respective articles indicate.<sup>349</sup> But hope in the restorative and beneficial power of friendship from then on rested primarily in the religious sphere, whereas the secular world seemed to be too materialistic and egocentric still to support solid, loyal, and reliable friendship as this appears still to have been the case in the Middle Ages as far as we can trust literary and religious documents from that time.

A good example, though at first sight almost ephemeral in nature, proves to be a short poem by the Anacreontic writer Friedrich Hagedorn (1708–1754), a humorous poet from Hamburg who was deeply influenced by the philosophies developed by Anthony Ashley Cooper, Third Earl of Shaftesbury.<sup>350</sup> In “Die Freundschaft” (Friendship), Hagedorn defines this human bond as the mother of graceful urges in man. Erotic love can be dismissed, whereas all human choirs sing chorals in honor of friendship: “Dir Freundschaft, nicht der Liebe, / Erschallen unsere Chöre.”<sup>351</sup> But then, in another poem dedicated to erotic love (“An die

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<sup>349</sup> For the discourse on friendship during the eighteenth century, see Woldfriedrich Rasch, *Freundschaftskult und Freundschaftsdichtung im deutschen Schrifttum des 18. Jahrhunderts vom Ausgang des Barock bis zu Klopstock*. Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte. Buchreihe, 21 (Halle a. d. S.: Niemeyer, 1936).

<sup>350</sup> Albrecht Classen, “Friedrich von Hagedorn,” *German Baroque Writers, 1661–1730*, ed. James Hardin. Dictionary of Literary Biography, 168 (Detroit, Washington, DC, and London: Gale Research, 1996), 162–67; Eckhardt Meyer-Krentler, “Freundschaft im 18. Jahrhundert: Zur Einführung in die Forschungsdiskussion,” *Frauenfreundschaft, Männerfreundschaft: Literarische Diskurse im 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Wolfram Mauser and Barbara Becker-Cantarino (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1991), 1–22; id., *Der Bürger als Freund: Ein soziales ethisches Programm und seine Kritik in der neueren deutschen Erzählliteratur* (Munich: Fink, 1984); Wilfried Barner, “Gelehrte Freundschaft im 18. Jahrhundert: Zu ihren traditionellen Voraussetzungen,” *Frauenfreundschaft*, 23–46. Now see also Reinhold Münster, *Friedrich von Hagedorn: Dichter und Philosoph der fröhlichen Aufklärung* (Munich: iudicium, 1999), 333–44; and Ulrike Bardt, *Literarische Wahlverwandtschaften und poetische Metamorphosen: Die Fabel- und Erzähldichtung Friedrichs von Hagedorn* (Stuttgart and Weimar: J. B. Metzler, 1999). As much as I would concur with Meyer-Krentler's and Münster's reading, there is a certain danger in both their approaches to interpret Hagedorn's perspective toward friendship and that of his contemporaries through the lens of Aristotle and Cicero, making more out of Hagedorn's simple, sometimes rather naive verses, than seems justified. Hagedorn does not engage with Cicero at all! In fact, this poet, like many others, deliberately abstained from theoretical discussions and aimed for light, joyful, perhaps even playful, literary entertainment.

<sup>351</sup> *Des Herrn Friedrichs von Hagedorn sämtliche poetische Werke*. Part III (Hamburg: Johann Carl Bohn,

Liebe"), Hagedorn contradicts himself and places exclusive importance on love (83), as a considerable number of his other poems do as well. Nevertheless, for him friendship constituted the bond among equal people who want to enjoy life together, singing and drinking, abstaining from all selfishness and envy. Only friendship makes life worth living, whereas political rank and material power cannot compete with true friendship. As Reinhold Münster astutely comments, "Daher ist der wahre Freund der Biedermann" (341; Therefore the true friend is the *Biedermann* [a simple-minded but honorable man]). Hagedorn, however, does not theoretize friendship, and does not pursue a heavy ethical agenda in his various poems in which he celebrates love and friendship.

In "Das Gesellschaftliche" (Companionship; 99–100) he raises a toast to his friends and describes them as important for the drinking fellowship: "Ihr Freunde, zecht bey freudenvollen Chören! / Auf! stimmt ein freyes Scherzlied an. / Trink ich so viel, so trink ich euch zu ehren, / Und daß ich heller singenkann" (1–4; Friends, drink along with the joyful choirs. Go ahead, begin with a free song of jokes. When I drink a lot, I drink on your honor so that I can sing better).

When we probe what Anthony Ashley Cooper, Third Earl of Shaftesbury (1671–1713) had to say about friendship—having been a major source of influence on Hagedorn—we read, for instance, that love for wisdom drove already the ancients to form social units with other people: "the Love of Virtue in the Persons of those Great Men, the Founders and Preservers of Societys, the Legislators, Patriots, Deliverers, Heroes, whose Virtues they were desirous shou'd live and be immortaliz'd. Nor is there at this day any thing capable of making this Belief more engaging among the Good and Virtuous than *the Love of Friendship*, which creates in 'em a desire not to be wholly separated by Death, but that they may enjoy the same bless'd Society hereafter."<sup>352</sup>

At closer analysis, however, we realize that the theme of friendship serves him only as a springboard for broader philosophical ruminations, as when he notes: "Hardly indeed cou'd I allow the Name of *Man* to one who never cou'd call or be call'd *Friend*. But he who justly proves himself a *Friend*, is *Man* enough; nor is he wanting to *Society*. A single Friendship may acquit him. He has deserv'd a *Friend*, and is *man's Friend*; tho not in strictness or according to your high moral Sense, the Friend of Mankind" (102).

Friendship, for Shaftesbury, amounts to sociability, the basic human instinct to have company around oneself: "What Tyrant is there, what Robber, or open Violator of the Laws of Society, who has not a Companion, or some particular Set,

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1757; Bern: Herbert Lang, 1968), 80.

<sup>352</sup> Anthony Ashley Cooper, Third Earl of Shaftesbury, *Moral and Political Philosophy. Complete Works, Selected Letters and Posthumous Writings*. In English with German Translation. Ed., trans., and with a commentary by Wolfram Benda, Gerd Hemmerich, and Ulrich Schödlbauer. Advising coeditor: A. Owen Aldridge (Stuttgart: Frommann-Holzboog, 1987), 155–56.

either of his own Kindred, or such as he calls Friends; with whom he gladly shares his Good; in whose Welfare he delights; and whose Joy and Satisfaction he makes *his own*? . . . 'Tis to this soothing Hope and Expectation of Friendship, that almost all our Actions have some reference."<sup>353</sup> Again, we might conclude, despite all attempts by early-modernists to insist that friendship was of great concern during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, most of the fervor with which it had been discussed and practiced in late antiquity and the Middle Ages seems to have faded away.

This may also be the case when scholars argue that the eighteenth century rediscovered the ideal of friendship, then apparently in the implicit realization that an old dream of utopian sociability had indeed come to an end, maybe by the early seventeenth century, as I have suggested above.<sup>354</sup> The enormous popularity of letter writing might have added much to the discourse of friendship, and so the rise of public exchanges among scholars and scientists across Europe since the seventeenth century.<sup>355</sup> By the same token, we could go one step further and claim that the Romantics revived the ideal of friendship again to some extent, but until today, so it seems, the same degree of true friendship as practiced in late antiquity and throughout the Middle Ages has not ever fully regained in strength.<sup>356</sup>

Perhaps we moderns have become too cynical, or too materialistic, to understand and practice what friendship had traditionally meant, combining the ethical with the spiritual. Surprisingly, however, even such a cynic, or nihilist, as the philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900) could argue, at least during his middle period, following Ruth Abbey, "that there is a close connection between friendship and selfhood . . . he believes that friendship can make a significant contribution to self-knowledge and self-improvement, which are both closely associated with his notion of self-overcoming."<sup>357</sup> In fact, he dealt intensively with friendship, writing poems on it ("An die Freundschaft," 1874/1882), lamenting the

<sup>353</sup> Shaftesbury, *Moral and Political Philosophy*, vol. II, 2, 1984, 196.

<sup>354</sup> Barner, "Gelehrte Freundschaft im 18. Jahrhundert," 23 (see note 350): "Die emphatische Neuentdeckung der 'Freundschaft' und ihr bis ins Höchste gesteigerter Kult gehören zu den eigentümlichsten und meistgenannten Zügen des deutschen 18. Jahrhunderts" (The emphatic rediscovery of 'friendship' and its extremely developed cult belong to the most idiosyncratic and most discussed aspects of the German eighteenth century).

<sup>355</sup> Monika Ammermann, "Gelehrten-Briefe des 17. und frühen 18. Jahrhunderts," *Gelehrte Bücher vom Humanismus bis zur Gegenwart: Referate des 5. Jahrestreffens des Wolfenbütteler Arbeitskreises für Geschichte des Buchwesens vom 6. bis 9. Mai 1981 in der Herzog August Bibliothek*, ed. Bernhard Fabian and Paul Raabe (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1983), 81–96.

<sup>356</sup> Felicity James, *Charles Lamb, Coleridge and Wordsworth: Reading Friendship in the 1790s*. (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

<sup>357</sup> Ruth Abbey, "Circles, Ladders and Stars: Nietzsche on Friendship," *The Challenge to Friendship in Modernity*, ed. Preston King and Heather Devere (London and Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 2000), 50–73; here 51.



lack of confidence and trust among friends, analyzing true friendship, and discussing a wide variety of aspects pertaining to that phenomenon. To be realistic, we need to break off here, since this is no longer the topic of our investigations, limited to the time period up to the long eighteenth century.<sup>358</sup>

However, let's at least take into consideration what postmodern critics have to say about friendship. Western society still provides, so it seems, the necessary framework for the individual truly to invest in and subscribe to the traditional ideals of friendship because we have all become too atomistic and live in ephemeral lives, hence desperately need social contacts, or friends. As Horst Hutter rightly avers, "friendship can only flourish among those who orient their intentionalities to something higher than and 'beyond' the individual self, in a continuous struggle for self-overcoming. For us moderns, the best guide in this struggle is in accordance with the human wisdom of Epicurus. *Homo amicus. Magis amica veritas.*"<sup>359</sup>

Friendship continues to exist, perhaps even to flourish, despite all negative comments especially since the seventeenth century. But it is changing its properties, outlook, meaning, and relevance all the time, as we do change. From the time when Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle began to philosophize, they also examined the nature of friendship, and it has continued to be a high call for all of us throughout time to pursue friendship because it amounts to being philosophy in itself. As Mark Vernon concludes in his far-reaching ruminations on this topic, "The very possibility of friendship lies at the heart of philosophy. They come together partly because as Aristotle commented, 'we are better able to observe our friends than ourselves and their actions than our own'. But more so because to truly befriend others is to stare life's uncertainties, limits and ambiguities in the face. To seek friendship is to seek wisdom."<sup>360</sup>

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<sup>358</sup> In his *Menschliches, Allzumenschliches: Ein Buch für freie Geister*, Nietzsche commented, for instance: "Die gute Freundschaft entsteht, wenn man den Anderen sehr achtet und zwar mehr als sich selbst, wenn man ebenfalls ihn liebt, jedoch nicht so sehr als sich, und wenn man endlich, zur Erleichterung des Verkehrs, den zarten *Anstrich* und Flaum der Intimität hinzuzuthun versteht, zugleich aber sich der wirklichen und eigentlichen Intimität und der Verwechslung von Ich und Du weislich enthält" (Friedrich Nietzsche, *Gesammelte Werke*, 9 (Munich: Musarion Verlag, 1923), 126: The good friendship comes about when one respects the other, that is, even more than oneself, and when one loves him, but not as much as oneself, and when, finally, to ease the relationship, one adds the tender touch and glimmer of intimacy, but at the same time wisely stays away from the true and actual intimacy and from confusing the I and the You [my trans.]). For many more references to friendship in Nietzsche's work, see Nietzsche, *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 22.1: *Sachregister* (Munich: Musarion Verlag, 1928), 134–36.

<sup>359</sup> Horst Hutter, "The Virtue of Solitude and the Vicissitudes of Friendship," *The Challenge to Friendship in Modernity*, 131–48; here 146 (see note 357).

<sup>360</sup> Mark Vernon, *The Philosophy of Friendship* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 164.

Perhaps, however, one of the major challenges for friendship to thrive today, as it was perceived already in the seventeenth century at the latest, consists of people's unwillingness or inability to philosophize and to seek for inner truths of timeless value. To speak and act like a philosopher is tantamount to seeking virtue. Finding friendship in that process might be one of the most glorious experiences in human life, and this even today. To quote Vernon again, "In today's world, there is a myth of romantic love based upon the idea that two lovers become one flesh, a totalisation of life in the other, supremely enacted in sexual ecstasy which is symbolic of that union. The myth or ideal tends to exclude others, not because lovers do not want friends, but because it tells them that their friends are incidental – pleasant but non-essential adornments to the lover's life together."<sup>361</sup>

If we are able to find friends and delight in the company with them, we find ourselves suddenly deeply reconnected with the Socratic ideals and medieval spirituality. However, it remains a big question if, or whether, that ideal can be sustained in the postmodern world. As we have learned by now, to enjoy life with and through friends was of utmost beauty and significance in the past, so why should this not be the case in the future as well? Nevertheless, at the moment the terms 'friend' and 'friendship' are suffering extensively from their inflationary use and shallow employment. Our social networks seem to require vast numbers of friends, but the more we can claim, the less we really seem to have.

The contributors to our volume provide a wealth of evidence regarding the growing trouble with friendship since early modernity, and yet they also complicate the critical approach to that phenomenon. The interdisciplinary method pursued in this volume will hopefully shed fundamental light on the issue and allow us to grasp some of the complexities and the profound significance of friendship as a most important aspect of the premodern world in its cultural, ethical, and moral manifestations. Friendship has always been a struggle and yet also a most rewarding experience, deeply enriching human life in ethical, moral, philosophical, and even religious terms. This observation will also indicate, once again, how much the study of the Middle Ages, here with a focus on the topic of friendship, offers most fascinating and far-reaching perspectives for an innovation of our own, post-modern world, or as a mirror of our own existence with all its challenges and difficulties.

Whether Cicero, Augustine, Aelred, Heloise, Thomas Aquinas, Christine de Pizan, Francis Bacon, or any other major intellectual and writer/artist, they all agreed on the one critical ideal, the dream of true friendship. S/he who can claim to have a good friend already knows that s/he has transcended the material limitations of this life and has found, through the other person, a passageway to the true essence of all existence in human terms.

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<sup>361</sup> Vernon, *The Philosophy of Friendship*, 49 (see note 360).

This is not to say that friendship would constitute the central issue upon which everything hinges, but there can not be any doubt, considering the twenty contributions to this volume and the myriad of other scholarly studies pursuing the same issue from antiquity through the early modern age, how much friendship has constituted a cornerstone of Western culture ever since classical times and should not be ignored now for most ephemeral reasons or simply out of neglect.

Friedrich Schiller's ballad might well represent a late, or should we say early, illusionary dream in literary terms, but we must not simply dismiss some of the statements by Aristotle, Augustine, Aelred, Heloise, Thomas Aquinas, Thomas à Kempis, Don Juan Manuel, Jörg Wickram, and many others. True friends represent some of the greatest gems in human life, right next to true erotic love and, not to forget, love for God. As Bennett Helm rightly avers in her recent survey article, "As such, friendship is undoubtedly central to our lives, in part because the special concern we have for our friends must have a place within a broader set of concerns, including moral concerns, and in part because our friends can help shape who we are as persons."<sup>362</sup> We could add that friendship has always been a hallmark of high culture, of idealism, and of philosophical, ethical approaches to life, from Aristotle to Friedrich Schiller, from Aelred of Rievaulx to Michel de Montaigne, and then, *mutatis mutandis*, from the eighteenth century until today.<sup>363</sup>

Our approaches to this topic focus mostly on the Middle Ages and the early modern age, and we will also realize in this volume, as commented already above, that the value and ideal of friendship experienced a certain decline since the eighteenth century, if not earlier, particularly when the term friendship was increasingly used for political alliances and diplomatic associations.<sup>364</sup> This does not mean, however, that friendship is no longer of relevance for us today, as countless examples would confirm.<sup>365</sup> Instead, the contributors will illustrate the particular nature of the discourse on friendship in the premodern world and will examine a wide range of perspectives relevant for friendship even today.

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<sup>362</sup> Bennett Helm, "Friendship," *Stanford Encyclopedia of Friendship* (first published May 17, 2005; substantive revision July 9, 2009), <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/friendship/> (last accessed on August 1, 2010).

<sup>363</sup> See now the contributions to *De Amicitia*, ed. Katariina Mustakallio and Christian Krötzl, 2010 (see note 14).

<sup>364</sup> Mario Müller, *Besiegelte Freundschaft: die brandenburgischen Erbeinungen und Erbverbrüderungen im späten Mittelalter*. Schriften zur politischen Kommunikation, 8 (Göttingen: V & R Unipress, 2010).

<sup>365</sup> See, for instance, Jost Lemmerich, *Bande der Freundschaft: Lise Meitner – Elisabeth Schiemann* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010); Daniel Maier-Katkin, *Stranger from Abroad: Hannah Arendt, Martin Heidegger, Friendship, and Forgiveness* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2010).

## Z. Some Dedicatory Words in the Spirit of Friendship

There are always special opportunities to dedicate a new book to a colleague, to a friend, a family member, and the like. I feel deeply indebted to many of them, but here I would like to salute first a group of undergraduate students from The University of Arizona with whom I traveled through medieval Europe, from Orvieto (north of Rome) to Warsaw via Venice, Innsbruck, Regensburg, Prague, Torun, and Gdansk in May/June 2010, teaching the Middle Ages and the early modern world both in theoretical and practical terms. I worked a lot on this introduction during this travel course, and I am deeply indebted to these students who came along with me to experience so many wonderful medieval and early-modern sites in concrete terms inspiring me further to explore the meaning of friendship in historical terms:

*Shannon Allen, Amina Baruni, Ashley Baum, Kevin Bloom, Abigail Cochrane, Halil Fried, Emily Godlove, Dana Hutchinson, Wesley Krafft, Chan Lwin, Nicole Mallett, Rebecca Meyer, Caitlin Mitchum, Alexandra Scott, Stephenie Springer, Nicholas Taylor, and Peter Van Peenen.*

Subsequently, I had the extraordinary opportunity once again to teach a course on medieval literature, this time at the Sookmyung International Summer School, Seoul, S-Korea (June–July 2010: Masterpieces of Medieval Literature), and during that time I continued to expand and to revise this introduction considerably. I would like to express my gratitude to Sookmyung for the invitation to spend three weeks in the Far East while reflecting upon the historical roots of friendship within the European context. I had a number of occasions to discuss the phenomenon of friendship in medieval literature with my students there as well, for which I am grateful because this topic proves to be so central to the entire Middle Ages.

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*William Boggs, Migeon Cho, Choi JiHyun, Shim Minkyung, Hyejin Park, Pu Wang, and Shin Bo Young.*

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deepen it by consulting the seemingly endless resources at the first-rate research University Library. I am very thankful for all the help that I received from the various librarians. Without my delightful students, with whom to work I enjoyed very much, I would not have had that unique chance, so my gratitude extends to them as well. I would also like to mention them by name in the spirit of scholarly friendship:

*Krista Boone, Winona Manrique, Jordan McCowen, Brittney Morris, Kevin Ngai, Hannah Peevey, Nathan Rioux, Kyle Shearer, and Alyssa Valenzuela.*

Who knows, some of them might later join the ranks of medieval and early-modern scholarship, being inspired by the value of friendship also on an intellectual, cultural level.

A special word of thanks is deservedly extended to my dear colleague, co-editor, and friend Marilyn Sandidge, who was very instrumental in getting the whole collection of contributions together, after I had organized two sessions at the International Congress on Medieval Studies at the Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, MI, 2009, and who worked hard with me during the entire editorial process. I defer to her own contribution to this Introduction, which she discussed with me intensively, for which I owe her my gratitude.

Finally, I would like to dedicate this book especially to my best friend in this world, my beloved wife Carolyn!

Tucson, September 2010



# Chapter 1

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## Friendship of Mutual Perfecting in Augustine's *Confessions* and the Failure of Classical *amicitia*

The human side of Augustine clearly thrived on friendship. The “homo religiosus,” which came to dominate his post-conversion attitudes and reminiscences, disapproved of that penchant, but always stung by the bitter-sweet remorse that would not allow the pleasures and the consolations of friendship to be heaped on some bonfire of the vanities of the kind that more zealous and less humane Christians kindled.

Augustine's friendship with Alypius, revealed in such detail in the *Confessions*, is illustrative of the best human friendship can accomplish, but also of its limits. The aspect on which the present paper focuses is what Aristotle had called “the friendship of mutual perfecting” (see note 10 below). The relationship with Alypius is an entry into this broader topic in the *Confessions* and in fourth-century Christianity, and it shows consistently the failure of classical “amicitia.”

Alypius was Augustine's life-long friend, fellow north African, eventually Bishop of Thagaste alongside Augustine as Bishop of Hippo.<sup>1</sup> Alypius was a student of Augustine when he first began to teach in the North African town from which both hailed. The student was attracted to the master because he saw in him

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<sup>1</sup> On Alypius, see Peter Brown, *Augustine of Hippo: A Biography* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969), 67–68, and specifically in the context of friendship: Marie Aquinas McNamara, *Friendship in Saint Augustine* (Fribourg, CH: University Fribourg Press, 1958), 53–62; Carolinne White, *Christian Friendship in the Fourth Century* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 185–214; Brian McGuire, *Friendship and Community: The Monastic Experience 350–1250*. Cistercian Studies Series, 95 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1988), 47–57.

"a good and learned man," and the master to the student because of the latter's "natural disposition to goodness": "diligeat multum, quod ei bonus et doctus viderer, et ego illum propter magnam virtutis indolem . . ."<sup>2</sup>

Both men shared an immature admiration of Manichaeism, which in its stress on continence had "the appearance of virtue" without the depth of real virtue (6.7.12, 65). Alypius followed Augustine first to Carthage, then Rome, then Milan. He was among the friends who planned a utopian community of philosophers living a common life of leisure and studies in search of truth, a life based on "the spirit of true friendship" ("per amicitiae sinceritatem"—6.14.24, 70). With Nebridius Alypius had frequent discussions on the nature of good and evil. In the presence of Alypius, he still felt in privacy ("neque enim secretum meum non erat, ubi ille aderat" 8.8.19, 97; "nothing was private to me where he was present"). The suggestion is that his friend is a "second self" or "the other half of his soul."<sup>3</sup> The two men shared conversion and baptism, and together they brought up Augustine's son, Adeodatus (9.6). Shortly after their conversion they joined other friends at the villa near Milan called Cassiciacum, where they achieved something like a Christian philosophical communal life and where Augustine's early works, the so-called Cassiciacum dialogues, arose.<sup>4</sup>

The friendship of mutual perfecting operates by the reciprocal cultivation of virtue. Love of "virtue" and admiration of the good brought them together. But each had his individual vice. Alypius was addicted to the violence of the gladiatorial games; Augustine to sexual pleasure. The complementary character of their virtues and flaws has no particular highlight in the narrative, but the relationship between the two men is clearly conceived in a systematic way, and it involves their friendship essentially in an enterprise of mutual teaching and learning. The friendship starts in the admiration of virtue, and it advances through the exercise/strengthening of virtue and curbing of vice. Alypius's strength (sexual restraint) was Augustine's weakness. He says of his friend: "stupebat enim liber ab illo vinculo animus servitutem meam" (6.12; "His mind being free from the fetters by which mine was enchained, he marveled at my enslavement").<sup>5</sup> But the same applies with the subject and predicate reversed: Augustine's mind was free of the chains by which the mind of Alypius was bound (the appetite for violence).

<sup>2</sup> Augustine, *Confessions*, ed. James J. O'Donnell (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 64, Bk. 6, ch. 7.11 (henceforth cited from this edition in the form 6.7.11).

<sup>3</sup> Cited in Margaret R. Miles, *Desire and Delight: A New Reading of Augustine's Confessions* (New York: Crossroads, 1992), 89.

<sup>4</sup> See the article "Cassiciacum Dialogues" by Joanne McWilliam, *Augustine through the Ages: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Allan D. Fitzgerald (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmanns, 1999), 135–43.

<sup>5</sup> 6. 12, ed. O'Donnell, 70. The English translations are all cited from Saint Augustine, *Confessions*, trans. R. S. Pine-Coffin (London: Penguin, 1961), 129, here with minor changes.



The cure of Alypius's "disease" is Augustine himself, whom God used, Augustine claims, as God's instrument to heal his friend. Almost certainly Augustine meant to represent this relationship as reciprocal pedagogy. It is significant that the first step to the cure of Alypius happens in the classroom of Magister Augustinus, professor of rhetoric in Carthage. The master illustrates a general point—not initially aimed at Alypius—by an example taken from the games. It gives him a chance to ridicule the addiction to violence that the games produce. Alypius feels addressed, takes it to heart, feels no resentment at the sensed rebuke, since "the wise are grateful for a remonstrance" (Prov. 9.8), swears off the games, and appears to have gotten the monkey off his back. It was just in his role as teacher that Augustine accomplished this temporary cure.

But vice versa, Alypius becomes the teacher of Augustine on the score of sexual restraint. Leading a "life of utmost chastity" himself (6.12), he tries to dissuade his friend from marriage, since it would damage or end the philosophical life they share. Alypius is "the hand that meant to loose my bond."<sup>6</sup> Alypius is concerned that a man whose virtue he admires can be "so firmly caught in the toils of sexual pleasure"—and that concern sets an agenda for the correction that will bring the relationship based on goodness and virtue back into balance.

The friends are now teacher, now pupil, to each other—like the relationship that Augustine had described among the friends of his youth, whose friendship had consoled him on the death of the unnamed friend who had been the great love of his youth. Among the pleasures of friendship was teaching and learning from each other, the roles circulating among them: ". . . docere aliquid invicem aut discere ab invicem . . ." (4.8; "Each of us had something to learn from the others and something to teach in return," ed. O'Donnell, 38; trans. Pine-Coffin, 79). Augustine's account of his relation with Alypius is a kind of double-entry bookkeeping of the economy of virtue—where two friends bond, one possessing credits that balance the other's debits, and vice versa.

The relationship begins in the best tradition of Graeco-Roman aristocratic friendship. That debt is marked strongly by the originating force of attraction: virtue or the promise of virtue draws each to the other. Aristotle proclaims in the *Nicomachean Ethics* that the highest form of friendship is that in which a partner is drawn to the excellence in the other,<sup>7</sup> distinctly echoed by Cicero, for whom friendship is the love of virtue in another man: "hoc primum sentio, nisi in bonis amicitiam esse non posse" ("Friendship cannot exist except among good men").<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> McNamara, *Friendship in St. Augustine*, 53: "Alypius was among the chief instruments which God used for the spiritual and moral conversion of Augustine."

<sup>7</sup> Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 8.2–4, 1155b–1157a.

<sup>8</sup> Cicero, *Laelius de Amicitia*, 5.18, trans. W. A. Falconer. Loeb Classical Library, 154 (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1979), 126; also 6. 20–21 ("haec ipsa virtus amicitiam et gignit et

Setting aside their vices, Augustine and Alypius are as a single being in their likeness of character, their shared passion for truth, their commitment in the end to Christianity, joined by what Cicero would call “*omnium divinarum humanarumque rerum cum benevolentia et caritate consensio*” (“agreement on all things human and divine with benevolence and affection”).<sup>9</sup> The flaws in their character have to be corrected to maintain the integrity of the friendship. Augustine’s strength of character was to answer and balance Alypius’s addiction; Alypius’s sexual self-control answered and balanced Augustine’s lustfulness. The array of virtues and vices is integrated into the philosophical conception of the friendship.

In the ancient traditions of philosophical communities, mutually compensating weaknesses and strengths, are a frequent element of friendships. Aristotle speaks of a “friendship of mutual perfecting,” where each partner “forms in himself, as it were, the excellent qualities which please him in the other by taking each other as a pattern.”<sup>10</sup> This ideal of transference of excellent qualities has a philosophical context closely bound to communities like the Pythagoreans and the followers of Plotinus. James McEvoy has formulated this context eloquently: the Pythagorean community rests on “the founder’s intuition that no being carries its own intelligibility entirely in itself . . . . Community life can be considered as the social embodiment of the single, overarching divine order of reality.”<sup>11</sup> Seneca, among others, gave expression to the Stoic conception of the philosophical community. The context here is the divine *logos* or *pneuma* which fills all things and creates “universal sympathy of natures.” All men participate in what McEvoy calls an “impersonal form of ‘amicitia,’” but only the truly virtuous can become friends.<sup>12</sup> In friends, one man’s plenitude fills another’s incompleteness. This is living according to nature, where every lack seeks an excess to balance it and vice versa.

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continet, nec sine virtute amicitia esse ullo pacto potest”; “virtue begets and maintains friendship; without virtue friendship cannot exist”); 8. 28 (“Nihil est enim virtute amabilius, nihil quod magis alliciat ad diligendum”; “there is nothing more lovable than virtue, nothing that more allures us to affection”); 9. 29 (“quid mirum est, si animi hominum moveantur, cum eorum, quibuscum usu coniuncti esse possunt, virtutem et bonitatem perspicere videantur?”; “what wonder that men’s souls are stirred when they think they see clearly the virtue and goodness of men close to them”); 9. 30 (“ego admiratione quadam virtutis eius [i.e., Scipio Africanus] [eum dilexi]”; “I loved [Scipio] because of my admiration for his virtue”).

<sup>9</sup> *De amicitia* 6. 20, trans. Falconer, 130.

<sup>10</sup> Aristotle, *Nich. Ethics*, 9.12.3, 1172a. Cf. Cicero, *De amicitia* 9.32; 25.91.

<sup>11</sup> James McEvoy, “The Theory of Friendship in the Latin Middle Ages: Hermeneutics, Contextualization and the Transmission and Reception of Ancient Texts and Ideas, from c. AD 350 to c. 1500,” *Friendship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Julian Haseldine (Stroud, UK: Sutton Publishing, 1999), 3–44; here 6.

<sup>12</sup> McEvoy, “Theory of Friendship,” 12.

The friendship of mutual perfection also takes the form of an “amicable rivalry” (“aemulatio amicalis”), in which two friends vie with each other to perfect qualities they strive for, and the competition serves as a goad to self-perfection. For Cicero this striving is the working of the longing for virtue:

quam qui appetiverunt, applicant sese et propius admovent, ut et usu eius, quem diligere coeperunt, fruuntur et moribus, sintque pares in amore et aequales propensioresque ad bene merendum quam ad reposcendum, atque haec inter eos sit honesta concertatio.

[When men have conceived a longing for this virtue they bend towards it and move closer to it, so that, by familiar association with him whom they have begun to love, they may enjoy his character, equal him in affection, become readier to deserve than to demand his favours, and vie with him in a rivalry of virtue.<sup>13</sup>]

This motif, idea, or practice had a counterpart in the Old Testament proverb, “As steel sharpens steel, a man sharpens the wits of his friend.”<sup>14</sup> And was usable in descriptions of education in the Middle Ages.<sup>15</sup> The reciprocal cultivation of virtue

<sup>13</sup> Cicero, *De amicitia* 9.32. Aelred, *De spirituali Amicitia* 1. 20: “concertatio benevolentiae.” It follows the logic that nature has created friendship as the aid of virtue, since by itself, in a single person, virtue cannot attain the highest things, but only in jointure and association with another (*De spirituali amicitia*, 22.83).

<sup>14</sup> NRS trans. Vulgate, Proverbs 27.17: “Ferrum ferro acuitur et homo exacuit faciem amici sui.” King James: “Iron sharpeneth iron; so a man sharpeneth the countenance of his friend.”

<sup>15</sup> Sigebert of Gembloux, *Vita Wicberti*, Patrologia Latina 160, 668D: “Fiebat perinde miro modo, ut dum ipse de singulorum virtutibus aliquid decerpit quod sibi sit pro exemplo, ipse solus omnibus esset exemplo. Ut enim secundum Salomonis proverbium, *ferrum ferro acuitur*, ita alter ab altero ad bene agendum exacuebatur, et ut homo confundit [= “pours together,” “mixes”; not “confounds”] *faciem amici sui*, ita et eos pia fraternae aemulationis movebat confusio, nisi alter alterum quiret imitari” (“It then came about marvelously that while he absorbed this and that from the virtues of various men which could serve him as an example, he on his own acted as an example for all. For, as the proverb of Solomon has it ‘steel sharpens steel,’ in the same way the one was sharpened for good behavior by the other, ‘and as a man molds and forms the person of his friend,’ so this mutual forming moved them in a healthy confluence of brotherly rivalry to imitate each other”). And Sigebert on the master–student relationship of Bruno of Cologne and Dietrich of Metz, Patrologia Latina 160, 695D f.: “Erat in utroque, quod uterque in alterutro amplecteretur; et sicut ferrum ferro acuitur, sic alter alterius bona aemulatione aedificabatur. Primo quidem inter eos propinquitatis naturalis necessitudo pepererat amicitiam; deinde familiaritatis consuetudo aluerat benivolentiam; quae etsi ex propinquitatem tolli potest, ex amicitia tamen non potest, quia propinquitatem sine benivolentia inane nomen retinet, amicitia benivolentiae indiscissa cohaeret. Sic in consobrinis istis propinquitati respondebat amicitia; amicitiam mutua solidabat benivolentia” (“There were in each of them qualities that the one embraced in the other; and as steel sharpens steel, each learned by good imitation of the other. Foremost of course was the friendship between them generated by the force of family ties; but there was also their accustomed intimacy, which nourished affection; While affection can be separated from blood relationship, the same is not true of friendship, since relatedness without affection is meaningless, But friendship is joined indissolubly to affection. Between these two cousins friendship responded

is a known relationship among students in the age of Augustine.<sup>16</sup> Ambrose gives David and Jonathan as an example of rivalry in the imitation of one another's virtues.<sup>17</sup>

This brief survey of the well known resonances between Cicero on friendship and Augustine's narrative of his friendship with Alypius has hardly given a hint of the hammer hanging over them. Maybe the better metaphor is: a pall that hangs over this and all his early friendships, draped over the coffin as each of them is, in one regard or another, laid to rest. In fact, Augustine gives a stronger highlight to the failure of this double course of mutual improvement than to the enterprise itself.

Having established his love of Alypius, his pleasure in the friendship, and their mutual intellectual and moral benefit, he makes clear that in neither party does it work, reciprocity fails, progress in virtue grinds to a halt. Alypius returns to the games in a scene whose high drama highlights the failure of Augustine's doctoring. Alypius is dragged by his *amici* (here an ironic chill in the word) back to the amphitheater, resisting and protesting all the way. The "friends" prevail, and Alypius fine-tunes his moral resolve, turning his capitulation into a virtue; his return to the games is a test of his self-control. He closes his eyes until he hears a loud roar of the crowd. Then he opens them for a look. This is the real test, he says

to ties of blood; and mutual affection firmed up friendship"). Cf. the training and education of Radbod of Utrecht (d. 917) at the court of Charles the Bald, *Vita Radbodi* ch. 1. Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores 15:1, 569: "Erant et illi sodales huiusmodi convivii participes Stephanus et Mancio, aetate maiores, non studio superiores. Inter illos etenim exoritur propere clandestina morum aemulatio, quis eorum precelleret alium, non honoris ambitu, sed humilitatis officio, non livoris stimulo, sed caritatis affectu, lectionis et <discendi> studio" ("These two companions, Stephen and Mancio, equals in age and zeal for study, shared this sort of common table. For there quickly arose between them an unspoken rivalry in their way of behaving which one could surpass the other, not out of ambition for honor, but out of the duty of humility, not from the goad of envy, but the affection of charity, the zeal for reading and learning"). On master-student relationships based on love and emulation of virtue, see Jaeger, *Ennobling Love: In Search of a Lost Sensibility*. The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 59–81; Mia Münster-Swendsen, "The Model of Scholastic Mastery in Northern Europe," *Teaching and Learning in Northern Europe*, ed. Sally N. Vaughn and Jay Rubenstein Studies in the Early Middle Ages, 8 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 307–42.

<sup>16</sup> See White, *Christian Friendship* (see note 1 above), 116–17. "Friendship and community" is the focal point of Brian McGuire's study (see note 1 above).

<sup>17</sup> Ambrose, *De officiis ministrorum* 1. 33. 171; *Patrologia Latina* 16, 73A – B: "Adjuvant etiam parium studia virtutum. Siquidem benevolentia etiam morum facit similitudinem. Denique Jonathas filius regis imitabatur sancti David mansuetudinem, propter quod diligebat eum" ("The pursuit of comparable virtues was an additional aid. In this way affection also creates likeness of character, just as Jonathan, the king's son, imitated the gentleness of David because he loved him"). Also 3.22.133, *Patrologia Latina* 16, 182B: "Virtus est enim amicitia, non quaestus; quia non pecunia paritur, sed gratia: nec licitatione pretiorum, sed concertatione benevolentiae" ("Friendship is a virtue, not a source of profit, because it earns good will, not money"). Gregory of Nazianzus to Basil of Caesarea, Ep. 6: "Help me and strive with me for virtue . . .," cited in White, *Christian Friendship*, 64 (see note 1).

to himself, again tricking his moral resolve into capitulating: he will just take a quick look to show how completely he has kicked the habit, like an alcoholic going back to the bottle on the shelf placed there as a test of will; first he has a look—just a test; then a taste—still just a test. Of course, Alypius fails. He is drawn into the cruelty, becomes one with his crowd of—as Augustine repeats pointedly—“friends,” and becomes himself the leader of a pack intoxicated by the frenzy of bloodlust (*Confessions* 6. 8).

Augustine fares no better in the program of improvement through friendship. Alypius’s arguments do not take hold. He returns to “scratch the scab of lust.” He nearly succeeds in seducing Alypius into marriage with the argument that lust is not as bad as he evidently imagines it from one clumsy and humiliating experience in his youth—not the way reciprocal emulation of virtue is supposed to work.

In the end God rescues both friends where reciprocal emulation of virtue failed. First Alypius: “inde tamen manu validissima et misericordissima eruisti eum tu, et docuisti non sui habere sed tui fiduciam...” (“You stretched out your almighty, ever merciful hand, O God. You taught him to trust in you and not in himself” [6. 8]). Then Augustine: “de vinculo quidem desiderii concubitus, quo artissimo tenebar . . . me exemeris . . . domine, adiutor meus et redemptor meus” (“O Lord, my Helper and my Redeemer . . . you released me from the fetters of lust which held me so tightly shackled . . .” [8.6]). Significantly it is not the voice of his friend, but the voice of a child which becomes the instrument of his cure.

Friendship fails at every point in Augustine’s life prior to the conversion.<sup>18</sup> It shows its true colors as early as the pear theft. His association with the gang called the *eversores* (Pine-Coffin translates the term as “wreckers”) also is called *amicitia*. Their raid on a pear tree is the occasion of his first rumination on friendship in the *Confessions*. He aligns friendship with other earthly pleasures, the sight of gold and silver, things pleasant to the touch, worldly honor, the exercise of power: “Friendship among men is a delightful bond, uniting many souls in one” [again the Greek tradition resonates: a sentiment that goes back to Pythagoras], good though friendship and other worldly pleasures like it are, “they are of the lowest order of good.”<sup>19</sup> His long analysis of the theft brings him to the insight that the real motive was the compulsion of the group, in this case an “inimical friendship,” “inimicalis amicitia” (2.9).

<sup>18</sup> The early friendships are closely analyzed from the point of view of their worldliness and cupidity by Gerald Schlabach, “Friendship as Adultery: Social Reality and Sexual Metaphor in Augustine’s Doctrine of Original Sin,” *Augustinian Studies* 23 (1992): 125–47.

<sup>19</sup> *Confessions* 2. 5, ed. O’Donnell, 19: “amicitia quoque hominum caro nodo dulcis est propter unitatem de multis animis. propter universa haec atque huius modi peccatum admittitur, dum immoderata in ista inclinatione, cum extrema bona sint, meliora et summa deseruntur, tu, domine deus noster, et veritas tua, et lex tua. Habent enim et haec ima delectationes, sed non sicut deus meus, qui fecit omnia, quia in ipso delectatur iustus, et ipse est deliciae rectorum corde.”

On the death of his beloved friend (who remains unnamed) during his early days of teaching at Thagaste he falls into a deep depression. He has lost "his second self," "the other half of his soul." He gradually realizes that it's "madness" to love a mortal man so passionately, and that even the most passionate love is of that lower order: "non est vera [amicitia] nisi cum eam tu agglutinas inter haerentes tibi caritate diffusa in cordibus nostris per spiritum sanctum, qui datus est nobis" ("no friends are true friends unless you, my God, bind them fast to one another through that love which is sown in our hearts by the Holy Ghost" [*Confessions* 4. 4, ed. O'Donnell, 35]).

He finds consolation in the "other charms of friendship" to which he devotes a lyrical passage, often quoted: talk and laughter, kindnesses shared, books discussed, shared teaching and learning, etc. (4.8.) But the friendships that give him this pleasure and consolation ride along with the Manichaean philosophy that supported them. The two are co-conspirators against Augustine's real destiny. The friendship made him cling to a false religion, made him "slower to seek another." Because of those pleasures so lyrically celebrated, he "had no hope of finding the truth in your church" (5.10).

The friendship with Alypius follows. It bears no real fruit until their mutual conversion.

Then comes a mention, remarkably brief, of the community of friends, planned as a combination of the apostolic and the philosophical life. The plan is to pool their resources and live together in leisure, friendship and intellectual exchange. They would renounce private property "per amicitiae sinceritatem" ("in the spirit of sincere friendship" [6.14, ed. O'Donnell, 70]). The plan falls apart before it even starts. Marriage and the disapproval of the wives thwart it.

In short, those friendships and his ruminations which profess Augustine's thoughts on friendship and his obligations to the classical tradition wind up in the same category as the many vanities of his youth. Certainly, he thinks, acts, and writes in the classical tradition—but he does so ultimately in order to reject it. He realizes after his baptism that his earlier friendships were a form of adultery, a love affair in absence of his true spouse.<sup>20</sup> He describes his bitter-sweet attitude to them in the charming image of his early vices clinging to the hem of his robe like anxious children as he presses toward conversion, pulling him back and calling out to him, in effect, "please don't leave us behind" (8. 11). Among those hangers-on trying to pull him back to his old life were his friendships. One question has gnawed at him from his youth to his conversion and baptisms: he has friends, he has sexual gratification, he has prestige, books and students, and he has the search for truth. So why isn't he happy? Conversion and baptism answer that question.

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<sup>20</sup> See Schlabach, "Friendship as Adultery" (see note 18 above).

There is an important episode where friendship in a philosophical community works and is not included in the narrative to illustrate the inadequacy of friendship; it is the Cassiciacum idyll, where the friends lead a life of philosophical *otium*, or “Christian *otium*,” as Peter Brown calls it.<sup>21</sup> An entry in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* describes it as “a Christian Academy, of more exalted philosophy than Plato’s.”<sup>22</sup> No trouble greater than toothache assails Augustine here, though he says of the works that came out of the stay, the so-called Cassiciacum dialogues, “ibi quid egerim in litteris iam quidem servientibus tibi, sed adhuc superbiae scholam tamquam in pausatione anhelantibus, testantur libri disputati cum praesentibus et cum ipso me solo coram te” (“What I wrote there in works that long since had served you but still seemed to exhale the air of the school of pride, like [an athlete] taking a spell for breath” [9.4, ed. O’Donnell, 105]). The position of this idyll in Augustine’s development is well described by his own image: he has been running one long race; his efforts at Cassiciacum are like the panting of an athlete who has finished the race.

The episode that follows the conversion of Augustine and Alypius lends itself to the argument that a fusion of Roman “amicitia” and Christian charity took place there, that it represents a breakthrough to a true Christian “amicitia” (See note 26, below). I am skeptical of that idea. The evidence of Augustine on friendship suggests not the birth of a new Christian conception of friendship, but the death of ancient *amicitia*, which goes out in a blaze of glory kindled by its brief affiliation with the force that would smother it, Christian *caritas*. I think Marsha Dutton got it right in claiming, “For Augustine friendship is fundamentally of the flesh rather than of the spirit, something to take pleasure in for a time and then to transcend . . . For him friendship is not to be enjoyed in itself but rather used for the enjoyment of God.”<sup>23</sup>

*Amicitia* joined comfortably with Greek and Roman philosophy, but not with Christianity, and certainly not with the monastic life. It was elitist and intellectual. It lived from the passionate, at least loving, attachment of friends, and not least of all, it lived from the belief in a kind of moral energy called “virtus,” a human instantiation of a greater embracing love and pneuma, and the belief that this was accessible by cultivation of virtue in a good man. Most of that went overboard like ballast in the early decades of the fifth century.

Formidable forces line up against this position: Brian McGuire, James McEvoy, and Caroline White.<sup>24</sup> And let me concede from the outset that Augustine certainly

<sup>21</sup> *Augustine of Hippo* (see note 1 above), 115ff.

<sup>22</sup> <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/01141e.htm> (last accessed on Aug. 1, 2010).

<sup>23</sup> Marsha L. Dutton, “Friendship and the Love of God: Augustine’s Teaching in the *Confessions* and Aelred of Rievaulx’s Response in *Spiritual Friendship*,” *American Benedictine Review* 56 (2005): 3–40.

<sup>24</sup> James McEvoy, “‘Anima Una et Cor Unum’: Friendship and Spiritual Unity in Augustine,”

did nurture a conception of Roman “amicitia” joined to Christian “caritas.” McEvoy’s formulation, “a theory of friendship,” is perhaps too broadly put; an “ideal” might better capture its fragility. It should be noted that the two explicit references to Christian “amicitia” based on Cicero come not as an idea propounded to the Christian community and offered for imitation, but as a description and tool for analysis of particular relationships. Referring to Alypius in the tract (among the Cassiciacum works) *Contra academicos*, Augustine states that only the revelation of God or a god can impart truth to humans, and points to the accord between himself and Alypius:

Mecum enim familiarissimus amicus meus, non solum de probabilitate humanae vitae, verum etiam de ipsa religione concordat, quod est veri amici manifestissimum indicium. Siquidem amicitia rectissime atque sanctissime definita est, “rerum humanarum et divinarum cum benevolentia et caritate consensio.” (*Contra academicos* 3. 6. 13, *Patrologia Latina* 32, 941)

[My most intimate friend is in accord with me not only on the appearance of truth in human life, but on religion itself, and this is the most manifest indication of a true friend. Indeed the most correct and most sacred definition of friendship is “agreement on things human and divine with kindness and love.”]

His late letter to an old friend, Martianus, upon his conversion to Christianity expresses that conception clearly.<sup>25</sup> In it he congratulates this “friend,” who was not really a friend, for accepting baptism, since now they can be true friends, and he gives authority to his words by quoting the definition by Cicero: “Amicitia est rerum humanarum et divinarum cum benivolentia et caritate consensio.” What they had in early life was a limited and dubious agreement on things human; but human friendship is only firm when agreement on divine things is its foundation.

The idea of a union of Ciceronian friendship and Christian charity is certainly present in this letter, and yet, reading the text closely, it appears fragile and theoretical, owing more to its partly ironic congratulatory rhetoric than to an important conception of friendship promulgated here.

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*Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 53 (1986): 80–91; here 73: After conversion Augustine developed “a theory of friendship founded upon faith or wisdom, hope of immortality and love of friends ‘in God, in whom all are dear’; in other words, a purification and extension of *amicitia* effected through its interlacing with the central notions of charity and brotherhood.” Also *ibid.*, 75–76. McEvoy may have moved somewhat away from this position. Cf. in Haseldine ed., 8: Christian apostolic friendship differs from Hellenic (Pythagorean communities and the like) because friendship is a gift of the Holy Spirit given to all alike, men, women, children, simple people—not the outcome of human intellectual striving, not “an elite pursuing philosophy”; McGuire, 47–57, 87–90; White, *Christian Friendship in the Fourth Century*, 218–23 (see note 1).

<sup>25</sup> Epist. 258, CSEL 57, pp. 605–10 (*Patrologia Latina* 33, 1071–73). The letter is cited and discussed in White, *Christian Friendship*, 201–02 (see note 1).



Martianus is a “very old friend” (“antiquissimus amicus”) who once had “by your befriending me unfurled my sails to the wind, or rather, in the forefront of my other lovers, filled the sails of my lusts with the wind of praise”:

... mihi ad ea capessenda, quorum me paenitet, favendo uelificabas, immo vero vela cupitatum mearum cum ceteris tunc delectoribus meis inter praecipuos aura laudis inflabas (606).

Even after Augustine had renounced worldly things, Martianus had persisted, “persevering in kindness,” craving to make him “healthy” with “a lethal health” (“... tu quidem perseuerante beniuolentia, saluum me esse cupiebas salute mortali ...”). There is a further drop in the temperature of this already chilly reminiscence. Since agreement in divine things must precede true community in human affairs, theirs was no friendship on either score:

proinde non dico: “Nunc plenius mihi amicus es, qui eras ex parte, « sed, quantum ratio indicat, nec ex parte eras, quando nec in rebus humanis mecum amicitiam veram tenebas (607).

[I do not say, “you who once were a partial friend now are fully my friend,” but reason argues that you were not even a partial friend, because not even in human things did you keep true friendship with me.]

With the letter accelerating toward alienation, Augustine puts on the brakes:

Nolo autem succenseas...quod illo tempore, cum in vana huius mundi aestuarem, quamvis me multum amare videreris, nondum eras amicus meus, quando nec mihi ipse amicus eram sed potius inimicus (607).

[Don’t be angry. . . that you were not yet my friend, though you seemed to love me greatly when I burned for the vanities of this world. I was not my own friend then, but rather my own enemy. ]

The tone now turns upbeat, still retaining the earlier “amicitia inimicalis” as the anchoring perspective: “Gratias itaque Domino, quod te mihi amicum facere tandem aliquando dignatur” (“I thank God, then, that he has at long last deigned to make you a friend to me” [608]). But it is far from opening into a warm embrace. The threat of instability remains; their new-granted friendship will be true and constant if Martianus can sustain agreement in things both human and divine:

haec duo si mecum firmissime teneas, amicitia nostra vera et sempiterna erit... exhortor gravitatem et prudentiam tuam, ut iam etiam fidelium sacramenta percipias; decet enim aetatem et congruit, quantum credo, moribus tuis (609).

[if you can hold firmly to these two things [agreement in things human and divine]. . . I exhort you by your gravity and prudence to receive the sacraments of the faithful; it befits your age, and it suits, I believe, your way of life.]

Nothing that precedes in the letter leads us to believe that Martianus is a man of “gravity and good judgment,” just the contrary. But it is not clear whether there is an ironic dissonance between the terms of praise here and of reproach earlier. The rhetoric of Christian Latin letters by no means excludes the possibility that false or feigned praise is exhortation. While Augustine does not state explicitly that he has doubts about his character or conduct of his life (“congruit, *quantum credo*, moribus tuis” — my emphasis), it is clear that the new and true friendship is far from being sealed and is yet to be tested by his behavior. The letter places a burden on this slightly uncomfortable new friend to show himself worthy of friendship. It ends warmly, calling him (twice in five lines) “in Christo dilectissime et desiderantissime frater” (“most beloved and most desired brother in Christ”), and urging him to write and respond to Augustine’s letter. It seems unlikely that the letter marks the beginning of a close relationship.

It is a remarkably prickly document in which the “very old friend” would be unable to find any trace of a personal fondness in the attachment of their earlier days, nor any reason to feel pride or nostalgia in it. The friendship it posits is not marked by any admiration for the virtue in a good man. And one final element of cool distancing should be mentioned: the letter begins and ends with its author pointing to the small opening in his busy calendar which is available to him to write to Martianus. The beginning is emphatic: “Abripui vel potius subripui et quodam modo furatus sum memet ipsum multis occupationibus meis, ut tibi scriberem...” (“I tore myself away, or rather hid myself, I might say, stole myself, from my many obligations, to write to you . . .” [605]); and ends mildly but with the same note: “haec tibi...utcumque occupatissimus scripsi” (“I have written these things to you . . . , extremely busy though I am” [610]). It may suggest his eagerness to write; at the same time, it forcefully puts limits on the time he has to devote to this friendship.

The letter to Martianus is essentially not a letter of friendship—even its conciliatory moments are undercut by barbs: “. . . eum quem *quoquo modo* habui diu amicum, habeo jam uerum amicum” (“. . . him whom I long held—in *whatever manner it may have been*—as a friend, I now have as a true friend”); “. . . quamuis me multum amare *uidereris* . . . ” (“. . . although you *seemed perhaps* to love me much...”); “congruit, *quantum credo*, moribus tuis” (“it suited, *I believe*, your manner of life”—emphasis added). It is essentially a letter of exhortation and admonition. The friendship theme is a handle by which the newly converted “old friend” is steered into a righteous life. Accordingly it is not a conceptualizing of a grand “theory” of Christian *amicitia*, but rather a cool acknowledgement of the new life of an old and dubious friend. It ushers Martianus not into a new and model intimacy, but into the ranks of those to whom an obligatory benevolence is due. Augustine might well have welcomed a formulation of Aelred of Rievaulx to describe his relation to Martianus:

Ex caritatis perfectione plerosque diligimus, qui nobis oneri sunt et dolori; quibus licet honeste, non fecte, non simulate, sed vere voluntarieque consulimus; ad secreta tamen eos amicitiae nostrae non admittimus.

[In the perfection of charity we love very many who are a source of burden and grief to us, for whose interest we concern ourselves honorably . . . sincerely and voluntarily, but yet we do not admit these to the intimacy of our friendship.]<sup>26</sup>

Late in life, Augustine made a significant observation on friendship at the end of the *City of God*. It is a passage that is occasionally cited to show that Augustine clung to an ideal of Christian *amicitia* in his old age. The heading of Book 19, chapter 8 is “Quod amicitia bonorum segura esse non possit, dum a periculis, quae in hac vita sunt, trepidari necesse sit” (“The friendship of good men can never be carefree, because of this life’s dangers”).

In the previous chapter he had rejected the notion of a human society united by love of neighbor: human nature does not guarantee a peaceful society; do not rely on the Stoic Pneuma. The only consolation for a society governed by chaotic, violent, self-serving impulses, and for men benighted enough to think a friend is an enemy, is friendship, “fides non ficta et mutua dilectio verorum et bonorum amicorum” (“the unfeigned faith and mutual affections of genuine, loyal friends”). But far from providing untroubled comfort, friendship is a source of further anxiety: fear at the suffering and death of friends, fear of treachery by false friends:

verum etiam, ubi timor est multo amarior, ne in perfidiam, malitiam nequitiamque mutantur. Et quando ista contingunt (tanto utique plura, quanto illi sunt plures, et in pluribus locis) et in nostram notitiam perferuntur, quibus cor nostrum flagis uratur, quis potest, nisi talia sentit, advertere? Mortuos quippe audire malle: quamvis hoc sine dolore non possimus audire.

[There is the much more bitter fear, that their friendship be changed into treachery, malice and baseness. And when such things do happen (and the more numerous our friends, the more often they happen) and the news is brought to our ears, who, except one who has this experience, can be aware of the burning sorrow that ravages our hearts? Certainly we would rather hear that our friends were dead, although this also we could not hear without grief.]<sup>27</sup>

Nothing remains here of the ideals of ancient friendship; its moral purpose is altogether missing; distance generates anxiety, not love heightened through letters;

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<sup>26</sup> Aelred of Rievaulx, *De spiritali amicitia*, 2. 19, in Aelredi Rievallensis, *Opera Omnia*, ed. A. Hoste and C. H. Talbot, *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* 1, (Turnholt: Brepols, 1971), 306; *Spiritual Friendship*, trans. Mary Eugenia Laker. Cistercian Fathers Series, 5 (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1977), 74.

<sup>27</sup> Augustine, *Concerning the City of God against the Pagans*, trans. Henry Bettenson (Harmondsworth, UK, and Baltimore: Penguin, 1976), 862–63 (Bk. 19, ch. 8); PL 41, 634–35.

the main context of a positive use of friendship is death. It has become a consolation for mortality and the other miseries of human life. This narrow endorsement of friendship would seem to cast doubt on both the elitism of "*amicitia*" (evoked in the chapter title, "*Quod amicitia bonorum secura esse non possit*") and the unselective affection for all alike in a community; the limits placed on the positive value of friendship incorporate the instability that characterized his human friendships since youth.

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I will end by broadening this gloomy perspective with a look at other personalities whose friendships dominate the literature on Christian friendship in the fourth century.<sup>28</sup> Few relationships lend themselves to analysis from the point of view of Christian "*amicitia*" as that of Basil of Caesarea and Gregory of Nazianzus. Their early friendship is a model of mutual self-perfecting in the Christian life:

Their deepest desire was for a life of the spirit, of asceticism and contemplation and even at this stage, when they were absorbed in the study of pagan philosophy and rhetoric, their ideal was a Christian one, aimed at making themselves better followers of Christ.  
(White, 62)

Their friendship includes philosophy, the pursuit of virtue, and the search for truth. Gregory in fact claims that the only true friendship is that which is founded on virtue, and while his conception of virtue is rooted in devotion to God (White, 72–73), still the term itself carries the aura of elitism of classical "*amicitia*." The gradual decline of this particular friendship does not argue the impossibility of Christian friendship, since it has to do with tensions and conflicts resulting from the friends' administrative positions in the church. These took place after the period of condominium.

But in his writings for monastic communities, the real problem of friendship as the basis of communal peace rears its head. The mutual interdependence of members of the community commended friendship as the bond among brothers. But this requires equality and the willingness to recognize the legitimacy of varied talents benefiting the communities, each in its own way. But special friendships must be proscribed, since they are a potential threat to the unity and equality of the community (White, 80–85). This circumstance makes of *caritas* in the coenobitic community something different from and irreconcilable with classical *amicitia*. Here the two concepts must part ways.

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<sup>28</sup> Here I am leaning particularly on Carolinne White, *Christian Friendship* (see note 1) and Brian McGuire, *Friendship and Community* (see note 1).

Paulinus of Nola rejected *amicitia* after his conversion (White, 146–63). His breach with his teacher Ausonius is paradigmatic for a certain social reality that Paulinus embraced and Augustine resisted. With this turn from a close, intimate personal friendship based on intellectual exchange, Paulinus breaks the master-student relation. By rejecting his beloved teacher, he rejects the philosophical-pedagogic basis of ancient friendship. I take it to be an expression of Paulinus's claim of the incompatibility of Christian community and philosophical/intellectual community.

The failure of Jerome's friendships with his male friends may be more symptomatic of his character than exemplary of any problem of reconciling personal/philosophical friendship with Christianity (White, 129–45). But again, whatever the reason, a significant figure in the history of Christianity sees personal, philosophical/intellectual friendships collapse.

While circumstance damages the friendship of Basil and Gregory, not some conceptual aporia separating "*amicitia*" from "*caritas*," in the cases of Paulinus, Augustine, and Jerome there is a path to failure built into the friendships of men who combine a powerful commitment to virtue and philosophical truth (the bases of *amicitia*) with a commitment to Christian spirituality. In the cases cited the friends go down that path at varying lengths, their bonds of friendship varying in proportion to that distance. But the inner train of thought that gradually erodes, or shows up the shortcomings of, personal friendship in comparison to love of Christ, will have been at work in the lives of men like Paulinus and Augustine who grew up in Roman aristocratic traditions and experienced a transfer of devotion to the God of Christianity.

The common life is the context in which the fundamental contradiction between charity and friendship emerges sharply. The harmony of the common life requires love of all alike without distinction; it posits an equality of brothers, an imposition on the human psyche nearly as demanding as the suppression of sexuality. The leveling of the emotional life that monastic *caritas* combined with the marriage to Christ demands makes personal friendship into a mild form of adultery, an offense to the community, a source of division.

Charity has two faces: on the one hand the ecstasy of grace given by the holy spirit, the sublime, even god-like capacity to love the enemy, to prefer the sinner to the righteous, the prodigal to the good son, as a demonstration of a mercifulness and compassion that surpass ordinary human capacities; and on the other, the lukewarm, obligatory love extended to all in a community, friend and foe alike. A community regulated by a monastic rule can be of one heart and one mind, but never of equal character, never of equal intellectual gifts and goals. *Caritas* as an ideal of the shared religious life lowered the heat on the kind of passionate friendships of which Augustine was capable in his youth.

Coenobitic monasticism recognized the divisive quality of passionate friendships by forbidding special relationships, in effect banishing *amicitia* as understood by Cicero and the Christian intellectuals of the fourth century caught in its spell early in life.<sup>29</sup>

Passionate friendship of exceptional individuals admiring the virtue in the other survived in the Christian West, but not, or only exceptionally, in monastic communities. It survived as that which it was originally: an aristocratic social practice which the “best,” the “aristoi,” reserved for themselves in part as a badge of class status and occasionally even because of the psychological correctness of the insight of the ancients: shared qualities endear and generate love; the second self and the single soul shared between two is a realizable reality. If I can see myself in another man or woman, I love him or her by transferring love of my self onto the other (Aristotle’s shrewd analysis of the friendship of virtue). It survived in the dual context where Christian aristocratic culture flourished, at the courts of kings and bishops, but the discovery of a true Christian *amicitia* had to wait until Aelred of Rievaulx asserted it (against powerful resistance) in the twelfth century and the assertion required a conceptual hierarchy on which “*caritas*” ranked beneath “*amicitia*.”<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> See Jaeger, *Ennobling Love* (see note 15 above), 27–35; McGuire, *Friendship and Community*, 77–87 (see note 1). The work of Claudia Rapp on ritual brotherhood (forthcoming from Oxford University Press) in early monasticism shows a shift away from friendship to kinship terms in early monasticism in Byzantium and the West.

<sup>30</sup> On the friendship of virtue at secular and ecclesiastical courts, *Ennobling Love* passim; on Aelred and the theme of charity vs. friendship, *Ennobling Love*, 110–14; on problems in the community of Rievaulx due to Aelred’s special friendships, McGuire, *Friendship and Community*, 333–38.

## Chapter 2

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### The Gift of Friendship: Beneficial and Poisonous Friendships in the Byzantine Greek Passion of Sergius and Bacchus<sup>1</sup>

- 41- Avec des armes et des vêtements  
les amis doivent se faire plaisir;  
chacun le sait de par lui-même (par ses propres expériences)  
Ceux qui se rendent mutuellement les cadeaux  
sont les plus longtemps amis,  
si les choses réussissent à prendre bonne tournure.
- 42- On doit être un ami  
pour son ami  
et rendre cadeau pour cadeau  
on doit avoir  
rire pour rire  
et dol pour mensonge.
- 44- Tu le sais, si tu as un ami  
en qui tu as confiance  
et si tu veux obtenir un bon résultat,  
il faut mêler ton âme à la sienne  
et échanger les cadeaux

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<sup>1</sup> An earlier version of this paper was presented in a workshop on medieval friendship ("Representing Friendships: Narrative Uses of Friendship in the Middle Ages") organized at the University of Cyprus from the second to the third of November, 2007 in the framework of the British Academy Network for "Medieval Friendship Networks" (2004–2010).

et lui rendre souvent visite.

- (41)- With weapons and clothes  
Friends must give pleasure to one another;  
Everyone knows that for himself [through his own experience].  
Those who exchange presents with one another  
  
Remain friends the longest  
If things turn out successfully.
- (42)- One must be a friend  
To one's friend,  
And give present for present;  
One must have  
Laughter for laughter  
And sorrow for lies
- (44)- You know, if you have a friend  
In whom you have confidence  
And if you wish to get good results  
Your soul must blend in with his  
And you must exchange presents  
And frequently pay him visits.]

These stanzas from the first part of the *Sayings of Har* (*Sayings of the High One*),<sup>2</sup> one of the poems of the *Elder Edda*,<sup>3</sup> are used as an epigraph by the famous French anthropologist Marcel Mauss (1872–1950) for his seminal work *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies* (“*Essai sur le don. Forme et raison de l’échange dans les sociétés archaïques*,” originally published in the *L’Année Sociologique* in 1923–1924).<sup>4</sup> The first section of the *Sayings of Har*, which

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<sup>2</sup> The *Sayings of Har*, a work dated not later than the year 800 and composed most probably in Iceland or Norway, consists of a number of poetic guidelines for wise living.

<sup>3</sup> The title “Edda” applies to two distinct works of the old Norse-Icelandic literature: the *Elder Edda* or *Poetic Edda* and the *Younger Edda* or *Prose Edda*. The first is an anonymous collection of about 35 mythological and heroic poems composed between the years 800 and 1200. For an introduction and a complete English translation, see Carolyne Larrington, *The Poetic Edda*. Oxford World’s Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999). The second was written by Snorri Sturluson (1179–1241), most probably around 1222, as a textbook for young poets wishing to praise kings. Sturluson examines the content, style, and meters of the Scaldic poetry of Iceland, and offers the oldest and most complete account of Scandinavian mythology that exists. For an introduction and an English translation, see Jesse L. Byock, *The Prose Edda: Norse Mythology*. Penguin Classics (London: Penguin, 2005).

<sup>4</sup> The first English translation of Mauss’s essay prepared by Ian Cunnison was published as *The*



focuses on the friendly relationships created between hosts and guests through hospitality and gift exchange that were common among the seafaring Scandinavians, constitutes an eminently suitable epigraph for Mauss's study whose goal is to show that the exchange of gifts between individuals and groups establishes spiritual and social bonds between them. Mauss sees the gift, which can be any object, service or sacrifice, as something alive that possesses a special power, a certain spirit (*hau*) enabling it both to create and to renew a relationship between the giving and receiving parties.<sup>5</sup> Gift exchange binds people because, as Mauss himself puts it,

Présenter quelque chose à quelqu'un c'est présenter quelque chose de soi . . . On comprend clairement et logiquement, dans ce système d'idées, qu'il faille rendre à autrui ce qui est en réalité parcelle de sa nature et substance; car, accepter quelque chose de quelqu'un c'est accepter quelque chose de son essence spirituelle, de son âme.<sup>6</sup>

[To make a gift of something to someone is to make a present of some part of oneself . . . One clearly and logically realizes that one must give back to another person what is really part and parcel of his nature and substance, because to accept something from somebody is to accept some part of his spiritual essence, of his soul.]<sup>7</sup>

Thus for Mauss, as is also the case for the anonymous poet of the *Sayings of Har*, human relations are almost impossible without the involvement of things. In Mauss's words, "On mêle les âmes dans les choses; on mêle les choses dans les âmes. On mêle les vies et voilà comment les personnes et les choses mêlées sortent chacune de sa sphère et se mêlent"<sup>8</sup> ("Souls are mixed with things; things with souls. Lives are mingled together, and this is how among persons and things so intermingled, each emerges from his own sphere and mixes

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*Gift* and appeared in 1954. Cunnison's translation is now substituted by that of W. D. Halls, which was published 46 years later (Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. W. D. Halls (London and New York: Routledge, 1990).

<sup>5</sup> Mauss's interpretation of the *hau* has been criticized by other anthropologists, such as Claude Lévi-Strauss, Prytz Johansen, and Raymond Firth. For a presentation of and a response to these anthropologists' criticisms, see Marshall Sahlins, *Stone Age Economics* (London and New York: Routledge, 1972), 149–83.

<sup>6</sup> Marcel Mauss, "Essai sur le don. Forme et raison de l'échange dans les sociétés archaïques," *Année Sociologique* 1.2 (1923–1924): 1–106; rpt. in Marcel Mauss, *Sociologie et anthropologie* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1950), 145–279; here 161.

<sup>7</sup> Mauss, *The Gift*, 12.

<sup>8</sup> Mauss, "Essai sur le don," 173.

together").<sup>9</sup> Gifts are not impersonal things circulating between individuals. They are, on the contrary, personal objects that are parts of the giver's own self. Through gifts, therefore, individuals exchange their own selves, and in so doing they get close to each other. Evidently, the more things are exchanged between individuals, the more these individuals give of themselves, and the closer they become.

Throughout *The Gift* Mauss stresses the significance of obligation, which according to him is threefold: to give, to receive, and to reciprocate. The binding effect of the gift is destroyed when a recipient rejects a gift or when he or she fails to reciprocate it, because in so doing a person is also rejecting the social relationship enhanced and reinforced by gift exchange. As formulated by Mauss,

Refuser de donner, négliger d'inviter, comme refuser de prendre, équivaut à déclarer la guerre; c'est refuser l'alliance et la communion. Ensuite, on donne parce qu'on y est forcé, parce que le donataire a une sorte de droit de propriété sur tout ce qui appartient au donateur.<sup>10</sup>

[To refuse to give, to fail to invite, just as to refuse to accept, is tantamount to declaring war; it is to reject the bond of alliance and commonality. Also, one gives because one is compelled to do so, because the recipient possesses some kind of right of property over anything that belongs to the donor.]<sup>11</sup>

There is also another consequence if one violates the law of reciprocity inherent in the gift, which is implied in the very word "gift" that, as Mauss acutely observes, has a twofold meaning in Germanic languages: it means both present and poison.<sup>12</sup> The gift's positive spirit remains alive, and is transported to its bearer only if he or she offers another gift of equivalent value in return, if, in other words, he or she also accepts to share a part of him or herself with the giver. If the person fails to do so, the gift's spirit dies, and its positive power is then transformed into a negative one; the gift under these circumstances

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<sup>9</sup> Mauss, *The Gift*, 20.

<sup>10</sup> Mauss, "Essai sur le don," 162–63.

<sup>11</sup> Mauss, *The Gift*, 13.

<sup>12</sup> Marcel Mauss, "Gift, Gift," trans. Koen Decoster, *The Logic of the Gift: Toward an Ethic of Generosity*, ed. Alan D. Shrift (New York and London: Routledge, 1997), 28–32. (Originally published in *Mélanges offerts à M. Charles Andler par ses amis et ses élèves*, ed. Julien Rouge (Strasbourg: Istra, 1924); reprinted in Marcel Mauss, *Oeuvres*, vol. 3: *Cohésion sociale et divisions de la sociologie*, ed. Viktor Karády. Le Sens commun (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1969). See also Mauss, *The Gift*, 61–63.

becomes a poison at the recipient's hands.

In *The Gift*, Mauss does not analyze the types of human relationships resulting from gift exchange. Friendship, which is seen by the anonymous Scandinavian poet as the relationship of gift exchange par excellence, is not discussed by Mauss. For the Scandinavian poet, on the other hand, who focuses much on friendship, gifts do not only create friendships, but they also sustain them and make them flourish well: "Those who exchange presents with one another / Remain friends the longest / . . . (41) / . . . if you have a friend / In whom you have confidence / And if you wish to get good results / . . . you must exchange presents . . ." (44).

The friendship theory incorporated in the *Sayings of Har* and in Mauss's notion of the gift as the means of establishing, enhancing, or destroying human relations can be also detected in another literary medieval text coming from a completely different tradition. This is a Byzantine Greek hagiographical narrative,<sup>13</sup> the *Passion of Sergius and Bacchus*, which has come down to us in two versions.<sup>14</sup> The old version is anonymous, and is preserved in an eleventh-century manuscript.<sup>15</sup> Unfortunately, the date of the original text's production, as is the case with most Passions, cannot be established with accuracy. According to Enzo Lodi, who does not offer sufficient evidence, it was written in the early fourth century not long after the alleged date of Sergius's death, that is October 7, 309 C.E.<sup>16</sup> David Woods suggests that the text was written in the fifth century. According to Woods, the anonymous author of the *Passion*

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<sup>13</sup> Mauss's gift theory has proved a useful tool at medievalists' hands in their attempt to approach medieval hagiography and its workings. See, for example, the recent monograph of Emma Campbell, *The Gift: Kinship and Community in Old French Hagiography*, Gallica 12 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2008). Concerning Byzantine Studies, so far only art historians have employed Mauss's work. See Anthony Cutler, "Significant Gifts: Patterns of Exchange in Late Antique, Byzantine, and Early Islamic Diplomacy," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 38.1 (2008): 79–101; and id., "Gifts and Gift Exchange as Aspects of the Byzantine, Arab, and Related Economies," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 55 (2001): 247–78.

<sup>14</sup> In addition to the Greek texts of the *Passion*, there are Latin and Eastern versions: Syriac, Arabic, Armenian and Coptic, which constitute adaptations of the Greek original. An early Latin version, for example, has been published in the *Acta Sanctorum*, Oct. III, 863–70, and a Syriac version has been published in *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum* vol. 3, ed. Paulus Bedjan (Paris and Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1890–1897), 283–322.

<sup>15</sup> Van den I. Gheyn, "Passio antiquior SS. Sergii et Bacchi Graece nunc primum edita," *Analecta Bollandiana* 14 (1895): 373–95; here 373–75.

<sup>16</sup> Enzo Lodi, *Enchiridion Euchologicum Fontium Liturgicorum*. Bibliotheca Ephemerides Liturgicae. Subsidia, 15 (Rome: C. L. V. Edizioni Liturgiche, 1979), 227–30.

used a historical source written between 363 and 425, which referred to the sufferings of two confessors under the reign of Julian the Apostate (361–363) and not that of Maximianus (305–311), as stated in the Greek texts.<sup>17</sup> In her more recent study, Elizabeth Key Fowden disagrees with Woods, and argues that the martyrdom of Sergius and Bacchus should be placed neither in the reign of Maximianus nor in that of Julian but in the later phase of Maximinus's (310–313) persecution.<sup>18</sup> Based on literary, epigraphic, and archaeological evidence, Fowden provides a more accurate date; she dates the Greek original in the mid-fifth century.<sup>19</sup>

As for the second Byzantine Greek version, it is an adaptation of the older version, and it was composed in the second half of the tenth century in the framework of Symeon Metaphrastes's hagiographical project.<sup>20</sup> For the purposes of the present chapter, both versions will be used.<sup>21</sup> It has to be pointed out, however, that even though the theme of friendship is central in both texts, the Metaphrastic version presents it in even greater detail.<sup>22</sup> In the Metaphrastic text, for example, some of the heroes are depicted discussing their

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<sup>17</sup> David Woods, "The Emperor Julian and the Passion of Sergius and Bacchus," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 5.3 (1997): 335–67.

<sup>18</sup> Elizabeth Key Fowden, *The Barbarian Plain: Saint Sergius Between Rome and Iran*. Transformation of the Classical Heritage, 28 (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1999), 12–17.

<sup>19</sup> Fowden, *The Barbarian Plain*, 26–28.

<sup>20</sup> Symeon and his team undertook the production of a multivolume work that was a large collection of saints' lives for the twelve months of the year. The sources for the collection were previous hagiographical works which were adapted for Symeon's new audiences. For Symeon Metaphrastes and his project, see Christian Høgel, *Symeon Metaphrastes: Rewriting and Canonization* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, University of Copenhagen, 2002). Concerning how Symeon and his team rework the Passion of Sergius and Bacchus in particular, see Christian Høgel, "The Reduction of Symeon Metaphrastes: Literary Aspects of the Metaphrastic Martyria," *Metaphrasis: Redactions and Audiences in Middle Byzantine Hagiography*, ed. Christian Høgel. KULT, 59 (Oslo: The Research Council of Norway, 1996), 7–21; here 18–21.

<sup>21</sup> The older version is edited by Gheyn, "Passion antiquior SS. Sergii et Bacchi," 375–95. For references to this text, the abbreviation *S&B* will be used. The edition of the Metaphrastic version used here is that of *Patrologia Graeca* 115, 1005–32. This text will be referred to as *Metaphrastes*.

<sup>22</sup> In his work on Symeon, Høgel pointed out that a number of themes, such as loyalty, love, and asceticism are normally stressed and elaborated on in the Metaphrastic versions more than in the original texts. See Høgel, "The Reduction of Symeon Metaphrastes," 14–15. A comparative examination of *S&B* with its Metaphrastic version shows that friendship is another theme that should be added to Høgel's list.

relations with their friends: they openly express their thoughts about and their expectations from their friendships as well as their reluctance or indifference in dissolving them. Additionally, the narrator has the tendency to comment on these discussions, and on the friends' attitudes toward their friends. The author of the older text, on the contrary, presents less often the heroes' views about the relationships binding them. He, however, allows his audience to discern both the heroes' and his own perspectives, which in most cases the Metaphrastic text stresses and elaborates.

The story of the old text, which is basically followed in the Metaphrastic version, reads as follows. The Emperor Maximianus, an infamous Christian persecutor, has in his bodyguard two high officers, Sergius and Bacchus, who are secret Christians. The two officers are also Maximianus's friends. The prosperity and the privileges, which Sergius and Bacchus enjoy due to their friendship with the emperor, arouse the envy of other members of the imperial bodyguard, who inform Maximianus that his dear friends, because they are Christians, do not follow his law according to which everybody should worship the official gods of the Roman Empire (*S&B*, §1–3). Even though Maximianus does not believe what he hears, he decides to test the two men. He orders them along with the whole bodyguard to follow him to the temple of Zeus to offer a sacrifice to the gods. While in the temple, Maximianus notices that everybody is present except his officers, and asks for them to be fetched. The emperor's servants find the saints outside the temple praying and singing hymns against idolatry, and take them before Maximianus, who orders them to sacrifice and partake in the ritual meal. Both of them refuse, and start defending their faith. Full of anger Maximianus takes away from the two men the tokens of his friendship, the high offices he offered them; he strips them of the symbols of their power and high position, their belts, cloaks, and golden torques (*maniakia*), and has them dressed in women's garments and chained around their necks. In this fashion they are paraded through the city to the palace (*S&B*, §4–8). After a second unsuccessful attempt to convince the two heroes to renounce Christianity, Maximianus decides to bind their whole bodies in heavy chains and to send them to the *dux* of the province of Augusta Euphratensis, Antiochus, a friend of Sergius, who had acquired his post as *dux* through Sergius's recommendation. Along with the saints, the emperor sends to Antiochus a letter in which he orders him to restore them to their previous status, and to offer them more privileges than the ones they used to have if they reject their faith. If they keep insisting on their Christianity, Antiochus is asked to kill them (*S&B*, §8–11).

The saints travel from city to city until they arrive in Barbalissus, Antiochus's seat. During the saints' long journey, and first night in Barbalissus, an angel

visits them with the intention to encourage them for the difficult days that will follow. When they are brought before Antiochus, the *dux* tries without any success to make them sacrifice to the gods. He then sends his friend Sergius to prison, and tortures Bacchus who dies after being severely beaten for several hours. At the moment of his death a bodiless voice from heaven welcomes him into God's kingdom. Antiochus orders his corpse not to be buried but exposed to dogs and wild animals, which protect it instead. Later some monks collect the saint's corpse and bury it in one of the caves where they live. The next night Bacchus appears to a grieving Sergius whom he consoles and encourages (*S&B*, §11–20).

On the following day Antiochus goes to the fortress of Sura and takes his friend Sergius with him. Referring to their friendship, he expresses his reluctance to punish to death a man who helped him in the past. Sergius tells him that he expects nothing from him in return, and that he should go on and torture his body, which he disregards. Full of anger Antiochus makes Sergius wear a pair of shoes spiked inside with long nails, and forces him to run nine miles in front of the ducal chariot to the next fortress, Tetrapyrgium. When they arrive in Tetrapyrgium, Sergius is sent to prison where his feet are healed by an angel. The next day, when Antiochus sees that Sergius is restored to health, he accuses him of sorcery and retries to persuade him to offer sacrifice to the Roman gods. Realizing that Sergius is determined not to do so, Antiochus inflicts upon him the same punishment. Sergius has another nine-mile journey to the fortress of Rusafa this time. At Rusafa Sergius is given a last chance to repent, and since he refuses, he is decapitated (*S&B*, §20–28).

At the time of his death the same voice heard before Bacchus's death summons him to heaven, and a chasm appears where the martyr's blood is shed to prevent the pagans from approaching and stepping on it. Some people bury the saint's corpse at the place of execution. A long time later Christians from Sura attempt to steal the saint's relics, and he prevents them through a huge fire coming from his grave. The soldiers of Rusapha who see the fire take it as an enemy attack and arrive armed at the spot. Eventually, the thieves build a small shrine to the saint instead, and leave the place. Later fifteen bishops gather to consecrate a new shrine within the fortress of Rusafa to which the martyr's remains are removed on the anniversary of his death (seventh of October). According to the hagiographer, up until his time many miracles have occurred in both shrines, and wild animals gather at the saint's first shrine on his feast-day every year without harming the bystanders (*S&B*, §28–30).

In the two versions of the Passion of Sergius and Bacchus, friendship plays an important role not only on a thematic, but also on a narrative level. In these texts, friendship is not just a recurrent theme, but it becomes a whole network connecting the story's protagonists. The Emperor Maximianus is a friend of the

two saints who are friends with each other.<sup>23</sup> Antiochus, the friend of Sergius, becomes a friend of his friend Bacchus, and a friend of another friend, the emperor who due to his friendship with Sergius offers Antiochus the high office of *dux*. In a significant place in the text we also see another friendship, one that is developed between the two martyrs and God.<sup>24</sup> As the following analysis will show, the saints' friendship with God is the source of their own friendship.

On a narrative level, friendship determines the structure of the text as it is the kernel around which the narrative develops. The most important friendships represented in the Passion, which will be analyzed here, are the following four: the friendship of Sergius and Bacchus, that of Sergius and Antiochus, the common friendship of the two martyrs with the Emperor Maximianus, and that between the saints and God. The two main protagonists' friendship is prominently present throughout the whole text as is the case with the saints' common friendship with God, which, as already mentioned is strongly related to the friendship they share with each other. The friendship between the two saints and the emperor is mainly represented in the first part of the text whereas the friendship of Sergius and Antiochus is more fully presented in the Passion's last part.

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<sup>23</sup> John Boswell has erroneously approached the close relationship between Sergius and Bacchus in sexual terms. See John Boswell, *The Marriage of Likeness: Same-Sex Unions in Pre-Modern Europe* (London: Harper Collins, 1994), 146–61. See also John Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance and Homosexuality: Gay People in Western Europe from the Beginning of the Christian Era to the Fourteenth Century* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1980). In the latter book, Boswell suggests that the "passionate" friendships expressed in the writings of ecclesiastical men function as proof of these men's homosexuality. For criticism of Boswell's reading of male and female friendships depicted in late antique and medieval texts as homosexual relations, see, for example, Joan Cadden's review of *The Marriage of Likeness* in *Speculum* 71.3 (1996): 693–96, and Jeremy Duq Adams' review of *Christianity, Social Tolerance and Homosexuality*, *Speculum* 56.2 (1981): 350–55.

<sup>24</sup> Even though none of the words meaning friends or friendship are used in the examined texts to describe the relationship between the two martyrs and God, the appearance of such words in other Passions to refer to this particular relationship legitimizes the treatment of Sergius's and Bacchus's relationship with God as friendship (see, for example, the *Passion of Athanasius*, §6 see reference in footnote 25). In fact, the notion of friendship between martyrs and God is a topos in early Christian texts. For the friendship between martyrs and God, see Peter Brown, *The Making of Late Antiquity*. The Carl Newell Jackson Lectures (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1978), 54–80; David Konstan, "Problems in the History of Christian Friendship," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 4.1 (1996): 87–113; id., *Friendship in the Classical World*, 167–70, and Andrew Louth, "Hagiography," *The Cambridge History of Early Christian Literature*, ed. Frances Young, Lewis Awes, and Andrew Louth (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 358–61.

Of course, friendships are depicted also in other Passions, such as the *Passion of Athanasius*,<sup>25</sup> the *Passion of Polyeuctus*,<sup>26</sup> the *Passion of Hermylus and Stratonikus*,<sup>27</sup> and the *Passion of Eudoxus*.<sup>28</sup> In the *Passion of Athanasius*, which is obviously influenced by the popular *S&B*, it is stated that Athanasius, a secret Christian, is a friend of the aforementioned Emperor Maximianus and our Sergius and Bacchus. As a sign of his friendship toward Athanasius, the Emperor raises him to the high rank of eparch: he appoints him eparch of Egypt. Before leaving for Egypt, Athanasius invites his friends Sergius and Bacchus with whom he shares the same faith to say goodbye. During Athanasius's stay in Egypt, some envious people who hear about his religion inform the emperor. At the beginning the emperor reacts with disbelief, but as he hears from more people about Athanasius's Christianity he orders the *proconsul* of Egypt to arrest his former friend and to kill him unless he renounces his faith. Eventually, the *proconsul* commands Athanasius's decapitation. As is obvious, friendship here does not have the complex function it has in the *Passion of Sergius and Bacchus* where friendly relations involve more persons, and dominate the whole narrative. Athanasius's friendship with both the emperor and the two other martyrs, Sergius and Bacchus, is briefly mentioned, and it does not influence to a very important degree the text's structure. Friendship plays a less significant role also in the other Passions mentioned above.

The *Passion of Polyeuctus* opens with the friendly relationship between a Christian called Nearchus and a pagan whose name is Polyeuctus. Nearchus is afraid that the emperor's hostile policy against the Christians will set him apart from his friend. While revealing his fears about their friendship to Polyeuctus, Nearchus is informed by his friend that he has also become a follower of Christ. In order to manifest his Christianity, Polyeuctus smashes some statues of pagan gods. He is then arrested and led to martyrdom. Just before his death, he turns to his friend Nearchus, who witnesses his last moments; he wishes him good health, and asks him to remember him. The presentation of Polyeuctus's

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<sup>25</sup> See *Analecta hierosolymitikes stachilogias*, vol. 5, ed. Athanasios Papadopoulos-Kerameus (Saint Petersburg: V. Kirsvaoum, 1898), 360–67.

<sup>26</sup> See *Patrologia Graeca* 114, 418–29.

<sup>27</sup> See *Patrologia Graeca* 114, 553–65.

<sup>28</sup> See *Patrologia Graeca* 115, 617–33. Apart from the *Passion of Athanasius*, the other three are included in the Metaphrastic collection. The texts referred to here are the Metaphrastic versions.



friendship with Nearchus takes up more narrative space than those of Athanasius's friendships discussed above. However, in Polyeuctus's *Passion*, friendship does not acquire the complexity it has in the *Passion* of Sergius and Bacchus.

In the last two texts, the *Passion of Hermylus and Stratonicus* and the *Passion of Eudoxus*, friendship is even more briefly represented. In the *Passion of Hermylus and Stratonicus*, a friendly relationship is introduced in the second part of the text. Hermylus, who is arrested, tortured and enclosed in prison, has by coincidence as a guardian his friend Stratonicus. Seeing his friend's sufferings, Stratonicus expresses his deep sorrow, which is noticed by the emperor's soldiers. In what follows, Stratonicus is arrested as a Christian and tortured like his friend. Both friends are killed by decapitation. In the *Passion of Eudoxus*, the theme of friendship appears toward the end of the narrative, just before Eudoxus's execution. Like Stratonicus, Eudoxus's friend Zenon, experiences deep sorrow for the violent death and the loss of his friend. Realizing his friend's suffering, Eudoxus turns to Zenon and asks him to stop crying because God will soon reunite them. Encouraged by his friend's words, Zenon reveals his Christian identity. As a result he is also arrested, tortured and killed. Seven days after his death, Eudoxus appears to his wife in a dream asking her to tell another friend of his called Macarius to go to the *praetorium*. Following his dead friend's order, Macarius goes to the *praetorium* where he is arrested, tortured and executed, like his friend Eudoxus and Eudoxus's other friend, Zenon. In both the *Passion of Hermylus and Stratonicus* and the *Passion of Eudoxus*, friendship is a rather secondary narrative element serving the same function: it is the means through which some of the heroes' Christian identity is revealed.

Interestingly, the types of friendship appearing in all these four *Passions*, and almost all the elements characterizing them (friendships based on virtue, on equality, on gift-exchange, friendships between dissimilar personalities, friendships between men of the same or of different religion, friendships characterized by mutuality or secrecy, and friendships that turn into enmities) can be detected in the *Passion* of Sergius and Bacchus, the *Passion* that could be described as a literary treatise on friendship. However, the friendships represented in the *Passion* discussed below are much more developed than in the *Passions* mentioned above.

In the remaining part of this chapter, I will examine each of the four main friendships depicted in the *Passion* of Sergius and Bacchus, their characteristics, their implications, and their interrelations. Since most of these friendships are

strongly associated with gift giving, Mauss's gift theory appears at first to offer a suitable theoretical framework for the reading of this Passion through the perspective of friendship that is the theme of the present volume.<sup>29</sup> In addition, as already stated, reciprocity is enormously essential in Mauss's theory. Reciprocity is also vital in a friendly relationship in which people have mutual feelings of love and affection, and they are good and pleasant to each other, as the anonymous Scandinavian poet also points out. Through Mauss's notion of the gift as obligatory reciprocity, friendship can be seen as a form of gift shared by two or more people. Therefore, in this chapter friendship as such is treated as a gift or poison, on the one hand, and as a relationship rooted in gift giving, on the other. Of course, this view of friendship is based on its treatment in the Passion itself, as the following analysis will show.

Mauss's gift theory, however, does not suffice for a fuller interpretation and better understanding of the various and complex friendships developed among the heroes of the examined Passion who operate both in and out of the economic spheres established through their gifts. When a hero, for instance, destroys the economic circle of gift exchange by giving without expecting something in return, his behavior might be approached through Jacques Derrida's theory of the gift articulated in his reading of Mauss.

In his work *Given Time: I. Counterfeit Money*,<sup>30</sup> Derrida criticizes Mauss's notion of reciprocation, which reduces the gift to a commodity. For Derrida, a real gift is not economic: "Pour qu'il y ait don, il faut qu'il n'y ait pas de réciprocité, de retour, d'échange, de contre-don ni de dette"<sup>31</sup> ("For there to be a gift, there must be no reciprocity, return, exchange, countergift or debt").<sup>32</sup> If

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<sup>29</sup> The study of culture and particularly literature from the perspective of friendship is a recent trend in Byzantine Studies resulting from both the work of Margaret Mullett and her wide-ranging project "Medieval Friendship Networks" sponsored by the British Academy (<http://www.univie.ac.at/amicitia/Introduction.htm> (last accessed on Aug. 10, 2010)). See also Margaret Mullett, "Byzantium: A Friendly Society?" *Past and Present* 118.1 (1988): 3–24; eadem, "Friendship in Byzantium: Genre, Topos and Network," *Friendship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Julian Haseldine (Stroud: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1999), 166–84. For other approaches to Byzantine friendship, see Franz Tinnefeld, "Freundschaft in den Briefen des Michael Psellos: Theorie und Wirklichkeit," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 22 (1973): 151–68; and Peter Hatlie, "Friendship and the Byzantine Iconoclast Age," *Friendship in Medieval Europe*, 137–52.

<sup>30</sup> Jacques Derrida, *Given Time: I. Counterfeit Money*, trans. Peggy Kamuf (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), originally published as *Donner le temps*. Vol. 1. *La Fausse monnaie* (1991).

<sup>31</sup> Jacques Derrida, *La Fausse monnaie* (Paris: Galilée, 1991), 24.

<sup>32</sup> Derrida, *Given Time*, 12.

the gift requires reciprocity, then it is impossible; it ceases to be a gift and it becomes a product. Derrida concludes that there is no pure gift because there is no gift, which remains outside the economic circle of exchange. A donor and a recipient do not fail to acknowledge a gift as such, and inevitably this recognition requires exchange; it creates expectations and obligations of return. However, Derrida's notion of the impossibility of the real gift is not always valid. As the examination of a friend's treatment of the gift in the *Passion of Sergius and Bacchus* will show, there are gifts, which are not seen as gifts, since they are offered without any desire for counter gifts.

As already implied, not all the friendships formed among the heroes of the examined *Passion* are based on gift exchange. The friendship between Sergius and Bacchus which is singled out, and functions as an example of the ideal human friendship appears, as it will be argued, as a lively paradigm of a Christianized version of Aristotle's theory of perfect friendship that becomes most fully articulated in Books VIII and IX of his *Nicomachean Ethics*.<sup>33</sup> In the case of Sergius and Bacchus, friendship itself becomes a very precious gift eternally reciprocated between the two friends.

According to Aristotle, perfect friendship is a mutually accepted reciprocal relation of good will and affection between two individuals sharing an intense interest in and love for each other on the basis of virtue (*NE* VIII.2, 3). Such a friendship is possible only between virtuous individuals who are equal in all levels: social, financial, educational, and intellectual. Perfect friends have the same thoughts, wishes and goals in life; they have one mind and one soul in two bodies, and they come to identify with one another (*NE* VIII.5, 6; IX.8). In other words, the real friend treats his friend as his own self, and he wishes and does what is good and pleasant for the sake of his friend. In order to be able always to act for his friend's benefit, the perfect friend spends a lot of time with his friend. The one friend stimulates the other by sharing in the common aspiration toward wisdom through which both they themselves and their friendship are perfected (*NE* IX.9, 10, 12).

Of course, neither the anonymous author of *S&B* nor the Metaphrastes uses the terminology of Mauss, Derrida, or even Aristotle. Most probably the two authors were not familiar even with Aristotle's friendship theory. It seems, nevertheless, that the Aristotelian tradition was consciously or unconsciously incorporated into Byzantine literature.<sup>34</sup> On the one hand, the *Passion of Sergius*

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<sup>33</sup> Henceforth *NE*.

<sup>34</sup> See Margaret Mullett, *Theophylact of Ochrid: Reading the Letters of a Byzantine Archbishop*. Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs, 2 (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1997),

and *Bacchus* provides in both of its Greek versions an example of a Byzantine literary treatment of the classical friendship tradition,<sup>35</sup> and on the other, it anticipates modern theories of gift and gift relations, such as those of Mauss and Derrida. Being deeply concerned with friendship, this *Passion* creates a tension between ideal friendship and friendship as commodity, and between true gift giving and practical commodity exchange.

### Sergius and Bacchus

According to Aristotle's friendship theory, Sergius and Bacchus are the perfect friends, since the one is presented as the image of the other. Their friendship is rooted on virtue and equality. Both of them are young, talented, wise, virtuous, and special. They have the same profession, that of the soldier, which they practice with the same competence. It is because of their great abilities as soldiers and of their perfect character that they are granted two of the highest offices in the emperor's horse guard: Sergius is the chief junior officer (*primicerius scholae gentilium*), whereas Bacchus is the second officer of the same guard (*secundocerus scholae gentilium*).

The exceptional and extraordinary qualities which only Sergius and Bacchus share are pointed out at the outset. They are introduced into the narrative with the following words: "ὥσπερ τινες ἀστέρες ἐπίγειοι φαῖδρον ἐκλάμποντες σέλας" ("they [were] like some stars shining brightly over the earth") (*S&B*, §1).<sup>36</sup> Through the star metaphor, which is repeated in the *Metaphrastic* version (*Metaphrastes*, §I), the narrator describes the two men's perfect likeness in perfection that brightens the whole earth, and inevitably provokes other people's envy (*S&B*, §2; *Metaphrastes*, §I).

The two friends are extremely close. They never separate from each other. They work together, they meet their other friends together, and they spend all their free time with each other. The one always wishes to be in the company of the other, which is pleasant and beneficial for both parties. As stated in the

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112, and Mullett, "Byzantium: A Friendly Society?" 9.

<sup>35</sup> For the use of the classical friendship tradition by early Christian writers, see David Konstan, *Friendship in the Classical World*. Key Themes in Ancient History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 149–76; Rosemary Rader, *Breaking Boundaries: Male/Female Friendship in Early Christian Communities* (New York and Toronto: Paulist Press, 1983), and Caroline White, *Christian Friendship in the Fourth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

<sup>36</sup> The English translation of the old *Passion* with some improvements of my own is from Boswell, *The Marriage of Likeness*, 375–90; here 376.

Passion, “ψάλλοντες ἀεὶ καὶ λέγοντες ἰδοὺ δὴ τί καλὸν ἢ τί τερπνόν, ἀλλ’ ἢ τὸ κατοικεῖν ἀδελφούς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό” (“[Sergius and Bacchus] were always singing and saying: ‘How good it is and how pleasant for brothers to live together!’” Ps. 132:1; *S&B*, §2).<sup>37</sup> The two men are always depicted together in the narrative, unless they are forced by political authorities to separate. This occurs only once toward the end of the two heroes’ lives, when Antiochus imprisons Sergius and has Bacchus tortured and killed (*S&B*, §18; *Metaphrastes*, §XIII). The omniscient narrator does not mention when the two men became friends, yet the fact that they are introduced in the narrative together, and that they are represented as close friends spending all their time together gives the impression that they were always with each other sharing a common life and destiny, the one friend giving himself totally to the other.

The two heroes are so equal and similar both in body and spirit that the one blends with the other, and they become one person or “one soul” in Aristotle’s terminology. They speak simultaneously, and they say the same things, a fact indicating that they have a common way of talking and thinking. It is as if they have the same mind and mouth: “ἔψαλλον οἱ δύο ὁμοῦ, καὶ προσηύχοντο ὡς ἐξ ἑνὸς στόματος” (“The two chanted psalms together and prayed as if with one mouth;” *S&B*, §12).<sup>38</sup> During their trial of martyrdom, for example, they respond together to the torturer’s questions and statements by using the same words in the same manner, and by behaving in exactly the same ways. It is not only the two martyrs who act as if they were one and the same person, but also the narrators and other persons in the narrative. The emperor, for instance, treats both of them in the same manner (*S&B*, §6–7; *Metaphrastes*, §III–V). God sends to both of them the same dream at the same time (*S&B*, §12, §15; *Metaphrastes*, §IX, §X). Before their deaths, as already stated, each martyr is summoned to God’s kingdom with the same divine voice that addresses the two of them in a similar way (*S&B*, §19, §28; *Metaphrastes*, §XIII).

The strongest bond of the two friends, which is also the most essential characteristic of their friendship, is their common secret, that is their illegal faith, which sets them apart from all their other friends and the whole anti-Christian world they live in. In other words, their friendship is a friendship in God; it originates mainly in and develops through their common love for God: “Οἱ γὰρ ὁμοφρόνως κεκτημένοι εἰς Χριστὸν τὴν ἀγάπην εἰκότως . . . ἀλλήλων οὐκ ἐχωρίζοντο, οὐ σχέσει φύσεως, ἀλλὰ τρόπῳ πίστεως συνδεδεσμένοι” (“Being as one in their love for Christ, they were undivided

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<sup>37</sup> Boswell, *The Marriage of Likeness*, 376.

<sup>38</sup> Boswell, *The Marriage of Likeness*, 382.

from each other . . . , united not by the way of nature, but in the manner of faith;” *S&B*, §2).<sup>39</sup>

Sergius and Bacchus have the same goals: to acquire Christian wisdom and to reach God. These goals, which govern their whole lives, are achieved through their very friendship. They devote their free time to the study and discussion of the Bible and to prayer (*S&B*, §1; *Metaphrastes*, §I). In so doing, the one friend assists and motivates the other in the attainment of spirituality, and in his movement toward God. The two men’s friendship that provides them with holy wisdom, and makes them see God is in turn perfected through each friend’s self-improvement, and their common contact with the divine. This friendship, like the perfect friendship defined by Aristotle, benefits each of the two men and receives benefits itself as a result of the virtues the two friends acquire through their shared life. Of course, in the case of Sergius and Bacchus the continuous improvement of both the two friends and their relationship is presented in Christian terms. Their friendship is the perfect union and likeness of two individuals whose being is the image of God.

In general, the Christian friendship shared by Sergius and Bacchus can be described in the same way in which the famous Greek Church Father Gregory of Nazianzus (329/30–390) portrays his own friendship with another celebrated Church Father, Basil the Great (329–379) in one of his autobiographical poems. Their relationship can be also seen as a Christianized version of the Aristotelian friendship:

Τοῦτον λόγου τε καὶ στέγης καὶ σκευμάτων  
κοινωνὸν εἶχον . . .  
τὰ πάντα μὲν δὴ κοινά, καὶ ψυχὴ μία  
δυοῖν δεύουσα σωμάτων διάστασιν.  
ὁ δ’ εἰς ἓν ἡμᾶς διαφερόντως ἤγαγεν,  
τοῦτ’ ἦν· θεός τε καὶ πόθος τῶν κρεισσόνων.  
ἐξ οὗ γὰρ εἰς τοσοῦτο θάρσους ἤλθομεν,  
ὥστ’ ἐκλαλῆσαι καὶ τὰ καρδίας βάθη,  
πλέον συνεσφίγγημεν ἀλλήλοις πόθῳ.  
τὸ γὰρ ὁμόγνωμον πιστὸν εἰς συμφυΐαν.

(*De Vita Sua*, 226–36)

[With him I shared my studies, my lodgings and  
my thoughts . . .  
All things we held in common and one soul  
united our two separate bodies.  
What particularly brought us together

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<sup>39</sup> Boswell, *The Marriage of Likeness*, 376.

was this: God and a desire for higher things.  
 For from the moment we achieved such a degree of confidence  
 that we divulged to each other even the deep secrets of our hearts,  
 we were bound together all the more closely by our longing,  
 for shared ideals are a strong incentive to close friendship.]<sup>40</sup>

The friendship of Sergius and Bacchus becomes even stronger and closer to perfection as they move to their complete union with the divine through the tortures and the violent death they suffer for God's love. Their common tortures bring the close friends even closer, and manifest the great power and the divine source of their friendship. The sufferings of the one friend support and strengthen the other in his own pains inflicted simultaneously. Their friendship thus makes their cruel and disgraceful tortures easier, and even pleasant: "Διὸ καὶ ὑπὸ τῇ ἀλύσει τῇ σιδηρᾷ βαίνοντες ἐκεῖνοι καὶ τοῖς δεσμοῖς, ἀλύπως μεθ' ἡδονῆς ἔψαλλον· Ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ τῶν μαρτυριῶν σου ἐτέρφθημεν, Κύριε, ὡς ἐπὶ παντὶ πλούτῳ" ("While they were walking [bound] with iron chains and fetters they chanted undisturbed and with pleasure: 'in the course of martyrdom, we found more joy, our Lord, than in any richness'") (Ps. 118.14; *Metaphrastes*, §IX; *S&B*, §12).

The two friends' superhuman courage before horrendous pain, and their wise, heroic, and identical responses—often including excerpts from the Holy Scriptures—to the torturers' statements and questions prove that they are united with God, who speaks through them. In one of their prayers, the saints say in one voice the following:

Σύ, Κύριε, ἐνετείλω ἡμῖν λέγων· Ἐπὶ ἡγεμόνας καὶ βασιλεῖς ἀχθήσεσθε ἕνεκεν ἐμοῦ, ὅταν δὲ παραδώσωσιν ὑμᾶς, μὴ μεριμνήσητε πῶς ἢ τί λαλήσητε, δοθήσεται γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ τί λαλήσητε, οὐ γὰρ ὑμεῖς ἐστὲ οἱ λαλοῦντες, ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν τὸ λαλοῦν ἐν ὑμῖν.

[You, Lord, commanded us, saying, "You will be brought before governors and kings, for my sake. When you are delivered, do not worry about how [to speak] and what to say, at that time the words will be given to you; for it is not you who will be speaking, but the Spirit of your Father speaking in you."]<sup>41</sup>

(Matt. 10: 18–20; *S&B*, §7)

Thus the two friends' representation throughout the narrative as one person points to an understanding of their oneness with Christ. The unity of the two

<sup>40</sup> Gregory of Nazianzus, *Autobiographical Poems*, ed. and trans. Caroline White. Cambridge Medieval Classics, 6 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 27.

<sup>41</sup> Boswell, *The Marriage of Likeness*, 379.

perfect friends in Aristotelian theory is in Christian contexts translated into the friends' simultaneous unification with each other and with the divine. Christian friends, such as Sergius and Bacchus, are members of one and the same body, the body of Christ.

The friendship in which the one friend finds the other in a union with the divine is eternal; it survives death and lives forever in heaven where its divine status is fully realized, since in afterlife the divine mysteries are fully revealed to God's saints. In the case of Sergius and Bacchus, however, the ultimate and everlasting union of the two friends in heaven where they will be in an absolute friendship in and with God is for a while postponed. The two friends, who spend their lives together, are forcefully separated at death. In *S&B*, Bacchus's death causes Sergius great distress because he thinks that he is left alone<sup>42</sup>:

Ἦν δὲ ὁ μακάριος Σέργιος σφόδρα λυπούμενος καὶ ἀδημονῶν, ἀπολυφθεὶς τοῦ μακαρίου Βάκχου, καὶ δακρῶν ἔλεγεν· Οἶμοι, ἀδελφεὲ καὶ συστρατιῶτά μου Βάκχε, οὐκέτι ψάλλομεν λέγοντες· ἰδοὺ δὴ τί καλὸν ἢ τί τερπνόν, ἀλλ' ἢ τὸ κατοικεῖν ἀδελφοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό. Ἀπεζεύχθης γάρ μου ἀναβάς εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, καταλειπὼν με ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς μόνον μεμονωμένον, ἀπαραμύθητον.

[The blessed Sergius was deeply depressed and distressed for the blessed Bacchus had left him. He was saying in tears: "Woe's me, no longer, my brother and fellow soldier, will we chant together: 'How good it is and how pleasant for brothers to live together!' (Ps. 132:1). For you have been unyoked from me and gone up to heaven leaving me alone on earth, without consolation."]<sup>43</sup> (*S&B*, §19)

Very soon Sergius proves to be wrong; his friend has never left him, he is and he will always be with him:

Ἐν τῇ ἐπιούσῃ νυκτί ἀθρῶν παρίσταται αὐτῷ ὁ μακάριος Βάκχος λαμπρὸν ἔχων τὸ πρόσωπον ὡσεὶ ἀγγέλου, περιβεβλημένον τῷ σχήματι τῆς στρατείας, καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· Τί λυπῆσαι καὶ ἀδαιμονεῖς, ἀδελφε· εἰ γὰρ καὶ τῷ σώματι ἀπελείφθην σου, ἀλλὰ τῷ τῆς ὁμολογίας συνδέσμῳ, σὺν σοὶ εἰμὶ ψάλλον καὶ λέγων· Ὅδὸν ἐντολῶν σου ἔδραμον, ὅταν ἐπλάτυνας τὴν καρδίαν μου· σπεῦσον οὖν καὶ αὐτός, ἀδελφε, διὰ τῆς καλῆς καὶ τελείας ὁμολογίας καταδιῶξαι καὶ καταλαβεῖν με, τὸν δρόμον τελέσας· σὺν σοὶ γὰρ ἀπόκειται μοι ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης στέφανος.

<sup>42</sup> In the Metaphrastic version, Sergius does not see the death of Bacchus as the end of their friendship. Of course, he is sad because he will be spending some time without his beloved friend, but when he thinks about his reunification with Bacchus in heaven he is filled with pleasure (*Metaphrastes*, §XV).

<sup>43</sup> Boswell, *The Marriage of Likeness*, 385.



[The same night the blessed Bacchus suddenly appeared to him with a face as radiant as an angel's, wearing an officer's uniform, and said to him: "Why are you sad and distressed, brother? If I have been taken from you in body, I am still with you in the bond of confession of the faith, and I chant and say with you: 'I had run the path of your commandments, when you enlarged my heart.' Hurry then, yourself brother, through beautiful and perfect confession of the faith to pursue and obtain me as soon as you finish the race. For the crown of justice will not be given to me without you."]<sup>44</sup> (*S&B*, §20)

Sergius's deep distress graphically expressed in *S&B* is the human reaction of someone losing his beloved friend with whom he used to have an intense lifelong relationship. Sergius's different approach to the same event in the Metaphrastic version reveals an attempt on the hagiographer's part to depict his hero as less human, a representation that lies in accordance with the portrayals of most Byzantine saints. While mourning for the death of his friend and for his own solitude, Sergius is, without realizing it, behaving as if Bacchus were with him: he talks to Bacchus; his words express his feelings and complaints, and he chants the verses they used to sing when they were together.

Bacchus's epiphany, which takes place a few hours later, comes to show that he was indeed present when Sergius was talking to him. Bacchus responds to his friend's complaints, and asks him to stop mourning, since he has never abandoned him. The truth of Bacchus's words is reinforced by his very appearance, which is very familiar to Sergius: he wears the soldier's attire, the uniform of their common occupation, which functions as a symbol of their common life, and friendship. The only new element in Bacchus's look is his radiating face that points to his new life as a saint, which will be soon shared by both men. Bacchus's last words exhort Sergius to martyrdom through which he will be wholly united with Bacchus in holiness. As Bacchus points out, and this is a further realization of the ancient proverb repeated by Aristotle, "what friends have is common" (*NE IX.8*), the crown of holiness is prepared for the two of them. Bacchus's words, as well as the whole narrative, suggest that it is through their friendship that the two men are sanctified. It is rather their friendship in God than their resistance to their torturers that allows Sergius and Bacchus to achieve holiness. Being and being treated as one soul, the two friends are expected to receive one and the same crown of holiness.

Even though the two saints share the same life and afterlife, they do not share

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<sup>44</sup> Boswell, *The Marriage of Likeness*, 385.

the same tomb. The dead body of Bacchus is buried in a monk's cave whose exact location is not specified while that of Sergius is buried in Rusafa. At some point a small shrine is built at the place of the tomb. Sometime later his relics are transferred to a new shrine taking the form of a great church erected within the fortress of Rusafa. In late antiquity, this church develops into a very important pilgrimage place while Sergius becomes one of the most popular saints of the Arabian and Syrian Christians.<sup>45</sup>

The fact that the two martyrs' corpses were buried in different locations resulted in the separate development of their cult in some traditions. In the Arabic tradition, for instance, they have separate feast days. Even the great church that the Byzantine emperor Justinian (527–565) built in Constantinople was originally devoted to Sergius. It comes much later that the church is ascribed to both Sergius and Bacchus.<sup>46</sup> Of course, the eventual dedication of the church to both saints,<sup>47</sup> the erection of later churches, both Byzantine and post-Byzantine devoted to the two martyrs, and the fact that they are commemorated together in the Orthodox Greek and Latin calendars indicate that in most cases the martyrs' cult remained faithful to their legend according to which they rarely separated from each other.

## Sergius and Antiochus

At the antipode of Sergius's friendship with Bacchus lies the friendly relationship of Sergius with Antiochus. The friendship between these two men is the result of a service Sergius offers to Antiochus, which proves particularly important to the latter, since through Sergius's help Antiochus becomes *dux*, which is both the highest civil official in the Roman Empire and the commander-in-chief of the legions garrisoned within the Roman province.<sup>48</sup> Thus what binds Antiochus with Sergius are the significant things that he acquires through him; the *dux* owes to Sergius his extremely important

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<sup>45</sup> See Fowden, *The Barbarian Plain*.

<sup>46</sup> See Fowden, *The Barbarian Plain*, 130–33.

<sup>47</sup> For the church's architecture, see Ciril Mango, "The Church of Saints Sergius and Bacchus at Constantinople and the Alleged Tradition of Octagonal Palatine Churches," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 21 (1972): 189–93, and id., "The Church of Saints Sergius and Bacchus Once Again," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 68 (1975): 385–92.

<sup>48</sup> For the Roman office of *dux*, see *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. Alexander Kazhdan et al. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 659.

position, his friendship with his Majesty, the Roman emperor, and his subsequent political and social power.

Apart from their common friend and master, the emperor, Sergius and Antiochus have nothing else in common. Sergius is a Christian while Antiochus is a pagan. Sergius is a virtuous man. Antiochus is a bad man dominated by human passions: he is self-centered, he loses his temper easily, he is revengeful, he is a hypocrite, and he proves ungrateful toward his benefactor. He desires worldly glory and power while Sergius has rejected all these, and aspires to divine glory. Sergius is a true friend who loves his friends unconditionally, and who does and wishes goods to them for their own benefit. Antiochus, on the other hand, has no sense of real friendship. His friendships are routed in his personal interests. According to Aristotle's friendship theory, Antiochus's relationships belong to an inferior type of friendship that is a relationship based on personal utility (*NE*, VIII.4).

Antiochus sees his friendship with Sergius as an exchange relationship, and this is a point where Mauss's notion of the gift is applicable. Antiochus accepts for his own benefit Sergius's service, but at the same time he feels obliged to offer something in return. When Sergius and Bacchus are brought in chains before him, Antiochus, reminded of his obligation toward Sergius, sees this as a good opportunity to repay him. He says to the two martyrs: "καὶ γὰρ φεισάμενος ὑμῶν, συμβουλεύω ὑμῖν μεμνημένος φιλίας τε καὶ εὐεργεσίας ὑμῶν, μάλιστα σοῦ, κύριέ μου Σέργιε· οὔτε γὰρ ἐγὼ τῶν σῶν ἄμοιρος γέγονα εὐεργεσιῶν" (§XI; "I advise you [to sacrifice to the gods] feeling compassion for you when I think of your friendship and assistance, especially yours, my Lord Sergius, since nor did I remain without a share in your generosity") (*S&B*, §16; see also *Metaphrastes*).<sup>49</sup> As a friend, Antiochus offers to help the two martyrs to avoid punishment and further humiliation provided that they follow his advice and sacrifice to the gods. According to the narrator of the *Metaphrastic* version, Antiochus is pretending to speak to the martyrs as a friend acting for their benefit, and wishing to offer a counter-service for Sergius's service. In fact through his "friendly" behavior and advice, Antiochus tries to convince the martyrs to reject their faith not because he cares for them, and does not want to see them destroyed, but because he wishes to please the emperor who did not want to lose such capable men (*Metaphrastes*, §XI).

Realizing that there is no possibility to convince the two men with words to follow his advice—they emphatically tell him: "Μὴ συμβούλευε ἡμῖν τοιαῦτα, Ἀντίοχε· . . . οὐ μεταστήσεις τὸν λογισμόν ἡμῶν" (*S&B*, §17; see also

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<sup>49</sup> Boswell, *The Marriage of Likeness*, 383.

*Metaphrastes*, §XII–XIII; “Do not, advise us such things, Antiochus . . . you will not change our minds”<sup>50</sup>—Antiochus decides to torture Bacchus to death, and to send Sergius to prison. The author of the Metaphrastic version points out that Antiochus spares Sergius because he wants to show that he fulfills his obligation toward his friend (*Metaphrastes*, §XIII). In what follows, Antiochus keeps postponing Sergius’s death because his bond with his benefactor prevents him from killing him. He thus keeps on trying to persuade Sergius to sacrifice to the gods by employing friendly and cajoling words:

Ὁ μὲν δυσσεβέστατος Βάκχος μὴ πεισθεὶς θῆσαι τοῖς θεοῖς εὔλατο βιωθανῆς γενέσθαι, ἄξιον ἑαυτοῦ θάνατον ἀπενεγκάμενος. Σὺ δέ, κύριέ μου Σέργιε, ἵνα τί τῇ ἀπατηλῇ καὶ δυσσεβεῖ ἐκείνῃ θρησκείᾳ ἐξακολουθῶν εἰς τοσαύτην ἐξέδωκας ταλαιπωρίαν; Αἰδοῦμαι γάρ σε μεμνημένος σου τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν, καὶ αἰσχύνομαι σε τῆς ἀρχῆς ταύτης αἰτίον μοι γεγονότα, ὅτι αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν τῇ τοῦ ἐπερωτωμένου ἔσθηκας τάξει, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐν τῷ τοῦ ἐπερωτῶντος καθέζομαι βήματι.

[The most impious Bacchus refused to sacrifice to the gods and chose to die violently receiving the death he deserved. But you, my lord Sergius, why give yourself over to such misery by following that deceptive and impious religion? For I am embarrassed when I think of your assistance, and I am ashamed by the fact that you were the cause of my having obtained this authority, since now you stand in the dock as the accused while I sit on the bench of the interrogator.]<sup>51</sup> (*S&B*, §21; see also *Metaphrastes*, §XV)

Sergius, on the other hand, does not fail to repeat each time that he will never renounce his religion. He makes it very clear that he is not afraid of punishment. He says to Antiochus: “The body is subject to you: torture and punish it as you wish” (*S&B*, §22).<sup>52</sup> Despite the fact that Antiochus is well aware of Sergius’s steadfastness in his faith, and of his resolution to give his life for it, he does not give up advising Sergius otherwise. Antiochus’s continuous yet unsuccessful attempts to persuade his friend to sacrifice to the gods indicate his anxiety toward his benefactor. Antiochus finds himself trapped in the law of reciprocity inherent in the gift he received from Sergius. His only way out is to offer Sergius a counter-gift. In fact, the only chance to repay Sergius is available to Antiochus now, and if he fails to take it he will never be liberated from his obligation toward the martyr.

<sup>50</sup> Boswell, *The Marriage of Likeness*, 384.

<sup>51</sup> Boswell, *The Marriage of Likeness*, 385–86.

<sup>52</sup> Boswell, *The Marriage of Likeness*, 386.

Sergius's perspective, on the contrary, is completely different. He does not see his relationship with Antiochus as a circle of exchange because for him the notion of giving cannot be viewed in reciprocal and equivalent terms. Sergius helps Antiochus to acquire a high office and power for his friend's own good. He gives because he likes giving; his goal through gift giving is to help Antiochus. In other words, his motive is his friend's benefit, and not the expectation of a repayment. Sergius's treatment of the gift reveals its real essence as described by Derrida: a pure gift requires no return, and no obligations. Derrida, however, as already stated, maintains that the true gift is impossible; there is no gift separated from responsibilities. Sergius's approach to the gift, on the contrary, reveals the possibility of the true gift. In fact, an important Christian principle is based on the existence of the real gift. Christ's followers should always give to their fellow human beings without expecting something in return. They must even give against their interests, helping their own enemies: "If you lend to those from whom you hope to receive, what credit is that to you? . . . But love your enemies, do good expecting nothing in return" (Lk. 6.35).

Following the Christian practice of philanthropy addressed to both friends and enemies for philanthropy's own sake, Sergius is thinking of offering Antiochus a further service, which in contrast to the first one is rejected. Sergius tells his torturer that as he has previously helped him to acquire worldly glory he could now assist him achieve divine glory, which, in contrast to the first one, is eternal:

Ἀντίοχε, . . . εἴθε καὶ νῦν ἐπεῖθου μοι καὶ ἐπεγίνωσκες τὸν ἐμὸν Θεὸν καὶ βασιλέα Χριστόν, καὶ ἐπρονόησα ἄν σου ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐπιγείου βασιλέως, οὕτως καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐπουρανίου βασιλέως Χριστοῦ παρασχεθῆναι σοι ἀδιάδοχον ἀρχὴν καὶ ἀτελεύτητον δόξαν.

[Antiochus, . . . if only you would listen to me and recognize my God and king, Christ, as I provided for you an access to the worldly king in the same way you would have been given eternal power and perpetual glory next to the heavenly king.]<sup>53</sup> (*S&B*, §21; see also *Metaphrastes*, §XV)

Sergius's desire to give without receiving has as a result the transformation of Antiochus's friendly feelings toward him into enmity. By failing to accept what is given to him as a counter-gift, Sergius "declares war" against Antiochus, as Mauss would put it, and this is a behavior that Antiochus does not let go unpunished. Since Sergius declines to share with Antiochus the gift of

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<sup>53</sup> Boswell, *The Marriage of Likeness*, 386.

friendship through accepting the latter's help, he has to receive the gift of death. This is the only gift Antiochus can offer Sergius under the circumstances. Of course, Sergius receives happily from his former friend the gift of death, since this is what he longs for. His earthly death as a martyr will reunite him with his beloved Bacchus, and it will provide him with holiness, which is the heavenly power and glory that Antiochus rejects. Without realizing it, Antiochus does eventually offer a counter-service to Sergius, which solves the tension between the economic gift as understood by Antiochus and the uneconomic gift as experienced by Sergius. Antiochus's counter-gift, however, becomes possible only through horrendous violence. It is, therefore, only violence which can force uneconomic gifts to cancel themselves, and to enter an economy of exchange.

The relationship between Sergius and Antiochus examined here demonstrates very graphically that the gift can be both "pure," namely unconditional and non-reciprocal, as Derrida defines it, and "impure," that is conditional and reciprocal, according to Mauss's view, as long as it remains a gift. Thus in the gift might coincide liberty and charity, on the one hand, and expectation and exchange, on the other. In this case, the gift is a paradox set up by two contradictory elements: purity and impurity. However, when a gift is transformed into a violent poison its element of purity disappears; the giver who refuses receiving is violently forced to accept a poisonous counter-gift, and in so doing he enters an economic circle of exchange. Forced repayment taking the form of revenge sustains the economy of exchange in the same way this is achieved by a positive gift.

### Sergius, Bacchus and Maximianus

A comparison between the friendship of Sergius and Antiochus with that of Maximianus and the two martyrs whom, as previously mentioned, the emperor mostly sees as one person shows that these two relationships have both similarities and differences. An obvious similarity is the inequality characterizing these two friendships. Like Antiochus, Maximianus has a different religion from that of his two Christian friends. Maximianus in particular is a fanatic heathen intolerant of any other religion, and especially Christianity, who becomes a great Christian persecutor. By converting to Christianity, Sergius and Bacchus do in fact place themselves among Maximianus's worst enemies. Another important element of this friendship's asymmetry is the status of its two parties. Maximianus is the almighty Roman emperor, and Sergius and Bacchus are his very subjects. The power, both political and social, he exercises over them is absolute.

Like the friendship between Sergius and Antiochus, the relationship of the emperor and the two main protagonists is strongly dependent on gifts through which it comes into being, flourishes and eventually declines. Having gifts as their source and not equality based on virtue, these two friendships, in contrast to that of Sergius and Bacchus, are temporal. They last as long as the parties involved remain faithful to the obligations created by the gift as described by Mauss. Both friendships are turned into enmities and the gifts sustaining them are transformed into poisons when their Christian members fail to either accept a counter-gift (Sergius in his relationship with Antiochus) or to return an expected gift (Sergius and Bacchus in their friendship with the emperor).

While Sergius denies gift reciprocity in his friendship with Antiochus, he behaves differently within the framework of his relationship with the emperor. In this case, both he and Bacchus enter a circle of exchange. The gifts, which the emperor gives equally to his two friends, are signs of his majesty and power. They are in fact gifts that only he himself as the emperor can bestow: high imperial offices, a very esteemed status in the palace, the right to speak to his Majesty freely and openly, imperial honor, and money. He also fulfills all their wishes and requests. Antiochus's appointment as *dux* of one of the Roman provinces, for instance, is a granting of such a request. In accepting all these imperial gifts, the two martyrs reiterate their vows of complete obedience and submission. For the rest of their lives, they are expected to provide the emperor the counter gifts he requires from them: competent military service, their valuable advice, their true friendship and their loyalty.

The mutual reciprocity characterizing this friendship makes it stronger, more personal, and more emotional than that between Sergius and Antiochus which, as shown in the previous part of the analysis presented here, is treated by Antiochus as a bond of a pure economy of exchange. By exchanging gifts, Maximianus and the two martyrs establish between them a spiritual union. Both parties give to each other parts of their own selves and souls, as Mauss would put it. As a result, Maximianus feels so close and attached to Sergius and Bacchus and has such a strong confidence in their honesty and loyalty that he cannot believe the men who inform him that his beloved friends are secret Christians. He says to them:

Οὐκ οἶμαι τὰ ἀληθῆ ὑμᾶς λέγειν, εἰ Σέργιος καὶ Βάκχος τῇ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς τιμῇ τε καὶ εὐσεβείᾳ οὐ πρόσκεινται ἐμοῦ τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλίαν ἀκηλίδωτον ἔχοντος, ἥς οὐκ ἂν κατηξιώθησαν, εἰ μὴ τῇ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς εὐνοίᾳ γνησίως διέκειντο.

[I do not think you speak the truth that Sergius and Bacchus are not devoted to the veneration and worship of the gods, since I provide them with such a pure friendship of which they would not have been deemed worthy if they were not truly faithful in their piety towards the gods.]<sup>54</sup> (*S&B*, §3; see also *Metaphrastes*, §II)

Maximianus's words suggest—and this becomes more obvious through some of his later statements concerning his friendship with Sergius and Bacchus (*S&B*, §6 and §8)—that he sees Roman gods as the sources of his friendship with the two men. Interestingly, Maximianus's treatment of friendship as a union with divine roots resembles Sergius's and Bacchus's approach toward their own friendship whose main reason of existence is their common love for and devotion to the Christian God. Of course, the idea that human friendships are motivated by a divine force is novel in relation to classical ideas of friendship according to which friendship was purely a human relation resulting from love or eros (Plato, *Lysis* 222a) or from a natural human need (Aristotle, *NE* VIII.1).

Maximianus comes to realize that his friends have betrayed him when he hears from their own mouths that they do not intend to obey him and sacrifice to the gods because they have become Christians (*S&B*, §6; *Metaphrastes*, §III). His first reaction is anger. His loss of temper is his emotional response to the unexpected, "unjust" and "ungrateful," as he calls it (*Metaphrastes*, §III), behavior of his friends, the persons whom he respected and honored the most. Maximianus's anger before his friends' failure to repay him with the gift of loyalty drives him to take back forcibly the gifts he previously had given them. Since the two men are not prepared to fulfill any longer the obligations deriving from such gifts, these should return to the donor. Thus Maximianus publicly deprives the two men of their offices, their imperial honor, and their esteemed place in the palace by stripping them of their military garments, and all the emblems of their high rank, and by having them dressed in women's clothes, and covered with chains. The emblems of their imperial glory, of their power and their privileges are now replaced by symbols of disrespect, servitude, and male humiliation. Supported by their own friendship and their common faith in God, Sergius and Bacchus face the loss of their worldly glory with bravery. Their public humility functions as a spiritual uplifting bringing them closer to God (*S&B*, §7; *Metaphrastes*, §IV).

Despite the strong feelings of disappointment and betrayal, which devastate him, Maximianus is reluctant to lose his friends. He thus develops a strategy of humiliation and embarrassment through which he aims at convincing Sergius

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<sup>54</sup> Boswell, *The Marriage of Likeness*, 377.



and Bacchus to renounce their faith and in so doing to confirm their friendship with him. As mentioned before, Maximianus's first move toward the martyrs' degradation is to damage their social selves by depriving them of their privileges, and by treating them as effeminate slaves. His second move is to engage in a public monologue in which he employs a rhetoric structured around the provocation of shame feelings. In the Metaphrastic version, this monologue becomes much longer, and as a result it is more elaborate in its use of shame as an instrument of persuasion.

The shame structure of Maximianus's monologue in the older version is rather simple (*S&B*, §8). It can be divided into two parts, both of which are addressed to the martyrs. The first part aims at embarrassing the martyrs as persons and friends while the second part's goal is to humiliate them as Christians. The first part begins with an insult; Maximianus calls the martyrs the "most wicked" persons of all humans. He then goes on to present them as ungrateful, impudent, and disrespectful persons, since they have treated their friend, and benefactor in a way that is "against the law of obedience and subjection."<sup>55</sup> In the second part of his monologue, the emperor ridicules the martyrs for treating as god a man who was born by a mortal woman who had intercourse with a carpenter before their marriage, and who died after being crucified by the Jews. Without being affected by the emperor's insulting words, the two martyrs engage in turn in another monologue of equal length with that of the emperor in which they refute only the second part of Maximianus's speech, and argue about Christ's divinity (*S&B*, §9).

In the Metaphrastic version, Maximianus's monologue acquires the form of a short treatise on betrayal and ungratefulness whose structure is more complicated than that of the emperor's speech in the older text (*Metaphrastes*, §IV and §V). The Metaphrastic monologue has two bigger parts, each of which has its internal subdivisions. The first part is addressed to all the bystanders to whom Maximianus offers a lecture on the performance of correct behavior toward one's friends and benefactors by referring to his personal experience. He uses the unacceptable manners of his own friends as an example of a bad behavior that should be avoided. The monologue's second long part is addressed to the martyrs whom Maximianus further tries to embarrass by employing friendly and calm words with which, on the one hand, he asks them to feel shame and to show respect toward the true friendship offered to them, and on the other, he describes how he himself, in contrast to them, proved a true friend.

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<sup>55</sup> Boswell, *The Marriage of Likeness*, 379.

As is the case in the older text, the martyrs do not experience any shame despite Maximianus's great attempts. Here, however, they do not let any of Maximianus's accusations go unanswered. In a very long monologue, which is twice as long as that of the emperor, the martyrs defend both themselves and their religion (*Metaphrastes*, §VI and §VII). First, they tell Maximianus that they neither ever betrayed his friendship nor did they prove ungrateful for what he had done for them. On the contrary, they always performed their obligations with the same zeal. Their conversion to Christianity and their devotion to the God of all are in fact a powerful sign of their gratefulness toward their benefactors. They decided to serve God with the same fervor with which they serve him, their "most philanthropic emperor," because God is the greatest benefactor of humanity, and as such he deserves all people's devotion (*Metaphrastes*, §VI).

Maximianus's reaction to the martyrs' words is to get angry. This time his anger is the result of his inability to dispute the martyrs' convincing arguments. Since the martyrs do not intend to renounce their illegal religion, Maximianus has no other choice but to punish them. However, he keeps postponing their execution. The *Metaphrastic* version illustrates the emperor's internal struggle. On the one hand, the law and his strong feelings of anger and disappointment compel the emperor to punish Sergius and Bacchus, and, on the other hand, the friendship that binds him with the two men and their qualities prevent him from doing so (*Metaphrastes*, §VIII). Eventually, Maximianus decides to send Sergius and Bacchus to their friend Antiochus who will undertake their punishment. Maximianus's decision has a multiple function: it releases the emperor from his dilemma; it is a solution that enables Maximianus to avoid killing his friends with his own hands, and it serves his strategy to persuade the martyrs to renounce their faith through the instrument of humiliation. Maximianus, who has not yet lost the hope that the martyrs might change their mind, makes one last try to convince them by using Antiochus's help in his strategy of humiliation. He says to the martyrs:

Αντιόχῳ τῷ δουκὶ παραπέμψω ὑμᾶς, τρισκατάρατοι, οὐπὲρ διὰ τὴν πρὸς μὲ φιλίαν τε καὶ παρορησίαν προέστητε ἐπὶ ταύτην ἀγαγόντες τὴν ἀρχήν, ἵνα γνῶτε οἷας τιμῆς ἐξεπέσατε ἕνεκεν τῆς εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς δυσφημίας, καὶ οἷων ἐλαχίστων δικαστηρίων σὺν τιμωρίαις ἐσχάταις ἄξιοι γεγονάτε τῆς τῶν θεῶν μεγαλειότητος, ἐλεγξάσης ὑμῶν τὴν δυσσέβειαν καὶ εἰς τὴν τῆς κολάσεως καταδίκην ἀγαγούσης.

[I will send you to *dux* Antiochus, you thrice-cursed ones, the very man you were able to promote to such a rank because of the friendship and freedom of speech you

had with me, so that you will realize how great is the honor you have lost by speaking against the gods, and how trivial a court you merit for the worst of punishments.]<sup>56</sup> (*S&B*, §10)

Even though Maximianus proves more bound to his friends than Antiochus is, who has no real difficulties killing Sergius—he even inflicts on him more cruel tortures than the ones he imposes upon Bacchus—he does eventually avenge them in the most inhuman way for failing to offer him their absolute loyalty. Maximianus’s gifts are turned into chains tightening the martyrs’ necks and their whole bodies, and, of course, the martyrs’ cruel tortures and their subsequent deaths are executed according to Maximianus’s very orders.

### Sergius, Bacchus and God

What prevents the two martyrs from being fully obedient to their earthly master and friend, Maximianus, is their friendship with God, the master of all. In order to remain friends with God, they have to reject their friendship with Maximianus by disobeying him, and not sacrificing to his gods. In fact, it is the destruction of the saints’ friendship with Maximianus, and its transformation into deathly enmity that enforces the martyrs’ friendship with God. The gift of death that Maximianus offers to his former friends with Antiochus’s help allows them to enter God’s kingdom.

Interestingly, Sergius’s and Bacchus’s friendship with God appears to share some of the features of the friendships that the martyrs used to have with Antiochus and Maximianus. The central protagonists’ friendship with God is also unequal, since the one party is divine while the other human. Additionally, this is another friendship in which gift exchange is essential.

Sergius and Bacchus offer their own lives as well as their deaths as gifts to God: they live according to His commandments, and through their martyrdom, they give their bodies as sacrifice to Him with the expectation of receiving the crown of holiness. As they say to Antiochus,

Ἡμεῖς διὰ τοῦτο πάντα κατελίπομεν καὶ ἠκολουθήσαμεν τῷ Χριστῷ, ἵνα τῆς ἐπιγείου καὶ προσκαίρου φρονήσαντες τιμῆς, τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς γενώμεθα ἐφάμιλλοι καὶ τῶν ἐπιγείων καὶ φθαρτῶν ὑπεριδόντες χρημάτων, τῶν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ἀπολαύσωμεν θησαυρῶν.

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<sup>56</sup> Boswell, *The Marriage of Likeness*, 381.

[We left behind everything and followed Christ, so that heedless of earthly and temporal honor, we may become like the angels in heaven, and ignoring terrestrial and corruptible wealth, we may enjoy the treasure in heaven]. (*S&B*, §17)<sup>57</sup>

Here, the logic in Luke's Gospel reverts to an economic rationale. Sergius expects nothing in return from Antiochus, but he does want a divine reward for his earthly sufferings and martyrdom. It is for the very reward of sanctity with which no other human friendship apart from their own can provide them that the two men sacrifice their friendly relation with both Maximianus and Antiochus.

Of course, an important difference between the main protagonists' friendship with God and their friendships with Antiochus and Maximianus is that in the divine friendship both parties remain faithful to the reciprocity law inherent in the gift. As a result, the divine friendship, unlike the other two friendships, never dissolves, but it is eternal. In this respect, it resembles the friendship that the two protagonists share with each other.

Interestingly, in the *Passion of Sergius and Bacchus* are celebrated as paradigmatic two very different types of friendships whose perfect status reflected in their eternity becomes more prominent through the depiction of two other friendships (Sergius and Antiochus; Sergius, Bacchus, and Maximianus) which prove problematic. The first paradigmatic friendship, that between Sergius and Bacchus, is based on the Aristotelian model, the most important feature of which is the equality that true friends share. The second ideal friendship, the one between the two martyrs and God, is formed not by the two parties' equality, but by their mutual submission to an economy of gift exchange. The anti-Christian logic of expectation, which paradoxically governs the Christians' relationship with their God, is a logic governing not only the archaic societies studied by Mauss or the world reflected in the *Sayings of Har*, but also our globalizing society.

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<sup>57</sup> Boswell, *The Marriage of Likeness*, 381.

## Chapter 3

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### Where Textual Bodies Meet: Anglo-Saxon Women's Epistolary Friendships

During the late seventh and early eighth centuries Boniface and his missionary companions on the Continent remained united with their relatives and supporters in Anglo-Saxon England in a loose network of individual friendships and institutional affiliations forged and maintained through the exchange of letters and gifts. While women's participation in such an epistolary community, as both correspondents and patrons, was by no means unique—Jerome earlier, for example, and Alcuin later also included women among their correspondents—the visibility of Boniface's female correspondents has prompted an especially rich discussion of female literacy in the early Middle Ages.<sup>1</sup> The participation of

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<sup>1</sup> The active participation of Boniface's female correspondents has been, in fact, one of the most frequently discussed characteristics of the Boniface Correspondence corpus. See, for example, Peter Dronke, *Women Writers of the Middle Ages: A Critical Study of Texts from Perpetua to Marguerite Porete* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984), especially 30–33; Ursula Schaefer, "Two Women in Need of a Friend," *Germanic Dialects: Linguistic and Philological Investigations*, ed. Bela Brogyani and Thomas Krommelbein (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: J. Benjamins, 1986), 491–524; Christine E. Fell, "Some Implications of the Boniface Correspondence," *New Readings on Women in Old English Literature*, ed. Helen Damico, Alexandra Hennessey Olsen and Marijane Osborn (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 29–43; Albrecht Classen, "Frauenbriefe in Bonifatius," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 72 (1990): 251–73; Janina Cunnien, "Amicitia in Old English Letters: Augustine's Ideas of 'Friendship' and Their Reception in Eangyth's Letter to Boniface," *Revista Alicantina de Estudios Ingleses* 10 (1997): 35–46; and Barbara Yorke, "The Bonifacian Mission and Female Religious in Wessex," *Early Medieval Europe* 7 (1998): 145–72. For more general discussion of Anglo-Saxon women and spiritual friendship transcending physical separation, see Stephanie Hollis, *Anglo-Saxon Women and the Church: Sharing a Common Fate* (Woodbridge and Rochester: Boydell, 1992), especially 113–50. For an overview of letter-

monastic women in the so-called Boniface Circle is especially suggestive, however, of their contributions to the development of a textual culture during this period of conversion and missionary effort. Abbess Heaburg, for example, sends Boniface not only fifty *solidi* and an altar cloth—very practical gifts—but also promises him a copy of *the Sufferings of the Martyrs*, and asks that he send her in return “congregationes aliquas sanctarum scripturarum” (some collection of sacred writings).<sup>2</sup> Boniface promises her such a book in a subsequent letter, and offers in the meantime his prayers for her and her household (no. 27, 48). After Boniface thanks another abbess, Eadburga, for “sive solamine librorum sive vestamentorum” (the solace of the books and the garments) with which she has relieved his distress in the past, he requests a further gift, the Epistles of Saint Peter written in letters of gold (no. 35, 60).<sup>3</sup> Beyond exploring the historical or political aspects of women’s participation in the Boniface Circle, moreover, this present essay undertakes to raise questions about the deployment of epistolary friendship as what Jeffrey Jerome Cohen might call “a textual identity machine that catalyzes new possibilities for the historical moment into which it intervenes.”<sup>4</sup> While gender and sexuality are by no means the only element of what I will term the textual bodies constructed in the women’s letters, this essay will focus most specifically on the way Anglo-Saxon women’s epistolary friendship engages and redefines concepts of gender difference, femininity, and virginity in their creation of a shared literate subjectivity.

Practical tools for both ministry to the wider world and personal monastic study, the manuscripts exchanged within this geographically dispersed community also symbolized a dramatically foregrounded literacy. Defining itself precisely by the written word’s ability to enable emotional and intellectual presence despite physical absence, the Boniface Circle was by nature a community inherently textual, grounded in literacy—more specifically Latin literacy—within a larger social world of vernacular orality and social bonds based primarily and certainly conceptually in kinship and contiguity. Indeed, what we know as the Boniface Circle is, in itself, a literary construction: its visibility to history depends upon the subsequent selection of these letters for what Andy Orchard calls an “epistolary

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writing in the context of women’s contributions to medieval textual culture, see Joan M. Ferrante, *To the Glory of her Sex: Women’s Roles in the Composition of Medieval Texts* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997), especially 10–35.

<sup>2</sup> Michael Tangl, *Die Briefe des Heiligen Bonifatius und Lullus* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1955), no. 15, 27. Hereafter all citations will be taken from this edition. All translations are my own.

<sup>3</sup> Boniface also thanks her for past gifts of other sacred books in another letter as well: Tangl, *Briefe*, no. 30, 54.

<sup>4</sup> Jeffrey J. Cohen, *Medieval Identity Machines* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 120.

pattern-book for a range of occasions."<sup>5</sup> That is, the language of these letters exhibits—even models—a distinctive style rooted in the exchange of texts. Thus if Eadburga gives books to Boniface, his letter of thanks are replete with citations of exactly the Biblical manuscripts exchanged: in a single brief paragraph, therefore, Boniface echoes Psalms 17, 112 and 118, Ephesians and 2 Thessalonians. These common scriptural references link and define the two of them (and their other friends and correspondents) as users of literacy within a defined textual community.<sup>6</sup>

Moreover and more significantly, echoes and citations of verbal formulas mined from each other's previous letters also add (as Andy Orchard has argued) to the production of a self-conscious, self-reflexive, shared aesthetic, a dense and multiple intertextuality. As Christine Fell has also noted, the ninth-century manuscript Vienna Nationalbibliothek Lat. 751, a major source of the Boniface Circle letters (including all of those to be discussed here), collects them together with a selection of Aldhelm's letters and a unique copy of his *Carmen Rhythmicum*. Aldhelm's verse form in this work—a form of which he may well be the inventor—is echoed and imitated within poems and letters collected within that same manuscript. In fact, Fell suggests that the compilation of Vienna 751 can be associated with Boniface's disciple and successor Lul, who in one of his own letters requested that a correspondent in England send him the works of Aldhelm "seu prosarum seu metrorum aut rithmicorum" (in prose or meter or rhyme).<sup>7</sup> Beyond this, too, Aldhelm's *De metris* and *De pedum regularis* as well as his poetic compositions, constituted a substantial influence on Anglo-Saxon education and literacy, especially in the Southumbria of Boniface and his correspondents. His understanding of verse as mathematically precise schema, and his use of alliteration and repetition of set phrases in similar metrical environments, all create a model for formulaically reproducible—and even reproductive—literary language capable of creating a sophisticated literate subjectivity and identity.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Andy Orchard, "Old Sources, New Resources: Finding the Right Formula for Boniface," *Anglo-Saxon England* 30 (2001): 15–38.

<sup>6</sup> For textual communities, see Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983).

<sup>7</sup> Fell, "Some Implications of the Boniface Correspondence," 35, citing Tangl, *Briefe*, no. 71.

<sup>8</sup> For Aldhelm's poetic originality, see Michael Lapidge and James L. Rosier, trans., *Aldhelm: The Poetic Works* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1985), 171; and Andy Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994). For Aldhelm's influence, see also Carin Ruff, "The Place of Metrics in Anglo-Saxon Latin Education: Aldhelm and Bede," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* (April 2005): 149–70; Michael Lapidge, "Aldhelm's Latin Poetry and Old English Verse," *Comparative Literature* 31 (1979): 209–31. Also of interest is the discussion of the formulaic nature of Aldhelmian and Bonifatian literacy in Matthew T. Hussey, "Transmarinis litteris: Southumbria and the Transmission of Isidore's *Synonyma*" *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* (April 2008): 141–68, and Malcolm B. Parkes, "*Rædan, areccan,*

The ability to deploy this shared literary language successfully consequently establishes a writer's membership within an extended *familia*—the Boniface Circle constitutes not only a textual but also an emotional community, as defined by Barbara Rosenwein, “in which people adhere to the same norms of emotional expression and value—or devalue—the same or related emotions.”<sup>9</sup> Within this *familia*, for example, discourses of patronage, kinship, and affection are conflated. Boniface addresses Heaburg, for example, as his “dominae dilectissimae et in amore Christi ceteris feminini sexus preferendae” (lady, most beloved and most precious in the love of Christ of all women) as well as his “sororoem carissimam” (dearest sister) (no. 27, 48–49). He writes to her in another letter as his “venerande ac dilectissimae sorori” (venerable and much beloved sister), his “soror karissima” (beloved sister) and his “soror veneranda” (reverend sister) as well as his “karisima” (most dear one) (no. 94, 214–15). Eadburga is similarly his “reverentissimae ac dilectissimae sorori” (most reverend and beloved sister) and his “soror carissima” (dearest sister) (no. 35, 60). Elsewhere she is his “carissimam sororem” (most dear sister) and he directs his letter to his “dilectissime sorori et iam dudum spiritalis clientele propinquitate conexe” (most beloved sister, long linked to him by the close bonds of spiritual patronage) (no. 30, 54). Egburga and Leoba, in return, both salute Boniface as their “frater” (brother) (no. 13, 19 and no. 29, 52).

The language of monastic *amicitia*, of spiritual friendship and chaste desire, further colors this discourse.<sup>10</sup> Boniface embraces Eadburga textually in “spiritalis amoris vinculo” (bonds of spiritual love) that unite them in soul though far separated in physical space (no. 65, 137). The distance is here quite literal: the abbess is in England, far from the missionary—soon to be martyred—bishop on the Continent. He has good reason to describe his wandering as “variis tempestatibus inliditur” (beset by tempests of many kinds)—though the image will be echoed by his female correspondents more metaphorically.

As striking are his gestures of rhetorically physicalized affection, as when he offers her his “divino ac virgineo caritatis osculo” (holy and virginal kiss of affection) (no. 65, 137). Heaburg, for her part, echoes 2 Corinthians 6.6 when she writes to Boniface “in caritate non ficta” (in love unfeigned) (no. 15, 28). As Egburga acknowledges the bonds of his affection for her “quiddam mellitae dulcedinis meis visceribus hic sapor insidet” (her very inmost soul is filled with a sweetness as of honey) and although denied his physical presence, embraces him

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*smeagan*: How the Anglo-Saxons Read,” *Anglo-Saxon England* 26 (1997): 1–22.

<sup>9</sup> Barbara Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006), 2.

<sup>10</sup> Cunneen, “*Amicitia* in Old English Letters.” For a discussion of *amicitia* and the medieval discourse of friendship especially (and perhaps normatively, at least for modern readers) among men, see also C. Stephen Jaeger, *Ennobling Love: In Search of a Lost Sensibility*. The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999).



in her thoughts (no. 13, 19). Offered in letters rather than in flesh, this rhetorical presence, these textual embraces are paradoxically rooted in the distance between the friends, hence the impossibility of the corresponding physical gestures.

For Boniface's female correspondents, the possibility of constructing an alternate monastic *familia* within epistolary friendship and new Latinate textual bodies distinct from those they inhabited within the secular, vernacular social order, produces a space—albeit a by no means unproblematic space—for the radical redefinition of desire, gender, and identity. Nowhere is this, and the process of constructing a textual body, so explicit as it is when the young Anglo-Saxon nun Leofgyth (called Leoba) writes to the older missionary Bishop Boniface asking for his spiritual friendship and mentoring. Leoba demonstrates her mastery of the community's shared formula- and image-stock in both her letter and a brief poem: she writes herself (quite literally) into this circle of friends.

When she salutes Boniface as “in Christo carissimo” (most dear in Christ), for example, her letter reiterates a formula Boniface himself had used in addressing previous letters to her teacher, Eadburga, and other Anglo-Saxon monastic women (no. 29, 52). Her phrasing, her claim of a spiritual connection works (as it were) to reproduce Leoba within a new *familia*. Leoba explicitly cites their shared links with her teacher Eadburga. But she appeals to Boniface as well by invoking other ties of both blood- and synthetic kinship: she notes that he is “mihi adfinitatis propinquitate conexo” (bound to me by ties of kinship), reminding him of his previous friendship with Leoba's father Dynne and his blood kinship with her mother, Aebbe. In thus seeking by her written words to take Boniface “in fratris locum” (in the place of a brother), Leoba initially deploys and elides multiple existing kinship relationships both blood and synthetic. All of this locates her body—defined at least partially by gender (female) and sexuality (monastic virginity) as well as her social status—primarily within traditional kinship networks based in past physical presence and contiguity.<sup>11</sup>

It is in the lines of the verse prayer Leoba appends to showcase her literary skills and earn Boniface's friendship that she reconstructs herself more radically. In the *vita* written by Rudolf of Fulda a hundred years later, Boniface calls Leoba out of a female community distinguished by its orality and contingency: Leoba has passed from her birth mother to her spiritual mother, about whom she will later regale her own spiritual daughters with a series of folk tales.<sup>12</sup> Indeed, Rudolf claims to be creating his written text for those daughters and granddaughters, out

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<sup>11</sup> I Deug-Su, *L'eloquenza del silenzio nelle fonti mediolatine: il caso di Leoba "dilecta" di Bonifacio Vinfredo*. Millennio medievale: Strumenti e studi, 47; N.S., 7 (Tavarnuzze [Florence]: SISMEL, Ed. del Galluzzo, 2004).

<sup>12</sup> *Vita Leobae Abbatissae Biscofesheimensis auctore Rudolfo Fuldense*, ed. Georg Waitz. MGH SS 15.1 (Hanover: Hahn, 1887), 118–31.

of their oral legends. According to the *vita* only men like Rudolf himself, like Boniface, write. Women, including Leoba, can read—although the *vita* also suggests that their reading must be closely policed—but they do not write: not letters, and certainly not poetry.

The significance of Leoba's poem, then, lies not in the originality of its sentiment, not in the uniqueness of its imagery and diction. Quite the contrary—its invocation of the self-sustaining power of the Triune God is orthodox to the point of formularity:

Arbiter omnipotens, solus qui cuncta creavit,  
In regno patris semper qui lumine fulget,  
Qua iugiter flagrans sic regent Gloria Christi,  
Inlesum servet semper te iure perenni. (no. 29, 53)

[May the omnipotent Ruler, Who alone created all things, and Who shines forever in splendor in the Father's kingdom, and through Whose perpetual fire the glory of Christ reigns, preserve you forever according to perennial law.]

Each of its lines repeats at least one phrase from Aldhelm's poetic corpus. Leoba's poetic prayer thus constructs itself within a network of relationships and influences, associated with the previous works of quasi-paternal, certainly patriarchal authorities. Rather than being appropriated by Boniface from a world of female orality, as in Rudolf's *vita*, Leoba appropriates for herself a place in male literary authority. Appropriating images and vocabulary from Aldhelm, Leoba's poem locates her new, purely textual body within Latin literacy rather than existing social ties. In this way Leoba boldly interposes herself within a realm of literate sociality, claiming a space in the bonds of influence and reception that link Boniface to Aldhelm.<sup>13</sup> By doing so, moreover, she clothes herself in their textual authority to "speak" as it were in public, to write and to exchange texts and textual bodies in the synthetic kinship of literacy and monasticism—perhaps in much the way that in the traditional secular world men exchange women's bodies within networks of social kinship.

Nor is Leoba the only woman in the Boniface Circle whose textual body is to some extent or other transgendered by literacy. When Ecgburga writes to Boniface of missing both him and her sister Wethburga, the image she employs of the storm-tossed sailor might seem more literally appropriate for her sister, a pilgrim in Rome, or her friend Boniface in Germany than for herself—and Boniface does, in fact, use this image elsewhere. "Non sic tempestate iactatus portum nauta

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<sup>13</sup> On the influence of Aldhelm's poetry, especially his *Enigmata*, his *Carmen de virginitate*, and his *Carmina Ecclesiastica*, on Boniface and later Anglo-Latin poets and writers, see Andy Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), especially 248–53.

desiderat" (no less than the storm-tossed sailor longs for the harbor), Ecgburga exclaims, "non sic curvo litore anxia filium mater expectat" (or the anxious mother watches by the shore for her son) so does she long for the sight of him (no. 13, 20). Both the sailor and the mother who waits for him, both active male and passive female, in her letter Ecgburga can, even though stationary, nevertheless still travel in her textual body with her sister and with Boniface.

A joint letter from Eangyth and Heaburg (probably her biological daughter as well as her daughter in monastic vocation) binds those two women in one body even as it forges their joint bond with Boniface. The textual bodies which appear in their letter to "Uuynfrido cognmento Bonifatio" (Winfred called Boniface) are marked, like Leoba's, by an excess, a multiplicity of social connection (no. 14, 21). The Anglo-Saxon vernacular Winfred implicitly belongs to a specific social/kin group; the Latin Boniface announces a new kinship within monastic and ecclesiastical *familiae*. Even as Winfred/Boniface has traveled in physical space, across the sea from England to the Continent, the women's "amantissime frater, spiritalis magis quam carnalis" (beloved brother in spirit rather than flesh) has made the transition from a place defined by reference to social bonds of blood kinship and secular lordship to a new homeland and a new identity fashioned through monastic practice and Christian literacy.

For their part the two women share in their letter an even more problematically multiple, paradoxical body. Their textual body exhibits an especially riddle-like confusion of subjects excessively defined by multiple social identities. Eangyth is named as abbess: her identity is defined first of all by her position within her monastic *familia*: "Haeaburg cognomento Bugge" (Heaburg called Bugga)—the double naming itself juxtaposes public identity with private affection—is "unica filia eius" (her only daughter), presumably her only biological daughter. The exception inherently privileges blood relations, and occludes other, anonymous spiritual daughters within the abbess's monastic house.

Eangyth is thus caught—or perhaps triangulated—between conflicting maternities of spirit and flesh. And, moreover, she and Heaburg write as one "we" throughout most of the letter: mother and daughter by biology and monastic profession share a composite textual body described through riddling, excessive and contradictory relationships. It is, however, also a body haunted by loss—of friends and supporters, of the crowd of relatives and the company of kin that should orient them in society. It is a body without "fratrem, patrem aut patrum, nisi tantum unicum filiam penitus destitutam omnibus caris in hoc saeculo, preter unam tantum sororum eius et matrem valide vetulam et filium fratris earum"—that is, without son (i.e., Eangyth's) or brother (i.e., Heaburg's), with neither father nor uncle, and only one daughter (presumably Heaburg) who has lost all except one sister, an aged mother (Eangyth), and the son of one brother (perhaps a son of Eangyth's brother, that is, of Heaburg's dead uncle).

For the two women Boniface—or at least his representation in epistolary text—models a more consistent and highly desirable social body. It is an explicitly textual body as it were reproduced and reproducing others in turn through practices of literacy—including the reading and writing, the exchange of letters—within the Boniface Circle. The letter of Eangyth and Heaburg is characteristically constant and self-conscious in its deployment of the epistolary style of the Boniface circle, and of quotations and appropriations from the Scriptures (Matthew 7, Luke 14, Wisdom 6 and 4) and from canonical texts such as the letters of Jerome (especially Nos. 3 and 14 with their concern with the crushing burden of worldly affairs), and the works of Aldhelm (including his letter to Aldfrith). Such textual reproduction underwrites, for example, the superscription's seemingly gratuitous praise of Boniface's virginity.

The letter specifically salutes Boniface as “virginalis castimoniae floribus velud liliarum sertis coronato” (crowned with the flowers of virginal chastity as with lilies) and rich in the teachings of doctrine, acclaiming him for the way his learning and literacy create a new family, spiritual progeny, through text rather than sex. Born of words, the textual bodies of both Boniface and the two women enjoy a metaphoric physicality that collapses the boundaries between bodies, even as the letter form emphasizes their separation and the literal impossibility of touch. Boniface's affectionate and consoling words are sweet to the taste as the women pronounce them in reading. And when these “interlitas lacrimis” (this tear-stained lines) mourn the loss of royal friends and kinsmen and the consequent loss of political and social support, the tears are those of Eangyth and Heaburg falling upon the page as they write, but they are also tears produced as the letter's compounded textual body is performed in the act of reading—they are perhaps those of the reader, Boniface, as the letter presumes his response and closes the distance between writer and reader in the one emotional gesture.

The tribulations which occasion those tears are many, so many the women claim, echoing Aldhelm, that “ut dicitur, Sextilis aut Quintilis tempore protelent aestatis” (even a summer-long day would not be long enough to tell them all).<sup>14</sup> The plight of their nephew/cousin—he is particularly unhappy because of his own folly as well as the hatred of the king—exemplifies the social dangers which beset the women as well. The abbess worries about her pastoral duties: from the beginning of the letter Eangyth calls herself the handmaid of the handmaids and those others entrusted to her care. She finds herself distracted by internal administrative

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<sup>14</sup> The Old English *Wife's Lament* echoes the same lines of Aldhelm. For the influence of Aldhelm, and conceivably the Boniface Circle, on Old English elegiac verse, see Michael Lapidge, “Aldhelm's Latin Poetry and Old English Verse.” The enigmatic male figure in *the Wife's Lament* also shares a fate very like that of Eangyth's nephew.

struggles, exacerbated by external problems like crop failures and taxation, and by the effects of envy, royal ill will, and social alienation.

Of the women's absent kin, some have died in England; awaiting the Day of Judgment, when sorrow shall vanish, their survivors suffer loneliness and the paradoxically sadness of being near their tombs yet deprived of their support and consolation. Others (including that other daughter/sister) have entrusted themselves to the pathways of the sea. Ironically stability at home is exile and physical exile can be going home: those left behind suffer a more unattractive "exile" than the pilgrims, who may well have found the shrines of and communion with the saints they sought. Pilgrimage is, indeed, a particular concern in the letter: Eangyth's desire to travel to Rome, "*sicut plurimi ex necessaries nostris et cognates sive alienis*" (as other friends, both kin and strangers have done), is of long-standing. In the only slippage from the composite to the singular I, Eangyth reminds Boniface that her desire was well known to Abbess Wala, her spiritual mother when Heaburg was too young either to understand or to share the desire. Now, in this letter, they again appeal to Boniface to support them in their prayers that the will of God might be made known, that it might validate their (or at least Eangyth's) desire. Denied as yet permission to go on pilgrimage, however, Eangyth and Heaburg inhabit a seascape of exile:

*Tamquam spumosi maria vortices verrunt et vellunt undarum cumulos conlisos saxia, quando ventorum violentia et procellarum tempestates seivissime inormem euripum impellunt et cymbarum carine sursum immutate et malus navis deorsum duratur, haut secus animarum nostrarum naviculae magnis miseriarum machinis et multifaria calamitatum quantitate quatiantur, et velud veritatis voce de evangelica domo dicitur: 'Descendit pluvial, venerunt flumina, flaverunt venti et impingerunt in domum illam.'*

[As when whirlpools of the foaming sea sweep and mountainous waves dashing against rocks pull, when the violence of the wind and storm drive through an enormous channel the keels of ships so that they are upturned and their masts are shattered, even so the frail vessels of our souls are shaken by the force of our miseries and the multitude of our misfortunes, and as the Word of Truth says, "the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon the house." (Matthew 7.27)]

In this elaborate and detailed metaphor whirlpools swirl around them as they do around Ecgburga's sailor, threatening them with shipwreck, as the violent storm of circumstance drives the frail vessel of the women's soul(s) through the Scylla and Charybdis of their life in what should be the relatively safe enclosure of their monastery, the Gospel's house built upon Faith.

More literal vessels, of course, cross the seas successfully, carrying letters back and forth to the Continent—as they do that unfortunate "*fratrum sive necessarium amicum nostrum*" (brother, relative, and friend) Denewald, whom they ask

Boniface to welcome and send on his way to another missionary named Berhtere. But separated as they are “*longo intervallo terre marisque et multarum proviciarum terminis*” (by a wide expanse of sea and land and the borders of many states) the ocean is nevertheless also the threshold of contact. The “*amplitudinis et dilectionis*” (abundant affection) Boniface has expressed in the past has been brought by messengers “*transmarinus*” (from beyond the sea). And the women beg as a response to this letter that Boniface once more send word “*trans pontum*” (across the sea). The sea physicalizes not only a space of exile and estrangement but also a liminal space that (like a letter) allows friendship.

This letter offers in fact a sustained argument for the solace to be found in friendship. Eangyth and Heaburg, and anyone similarly beset by worldly troubles, must seek “*amicum fidelem, in cuius consiliis confidat qui in suis diffident, et talem fiduciam habeat in illo, ut omnem secretum sui pectoris pandet et aperiat*” (a faithful friend upon whose counsel one can depend and in whom one can confide every secret of one’s heart). What, they ask, can be sweeter than to have such a second self with whom one can speak as freely as with oneself? In Boniface they have that faithful friend, a brother, who can and will offer them consolation. His letters nourish them: they cite the examples of Habbakuk transported by angels to feed Daniel (Dan 14.33) and of Phillip sent through the desert to teach the Ethiopian eunuch in the Acts of the Apostles 8:26–27. (Both Daniel specifically and eunuchs more generally are figures traditionally associated with virginity; their chastity is characteristic, too, of reformed, monastic bodies.)

Ironically, however, the women are the ones (or rather the one) transported across the seas in the transgendered textual body of their letter, to a place where it might receive in person the nurture of Boniface’s words. And his words would be sweet indeed, as in Psalm 118:103, “*super mel et favum ori nostro*” (sweeter than honey in our mouths). As it is, the letters between the women and Boniface can perform the work of Habbakuk’s angel only imperfectly. The letter speaks of the continual, restless search for, rather than the stable possession of, the beloved friend. As their valediction to their “*frater spiritualis fidelissime atque amantissime et sincera et pura dilectione dilectis*” (brother most faithful in spirit, most dear, most beloved in true and pure love) reiterates, quoting Jerome, the truth that “*amicus diu quaeritur, vix invenitur, difficile servatur*” (a friend is long to seek, hard to find, and difficult to keep). The problematic fragility of friendship—the paradoxical presence in absence of the epistolary text, through which, although deprived of the immediacy of human contact, and separated by literal oceans, friendship may thrive between bodies hundreds of miles apart—finds expression in a psychogeography of exile, pilgrimage, and journeys especially across oceans.

Profound lack ironically and paradoxically underwrites the creation of contradictory bodies and excessive desires even more markedly in a sequence of

letters from Berhtgyth, a woman of the second generation of the Boniface Circle. As cousins of Boniface's successor Lul (through their mother Cynehild, also a missionary in Germany) Berhtgyth and her brother Balthard were both arguably well-connected and by no means literally alone. Yet Berhtgyth's first letter emphasizes her alienation as it salutes Balthard as her "*fratri unico atque amantissimo*" (only and most beloved brother) (no. 143, 282). The one phrase conflates both their blood and synthetic kinship, and perhaps as a consequence of this conflation — with its necessary self-contradiction — her letter problematizes the epistolary exchange.

Her complaint begins with rhythmic prose that announces her mastery of the Boniface Circle style: Berhtgyth is arguably a much more sophisticated poet and stylist than Leoba. Why, she pleads, "*quid est, frater mi, quod tam longum tempus intermisisti, quod venire tardasti*" (why is it, my brother, that you have let so long a time pass, that you have delayed coming)? She is alone in the world, she writes, with no other brother to comfort her, and she begs him to visit or at least provide the substitute visit of a letter. "*Caritatis tuae absentia*" (the absence of your love) — or even of the loving presence of even his textual body — afflicts her mind with constant grief, and she weeps with sorrow both day and night about the apparent withdrawal of his affection. But even these textual tears are insufficient. Ultimately her textual body fails to express fully what her physical body feels, and her letter ends without resolution.

A subsequent letter to her "*dilectissimo fratri unico*" (most dear only brother) thanks him for sending a messenger (named Aldraed) with both a letter and gifts (no. 148, 285). Such an exchange should work to strengthen their bond and ameliorate her loneliness and alienation, and she reciprocates by sending back other gifts and this letter of her own, a letter by which and in which she may, in her textual body at least, "*cum intima caritate amplexi*" (embrace you with intimate love). She promises to take to heart his textual consolation and obey his command — which seems to pertain specifically to her wish to visit the graves of her blood kin — but only if he will come to her to assuage her fountains of tears (citing Jeremiah 9.1).

In both her wish and her insistence on a physical visit she speaks as if it were from her earthly, social, physical body to her brother-in-blood. Thus she reiterates the incompleteness of the textual visitation, invoking in an image more fortunate "*ituras*" (travelers) who may visit "*amicos suos*" (their friends and lovers). Recalling the deaths of her parents, she asks her brother to take the sorrow from her soul by a visit of even a single day. And yet, conversely, thanking God for his compassion (Luke 1.78) and consoling presence, she simultaneously assures Balthard that in her (at least) "*numquam fit derelicta dilectio nostra*" (our love will never be destitute), her words ironically and punningly juxtaposing *derelicta* and *dilectio*, her alienation and her desire. Her textual body, as her brother evidently

advises, should be able to find solace and consolation in an expectation of reunion and unending joy in the heavenly homeland, but that happiness is compromised by the disquiet of its earthbound, physical counterpart.

Her hope and expectation of heaven—and a textual body more successfully detached from secular concerns and identities—are further expressed, more confidently in some fragmentary verses appended to her letter's rhythmic prose. Echoing and appropriating Aldhelm's metrical style, Berhtgyth's lines promise that, in heaven,

uti nova ac vetera, uti dira discriminia  
Christus abolet crimina cum immense clementia

[Christ will abolish sorrows and wash away sins both new and old with His great mercy.]

The sins here, perhaps, are those especially of too much love of earthly kin. Yet the tension between the sorrow of the letter and the certainty of the poem is in itself a poignant reminder and critique of the textual body. The letter is no more a substitute for her brother than Aldraed is. It is a failed intermediary: it offers a textual body to be embraced, perhaps, but one which can never be fully satisfied, since it continually excites a desire for more, and more physical, connection.

So, too, in a third letter and another longer poem to her "dilectissimo fratri in Domino et in carne carissimo" (brother most beloved in the Lord and most dear in flesh) the duality of the connection between Berhtgyth and her brother creates a tension between secular and monastic, literate identities (no. 147, 284). Berhtgyth and Balthard are joined in "caritate" (true love), an affection that is not limited in space. But she still knows no rest from sadness, even in dreams. Her prose letter locates her textual body within multiple and contradictory citations of Scripture: a congregation of waters (Genesis 1.10), if not a storm-tossed sea, separates the two of them; like the Psalmist she has been abandoned by father and mother (Psalm 26.10); no wonder she feels Job's weariness of soul (Job 10.1). She also cites the Song of Songs, "for love is as strong as death" (Canticles 8.6), and yet asks her "dilectissime frater mi" (most beloved brother) to come to her or to allow her to come to him, that she might embrace him before she dies, for love for him has never left her soul.

The poem which accompanies this prose letter—like her other poem, rhymed octosyllabics in the form of Aldhelm's *Carmen rhythmicum*—asserts much more confidently that they will rest together in heaven:

Vale vivens feliciter, ut sis sanctus simpliciter,  
Tibi salus per saecula tribuatur per culmina.  
Vivamus soli Domino vitam semper in seculo.  
Profecto ipsim precibus peto profusis fletibus



Solo tenus sepiissima, subrogare auxilia:  
 Ut simus digni Gloria, ubi resonant carmina  
 Angelorum laetissima aethralea laetitia  
 Clara Christi clementia celse laudis in secula.  
 Valeamus angelicis victrices iungi milibus,  
 Paradisi perpetuis perdurantes in gaudiis.

[Farewell, living happily, so that you be holy in simplicity; To you may health be allotted forever. Let us live for God alone eternally. I pray, with profuse tears poured out upon the ground, petitioning for His aid most frequently, that we should be worthy of His glory, where the most joyful songs of the angels sound—the joy of Heaven—through the renowned mercy of Christ, lofty praise forever. May we flourish as victors united with the thousands of angels in the perpetual joys of paradise.]

There the two will join in the life of the angels and joy forever: a similar image of Heaven is expressed in Berhtgyth's other poem as well, where Christ's majesty is "armata angelicis vallata legionibus" (walled about with legions of angels) (no. 148, 287). The emphatic, repeated desire for a life among the angels may echo, too, Aldhelm's description, in both his *Prosa* and *Carmen de Virginitate*, of monastic virginity as a species of angelic life. Here, as in Berhtgyth's other letters, heavenly joy accompanies with unity and presence, while earthly sorrow attends separation and alienation. The prose letter critiques the insufficiencies (if not the failures) of the textual body to escape the constraints of the earthly social world. Not so the poem, in which it is joy and communion that characterize the textual body.

Like Leoba, Berhtgyth constructs this poetic and therefore perhaps more purely textual body, distinct from secular gender and kinship complications, by appropriating the language of Aldhelm and Boniface, and by so intervening in the chain of reception and influence linking the older male writers and their later disciples, her contemporaries Lul and (arguably) Balthard himself.

A further complication of this poetic body, however, is the shifting gender of its addressee. As the verses conclude with the prayer that "we may flourish as victors" among the angels, the "we"—nominally Berhtgyth and her brother—are somewhat oddly and certainly ungrammatically not *victores* but *victrices*, in the feminine rather than masculine plural. It may well be (as Jane Stevenson has argued) that the poem was originally written not for Balthard at all but for another woman.<sup>15</sup> If so, it is perhaps interesting that a female-female bond of purely synthetic monastic kinship offers Berhtgyth a less conflicted space for the reconstruction of self than the female-male bonds she shares with her brother in blood and in faith.

<sup>15</sup> Jane Stevenson, "Anglo-Saxon Women Poets," *Latin Learning and English Lore: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature for Michael Lapidge*, ed. Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe and Andy Orchard (Toronto and London: University of Toronto Press, 2005), II: 86–107; here 90.

Because of the circumstances of its compilation as a literary dossier within and for a men's monastic house, the compound literary artifact that is the Boniface Circle corpus not surprisingly foregrounds friendships that link men to men (primarily) and men to women—sometimes, as in the letters discussed here, women to men. Letters specifically linking women to women are conspicuously rare, and the evidence for female-female friendships correspondingly slight and often problematic. One exception to the rule is the letter from Ælflæd of Whitby to Adola of Pfalzel in Germany, introducing and asking assistance for another unnamed nun who has embarked upon a pilgrimage to Rome. Ælflæd describes that anonymous nun as her “karissimam fidelissimamque filiam nostram ab annis adoliscetiae” (dearest and most faithful daughter from the years of her adolescence) (no. 8, 3). In this case Ælflæd probably stands as spiritual, not biological mother to this monastic daughter. This at least suggests that the same language of synthetic kinship contributed to relationships between women as it did between men or between men and women.

More common, however, are letters addressed to or from pairs or groups of women, often blood sisters or mother and daughter, but some of them bound, like Ælflæd and her “daughter,” by the synthetic kinship of a spiritual friendship. While Eangyth and Heaburg seem to have been biological mother and daughter, Eangyth describes Wala as her “abbatissa quondam mea et mater spiritalis” (former abbess and spiritual mother) through synthetic, monastic rather than blood kinship (no. 14, 25). The nature of the kinship linking Cneuburga with her “soror mea germana” (her full sister) Coenburga is more ambiguous (no. 55, 98). The two join with Aldhun (probably Abbot of Glastonbury) in dispatching a mortuary roll commemorating the deaths, on the same day, of Aldhun's mother Edla and of Cneuburga's—but evidently not Coenburga's—biological sister Quoengyth. Boniface's letter to his “diligendes sororibus” (beloved sisters) and “fillabus carissimis” (dearest daughters) Leoba, Thecla and Berhtgyth's mother Cynehild similarly links three women most probably bound by spiritual rather than close blood kinship (no. 67, 139).

Thecla, at least, appears in Rudolf of Fulda's *Life of Leoba*, as both actor and hagiographic source. When a violent storm rages over the monastery, it is Thecla who rouses Leoba from her prayers to calm the wind and thunder by invoking the aid of Mary, Mother of God. In this instance Thecla addresses her *O dilecte Dilecta* (beloved Beloved), a Latin pun on the meaning of her Anglo-Saxon cognomen, but an endearment which echoes, too, the Bonifatian language of friendship. Besides Thecla, Leoba is bound in friendship as well to her first teacher Tetta of Wimbourne. It is from Tetta, and even against the abbess's own wishes and desires (according to the *Vita*) that Boniface summons Leoba to Germany. More prominent in the *Life*, however, is Leoba's friendship with Charlemagne's third wife, Hildegard, who in return *puro eam venerabatur affectu atque ita ut animam suam*

diligeat ("revered [Leoba] with chaste affection and loved her as her own soul").<sup>16</sup> It is to Hildegard that an aged and dying Leoba addresses a particularly fond farewell:

Vale in aeternum, domina et soror dilectissima! Vale, animae meae portio pretiosa! Christus creator et redemptor noster tribuat, ut nos in die iudicii sine confusione videamus! Ceterum in hac luc mutuo namquam ab hac die fruemur aspectu.<sup>17</sup>

[Farewell for ever, my most beloved lady and sister; farewell, precious half of my soul. May Christ our Creator and Redeemer grant that we two may meet again without shame on the Day of Judgment. Never more in this light shall we enjoy each other's presence.]

The language here is exactly that of the Boniface Circle, and of Berhtgyth's poem: absence and separation characterize, but also ironically ground and validate the desires within the discourse. The diction of endearment and affection requires a trope of emotional presence despite physical absence. Here the textual body does not merely supplement but entirely displaces the physical. Perhaps this is because the saint of the Life is defined as a living embodiment of Scriptural text. Or, contrarily, perhaps this is because her hagiographer (at least a generation after her death) displays considerable anxiety about women's literacy, and about the strict enclosure of both their physical and textual bodies.

In Leoba's extant letters—as in those of Ecburga, of Eangyth and Heaburg, and especially those of Berhtgyth—the displacement is less complete and therefore more explicitly problematic. It is also consequently more radically challenging of such enclosure. Holy and virginal kisses after all remain holy and virginal because they are never embodied, can never be expressed physically. And if the language of *amicitia* and spiritual friendship (re-)creates kinship among the "brothers" and "sisters" of this extended and far-flung *familia*, it may also occasion anxieties. Moreover, though the extent to which such textual bodies model gestural and emotional vocabularies for friendships outside of texts presents a separate interpretive problem, Rudolf of Fulda's *Life of Leoba* suggests that the shared literary diction and common stylistic gestures of epistolary friendship could and did escape generic boundaries.<sup>18</sup>

Captured and described in a moment of tension between life and death, being and non-being, presence and absence, immanence and separation, none of these epistolary scenes of Anglo-Saxon women's friendships is an innocent direct

<sup>16</sup> *Vita*, ed. Waitz, 129.

<sup>17</sup> *Vita*, ed. Waitz, 130.

<sup>18</sup> On the complexities of detangling literary usage and common practices and gestures, and on the possibilities of disentangling as well modern readings of medieval rhetoric, see Jaeger, *Ennobling Love*.

representation. Each is, rather, a self-conscious literary construction, implicate in a complex and sophisticated communal rhetoric. Each offers a particularly and distinctly literate intervention into—and reconstruction of—sometimes coincident and sometimes conflicting secular and monastic identities.

## Chapter 4

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### *“Sapienter amare poterimus”<sup>1</sup>: On Rhetoric and Friendship in the Letters of Heloise and Abelard*

Readers of the *Historia calamitatum* need not move beyond its earliest pages to find Peter Abelard (1079–1142) already emphasizing how his natural ability, education, and experience<sup>2</sup> all conspired in one direction in his early years: “et quoniam dialecticarum rationum armaturam omnibus philosophiae documentis praetuli” (Of all the areas of philosophy, my primary interest lay in the weapons of dialectical reasoning).<sup>3</sup> And the very first sentence to Heloise (1090–1163/64) following his greeting to her in the

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<sup>1</sup> Constant J. Mews, *The Lost Love Letters of Heloise and Abelard: Perceptions of Dialogue in Twelfth-Century France*, trans. Neville Chiavaroli and Constant J. Mews (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1999). Abelard’s letter 75: “Sapienter amare poterimus, quod tamen rarem est . . .” (We shall be able to love wisely, which admittedly is rare . . .), 256, 257.

<sup>2</sup> Isocrates names explicitly these three elements as necessary for the successful *rhetor*. See “Antidosis,” *Isocrates*, vol. 2, ed. George Norlin. Loeb Classical Library (London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1962), 187–90.

<sup>3</sup> Ep. 1, ed. Jacques Monfrin, *Abelard: Historia calamitatum* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1978), 62–109; here, 62. Both the Latin and English citations of the *Epistolae duorum amantium* are taken from Mews, *The Lost Love Letters*, and are referenced as the *Epistolae duorum amantium* or “early letters” throughout this study. Citations from the later Latin correspondence of Heloise and Abelard follow Jacques Paul Migne’s numbering of the correspondence (see <http://individual.utoronto.ca/pking/resources/abelard/Epistolae.txt>, last accessed on Aug. 1, 2010) and include editions by: Jacques Monfrin, *Abelard: Historia calamitatum* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1978), 62–109 [Ep. 1]; Joseph Thomas Muckle, “The Personal Letters Between Abelard and Heloise,” *Mediaeval Studies* 15 (1953): 68–94 [Ep. 2–5]; Joseph Thomas Muckle, “The Letter of Heloise on Religious Life and Abelard’s First Reply,” *Mediaeval Studies* 17 (1955): 240–81 [Ep. 6–7]; T. P. McLaughlin, “Abelard’s Rule for Religious Women,” *Mediaeval Studies* 18 (1956): 241–92 [Ep. 8]; and Charles S. F. Burnett, Ep. 17, *Mittelateinisch Jahrbuch* 21 (1986): 152–53. References to the English translations are primarily from *Abelard and Heloise: The Letters and Other Writings*, trans. and intro. and notes William Levitan (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 2007); here, 2. Alternately, *The Letters of Abelard and Heloise*, trans. Betty Radice (London: Penguin, 1974) is used.

“Confession of Faith” of his later days only confirms that, among the basic philosophical orientations reflected in the *trivium*, Abelard had ultimately aligned himself most predominantly as the logician: “odiosum me mundo reddidit logica. Aiunt enim peruersi peruertentes, quorum sapientia est in perditione, me in logica prestantissimum esse, sed in Paulo non mediocriter claudicare” (Logic has made me hateful to the world, for those twisted men who twist all things and are wise only to destroy claim that I stand alone when it comes to logic but badly stumble when it comes to Paul).<sup>4</sup> However, as scholars over the past several decades have emphasized, Abelard also knew himself to be a master of rhetoric. Furthermore, he knew such mastery was not at odds with a commitment to logic. Finally, and most importantly, he knew such mastery to be precisely that of St. Paul and of any serious thinker in the service of the word of God.

The following study examines the rhetorical expression of Abelard as that which develops notably as a result of his epistolary exchange with Heloise.<sup>5</sup> The very nature of this particular exchange requires an excursion into reflections on rhetoric both as philosophical orientation and as spiritual exercise.<sup>6</sup> To this end, I propose an evolving rhetorical project of Heloise, one which focuses on a theme never far from the work of rhetoric in western thought from Plato to Derrida—and that is the theme of friendship. In this way, *amicitia* serves as the mechanism for a rigorous rhetorical exchange between Heloise and Abelard; friendship evolves as the dynamic *topos* of the correspondence. Ultimately, the development of this exchange—with its basis in the *Epistolae duorum*

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<sup>4</sup> Ep. 17, ed. Burnett, 152. Levitan, *Abelard and Heloise*, 260. The editorial note reads: “This short letter was preserved by Berengar of Poitiers, one of Abelard’s students, in his *Apologeticus*, a spirited defense of Abelard addressed to Bernard of Clairvaux and Abelard’s other opponents at the Council of Sens in 1140, after which Abelard was condemned for heresy and sentenced to perpetual silence, all copies of his writings ordered destroyed.”

<sup>5</sup> My hope is that this study yields evidence for further reflection on the thesis that the most profound lessons in Abelard’s rhetorical training are those he receives from Heloise, rather than from William of Champeaux or even Boethius.

<sup>6</sup> A classic text pointing to this tradition is Pierre Hadot’s *Philosophy as a Way of Life: Spiritual Exercises from Socrates to Foucault* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1995). Two more recent studies focused explicitly in the medieval tradition are those of Robert Sweetman, “Thomas of Cantimpré: Performative Reading and Pastoral Care,” *Performance and Transformation: New Approaches to Late Medieval Spirituality*, ed. Mary A. Suydam and Joanna E. Ziegler (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1999), 133–67, and Gilles Mongeau, S.J., *Embracing Wisdom: the Spiritual Pedagogy of the Summa Theologiae* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, forthcoming). See especially Sweetman’s account of “devotional readers of a sacred text” for whom “sacred locution transcribes itself onto the reader’s subsequent body, tongue, and heart,” 135, and Mongeau’s point in his study of Thomas Aquinas that “the text of the *Summa Theologiae* is not only materially a spiritual theology (as shown by Torrell). It is also a spiritual theology in its form, as a spiritual pedagogy, or a series of ‘spiritual exercises’ designed to engage the student and lead him or her to an encounter with divine truth in Christ,” “Embracing Wisdom: The *Summa Theologiae* as a Christoform Pedagogy of Spiritual Exercises,” Ph.D. diss. Toronto, Regis College, 2003, 70. Such studies offer compelling evidence inviting re-readings of several ancient and medieval texts that are yet to be appreciated for their contributions to the field of rhetoric.

*amantium* and its progression in the Letters following the *Historia calamitatum*<sup>7</sup>—engages both of them more deeply into a life of ongoing Christian conversion.<sup>8</sup>

## 1. Scholarly Contributions to the Texts

The past seventy years or so of scholarship attending to the work of Abelard and Heloise have contributed to more complex readings of their correspondence. Richard McKeon's 1942 *Speculum* article "Rhetoric in the Middle Ages" has been truly complemented and expanded through a rich wave of recent projects represented by such titles as: *Rhetoric Retold: Regendering the Tradition from Antiquity Through the Renaissance* (1997), *Listening to Heloise: The Voice of a Twelfth-Century Woman* (2000), *Rhetoric and Renewal in the Latin West 1100–1540* (2003), and "Cicero and the Boundaries of Friendship in the Twelfth Century" (2007).<sup>9</sup> Other, not unrelated areas include: studies of the twelfth-century monastic tradition;<sup>10</sup> issues of authenticity and continuity among the works and within the works themselves;<sup>11</sup> the contributions of Heloise, including her education, responsibilities and

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<sup>7</sup> The *Letters* are always considered in the context of the *Historia calamitatum* throughout this study, and will be referenced herein as the "later letters" or Letters.

<sup>8</sup> See Eileen C. Sweeney, "Abelard's *Historia Calamitatum* and Letters: Self as Search and Struggle," *Poetics Today* 28 (2007): 303–36, for a recent treatment focusing on the nature of Abelard's conversion. While the limits of this study do not allow for an additional thorough treatment of the *Problemata Heloissae*, this text deserves consideration as the fulfillment of the rhetorical project being proposed in the early and later letters. See Eileen Kearney's chapter on "The Problemata of Heloise and Abelard: Exegesis and Inquiry," *Master Peter Abelard, Expositor of Sacred Scripture: An Analysis Of Abelard's Approach To Biblical Exposition In Selected Writings On Scripture*, Ph.D. diss., Marquette, WI, Marquette University, 1980, 149–242.

<sup>9</sup> Richard McKeon, "Rhetoric in the Middle Ages," *Speculum* 17 (January 1942): 1–32; Cheryl Glenn, *Rhetoric Retold: Regendering the Tradition from Antiquity Through the Renaissance* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1997); *Listening to Heloise: The Voice of a Twelfth-Century Woman*, ed. Bonnie Wheeler (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000); *Rhetoric and Renewal in the Latin West 1100–1540: Essays in Honour of John O. Ward*, ed. Constant J. Mews, Cary J. Nederman, Rodney M. Thomson (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2003); and Constant J. Mews, "Cicero and the Boundaries of Friendship in the Twelfth Century," *Viator* 38.2 (2007): 369–84.

<sup>10</sup> See for instance Mary Jane Morrow, "Sharing Texts: Anselmian Prayers, a Nunnery's Psalter, and the Role of Friendship," *Voices in Dialogue: Reading Women in the Middle Ages*, ed. Linda Olson and Kathryn Kerby-Fulton (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005), 97–113.

<sup>11</sup> See for instance, Réka Forrai and Sylvain Piron, "The Debate on the *Epistolae duorum amantium*. Current status quaestionis and Further Research," March, 2007 (<http://www.tdtc.unisi.it/digimed/files/Piron-status%20quaestionis.pdf>, last accessed on Aug. 1, 2010); Mews, *The Lost Love Letters*; Peter Dronke, *Women Writers of the Middle Ages: A Critical Study of Texts from Perpetua (†203) to Marguerite Porete (†1310)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 107–43; John Marenbon, *The Philosophy of Peter Abelard* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

philosophical ingenuity;<sup>12</sup> and re-examinations of Abelard's own theological and literary contributions.<sup>13</sup> In many ways, such important work might be considered the extended conversation of some of the earliest insights into the correspondence of Abelard and Heloise offered by such scholars as Jean Leclercq, who noted in 1973 that the Letters reveal an Heloise whose constant dedication to Abelard "does not exclude great trust in God,"<sup>14</sup> and Etienne Gilson's astute observation from his 1937 lectures that

The two lovers were in agreement about the ideal for both the philosopher and the cleric . . . To neglect as simply a curious accessory this ideal itself, to refuse to see in it the hidden force which exalts and governs this whole conflict . . . is to miss the very gateway to the moral labyrinth.<sup>15</sup>

Such insights, I hope to illustrate, lie at the very heart of the engagement of rhetoric and friendship in the writings of Abelard and Heloise, revealing not the conversion of *one* of the writers, but of *both*, and revealing as well what proves to be an *ongoing* conversion to the end.

### 1.1 Rhetoric as Philosophical Orientation and Spiritual Exercise

When rhetoric is considered as a basic philosophical resource for transformative existential growth, rather than as the basis for a hermeneutics of suspicion, new considerations and re-readings, across many disciplines, may emerge. For example, in her study of "women in relation to rhetoric as belonging not to a margin but to a matrix," Christine Mason Sutherland cites Thomas Miller's suggestion that "instead of studying the tradition of rhetoric, we need to study 'the rhetoric of traditions.'"<sup>16</sup> In a tribute to the extensive work of George Kennedy in "Defining Medieval Rhetoric," Martin Camargo has observed that Kennedy's own reflections on rhetoric in the Middle Ages have shifted away from a more pronounced distinction "between 'primary' and 'secondary' rhetoric."<sup>17</sup> In fact, in a 1998 study entitled *Comparative Rhetoric: An Historical and Cross-*

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<sup>12</sup> See for instance John Ward, "Women and Latin Rhetoric from Hrotsvit to Hildegard," *The Changing Tradition: Women in the History of Rhetoric*, ed. Christine Mason Sutherland and Rebecca Sutcliffe (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1999), 121–32.

<sup>13</sup> See, for instance, Constant J. Mews, *Abelard and Heloise* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Marenbon, *The Philosophy of Peter Abelard*.

<sup>14</sup> Jean Leclercq, "Modern Psychology and the Interpretation of Medieval Texts," *Speculum* 48 (July 1973): 476–90; here 484.

<sup>15</sup> Etienne Gilson, *Heloise and Abelard* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1960), 21–22.

<sup>16</sup> Christine Mason Sutherland, "Women in the History of Rhetoric: The Past and the Future," *The Changing Tradition*, 9–31; here 10.

<sup>17</sup> Martin Camargo, "Defining Medieval Rhetoric," *Rhetoric and Renewal*, 21–34; here 27–28.



*Cultural Introduction*, Kennedy provides some simple definitions that Aristotle himself might not so easily discount: "Rhetoric is not . . . just a convenient concept existing only in the mind of speakers, audiences, writers, critics and teachers. It has an essence or reality that has not been appreciated . . . . Rhetoric, in essence, is a form of mental and emotional energy."<sup>18</sup> This "energy," notes Kennedy, "drives and is imparted to communication," and its "basic function . . . is defensive and conservative; but to secure or preserve the quality of life for one individual or one group may seem to require offensive actions and efforts at change."<sup>19</sup> What is so striking about Kennedy's definition of rhetoric is the way in which it resonates with what Peter Dronke has identified as the driving force of women's writing in the Middle Ages. Dronke should be quoted here at length:

The women's motivation for writing at all, for instance, seems rarely to be predominantly literary: it is often more urgently serious than is common among men writers; it is a response springing from inner needs [*pathos*], more than from an artistic, or didactic inclination. There is, more often than in men's writing, a lack of apriorism, of predetermined postures: again and again we encounter attempts to cope with human problems in their singularity — not imposing rules or categories from without, but seeking solutions that are apt and truthful existentially . . . [showing] excellently a quality (literary, but also 'metaliterary') of immediacy: they look at themselves more concretely and more searchingly [*ethos*] than many of the highly accomplished men writers who were their contemporaries. This immediacy can lend women's writing qualities beside which all technical flawlessness [*logos*] is pallid.<sup>20</sup>

Such an account seems to describe Heloise's writing precisely, capturing the way in which she takes up again the topic of friendship offered by Abelard in his *Historia calamitatum* and offers it back in return along with every self-effacing question about love, virtue and truth, which for her, are the only ways of rendering *amicitia* with integrity.

Not excluding Kennedy's own work,<sup>21</sup> a host of more technical studies provides further data for reflections on late-medieval understandings of rhetoric and the implicit and explicit spiritual exercises accompanying them. It is worth reflecting more deeply, for instance, on the fact that the *ars dictaminis* existed alongside the other "forms of rhetoric in the Middle Ages: preaching, epideictic poetry."<sup>22</sup> What might this mean in terms of the

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<sup>18</sup> George Kennedy, *Comparative Rhetoric: An Historical and Cross-Cultural Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 3.

<sup>19</sup> Kennedy, *Comparative Rhetoric*, 216.

<sup>20</sup> Dronke, *Women Writers of the Middle Ages*, x. I have included in brackets what Aristotle identifies as the three modes of rhetoric, which, as Kennedy notes, fit along with "topoi," in the category identified by Cicero as "invention." See Kennedy, *Comparative Rhetoric*, 225.

<sup>21</sup> See also George Kennedy, *Classical Rhetoric and Its Christian and Secular Tradition from Ancient to Modern Times* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999).

<sup>22</sup> Kennedy, *Classical Rhetoric*, 225. In *The Changing Tradition*, John Ward asks: "Can we imagine a rough divide between what she learned from Abelard (logic, theology, philosophy, Biblical exegesis?) and what he imbibed from her (auctores, certain rhetorical/dictaminial/stylistic practices?) and what they learned

theory of the *salutatio* or the ancient genre of the *consolatio*, of which “the core rhetorical strategy was the articulation of certain philosophical ‘*topoi*’ and the enumeration of consoling *exempla* of greater tragedies than those experienced by the recipient”?<sup>23</sup> What should we make of Malcolm Richardson’s observation in “The *Ars dictaminis*, the Formulary, and Medieval Epistolary Practice” that although “medieval letter-writing manuals have not had a good press in modern times and are often disparaged for the aridity of their theory,” a review of epistolary rhetoric from the late eleventh to thirteenth centuries reveals a notable shift from “letter writing as a subfield of rhetoric” to “rhetoric . . . taught as a subfield of letter writing”?<sup>24</sup> As Constant Mews notes, Heloise’s indebtedness to Cicero in her correspondence was a transformation of Cicero’s thought through a merging of “ovidian, ciceronian and religious imagery.”<sup>25</sup> Given such efforts on the part of Heloise, her correspondence with Abelard provides a fruitful context for considering the way in which rhetoric functions both as philosophical orientation and as spiritual exercise.

Reconsiderations of Abelard’s own thought on rhetoric in this context include: work on his “twelve-page digression on rhetorical argumentation in glosses to Boethius’ *De differentiis topicis*”;<sup>26</sup> his intention to write a “*Rhetorica*”<sup>27</sup>; and his later readings of the Scriptures as a “product of divine eloquence.”<sup>28</sup> As McKeon noted decades ago: “Abelard begins his *Commentary on the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans* with the statement: The intention of all divine Scripture is to teach or to move in the manner of a rhetorical speech.”<sup>29</sup> Only now are studies on the development of Abelard’s thought concerning rhetoric returning to examine his ideas on human and divine language, and in particular his readings of Augustine and of commentaries on Augustine’s thought. In this area, it is striking how Abelard’s own growing reflections on rhetoric and the Scriptures

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together (shared reading of the auctores?)” He is among the most reserved of scholars in the midst of such questions, concluding that “without much closer attention to rhetorical teaching in Paris around the time of her early education...we cannot profitably advance an inquiry into ‘Heloissa rhetor,’” 125. Perhaps deeper reflection on all three forms of rhetoric might yield, on one level, rather than evidence of a “rough divide” between these disciplines, instead a series of spiritual exercises engaging them all through the tools of rhetoric.

<sup>23</sup> Katharina Wilson and Glenda McLeod, “Textual Strategies in the Abelard/Heloise Correspondence,” *Listening to Heloise*, 121–42; here 129.

<sup>24</sup> Malcolm Richardson, “The *Ars dictaminis*, the Formulary, and Medieval Epistolary Practice,” *Letter-Writing Manuals and Instruction From Antiquity to the Present: Historical and Bibliographic Studies*, ed. Carol Poster and Linda C. Mitchell (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2007), 52–66; here 64, 52. See also the contribution to this volume by Julian P. Haseldine.

<sup>25</sup> Mews, *Abelard and Heloise*, 65.

<sup>26</sup> Karin Margareta Fredborg, “Abelard on Rhetoric,” *Rhetoric and Renewal*, 55–80.

<sup>27</sup> Constant J. Mews, “Peter Abelard on Dialectic, Rhetoric, and the Principles of Argument,” *Rhetoric and Renewal*, 37–54.

<sup>28</sup> Peter von Moos, “Literary Aesthetics in the Latin Middle Ages: The Rhetorical Theology of Peter Abelard,” *Rhetoric and Renewal*, 81–97; here 87.

<sup>29</sup> Richard McKeon, “Rhetoric in the Middle Ages,” *Speculum* 17 (January 1942): 1–32; here 20.

resemble Augustine's own journey; John Cavadini has noted of Augustine's writings: "But the Christ of these earlier works, from the point of view of *De doctrina christiana*, is naive—he is an orator who attempts merely to teach, thinking that knowledge and understanding of the truth alone will suffice, not understanding that teaching in and of itself cannot persuade; not understanding, finally, the well-springs of human motivation."<sup>30</sup> Is this not a portrait of the Abelard whom Heloise confronts in the *Historia calamitatum*?

An important component of this examination is the significance given to the beginning sections of Cicero's *De inventione* (*Rhetorica Prima*) by Heloise and Abelard in their Letters.<sup>31</sup> Explicit references to this work serve to frame the exchange of the Letters, beginning with the *exemplum* of Aspasia<sup>32</sup> offered by Heloise in the First Letter, and concluding with the account of Zeuxis<sup>33</sup> offered by Abelard in the Seventh Letter. The opening lines of the *De inventione* are not explicitly quoted by either Heloise or Abelard, but are lines we would do well to consider as providing an interpretive key for reading their entire correspondence from the time of the *Epistolae duorum amantium* to the writing of the *Problemata Heloissae*. From the very beginning of her rhetorical project in the early letters, Heloise calls attention to the integral relation between wisdom and eloquence—with eloquence as a synonym for rhetoric—a relation put forth by Cicero in the *De inventione*:

Saepe et multum hoc mecum cogitavi, bonine an mali plus attulerit hominibus et civitatibus copia dicendi ac summum eloquentiae studium . . . cum autem res ab nostra memoria propter vetustatem remotas ex litterarum monumentis repetere instituo, multas urbes constitutas, plurima bella restincta, firmissimas societates, sanctissimas amicitias intellego cum animi ratione tum facilius eloquentia comparatas. Ac me quidem diu cogitantem ratio ipsa in hanc potissimum sententiam ducit, ut existimem sapientiam sine eloquentia parum prodesse civitatibus, eloquentiam vero sine sapientia nimium obesse plerumque, prodesse nunquam.

[I have often seriously debated with myself whether men and communities have received more good or evil from oratory and a consuming devotion to eloquence . . . When, on the other hand, I begin to search in the records of literature for events which occurred before the period which our generation can remember, I find that many cities have been founded, that the flames of a multitude of wars have been extinguished, and that the strongest alliances and

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<sup>30</sup> John Cavadini, "The Sweetness of the Word: Salvation and Rhetoric in Augustine's *De doctrina christiana*," *De doctrina christiana: A Classic of Western Culture*, ed. Duane Arnold and Pamela Bright (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995), 164–81; here 168. As Rita Copeland has noted of the *De doctrina christiana*: "the role of invention in this system is to provide the terms for the exegetical act itself," *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics and Translation in the Middle Ages: Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 154.

<sup>31</sup> The only other writing by Cicero cited in the Letters is his *Tusculanae disputationes*. See Levitan, 340. See also the extensive scholarly attention given to the influence of the *De inventione* upon the thought of Heloise and Abelard.

<sup>32</sup> Levitan, *Abelard and Heloise*, 57, n. 10: "Cicero, *De Inventione* 1.31.52."

<sup>33</sup> Levitan, *Abelard and Heloise*, 170, n. 2. See *De Inventione* 2.1.

most sacred friendships have been formed not only by the use of the reason but also more easily by the help of eloquence. For my own part, after long thought, I have been led by reason itself to hold this opinion first and foremost, that wisdom without eloquence does too little for the good of states, but that eloquence without wisdom is generally highly disadvantageous and is never helpful.]<sup>34</sup>

In their early letters, it is Heloise trying to work out this relationship between human wisdom<sup>35</sup> and eloquence in terms of friendship. For her, such a relationship is not at odds with God's wisdom or with *amor*, and we witness her struggling with Abelard on this point, without resolution in these early letters.<sup>36</sup> In the later letters, Heloise takes up this relationship again, ultimately employing another synonym for rhetoric—*persuasio*, Abelard's own term from the *Historia calamitatum*, and, together, they work out a reconciliation through their renewed commitment of friendship in these letters.

The intimate, integral relation between wisdom and eloquence is arguably one to which, more than any other theoretical relation, Heloise devotes much of her life's work from the time of her early letters with Abelard to the question-and-answer exchange on the Scriptures with Abelard in the *Problemata*. In the *Epistolae duorum amantium*, the relation between wisdom and eloquence expresses itself as the tension between virtue and *eloquentia*. In the Letters, it might be considered a reconciliation through wisdom and *persuasio*. In order to fruitfully trace this movement in the rhetoric, however, it is necessary to attend first to friendship.

## 1.2 Friendship as *Topos* and Method

The topic of friendship was of vital importance in the realm of twelfth-century educational—and especially ethical—endeavors.<sup>37</sup> As Frederick J. E. Raby has noted, “the pre-occupation with ethical questions is obvious in writers of every [cathedral] school, and, almost inevitably, the topic of friendship comes up for discussion.”<sup>38</sup> According to Gerhart Ladner, discussions of friendship could easily be found in reflections on both human and divine natures:

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<sup>34</sup> Cicero, *De inventione, De optimo genere oratorum, Topica*, trans. H. M. Hubbell (London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1949), I.1.

<sup>35</sup> Cicero, *De inventione*, II.160: “knowledge of what is good . . . and bad.”

<sup>36</sup> Juanita Feros Ruys has clearly shown this in her study distinguishing Heloise's *dictamen* and Abelard's ethics in relation to eloquence. See “*Eloquencie vultum depingere*: Eloquence and *Dictamen* in the Love Letters of Heloise and Abelard,” *Rhetoric and Renewal*, 99–112.

<sup>37</sup> “. . . At no other time, in the mediaeval west, did the subject of friendship receive such close and continuous attention.” Frederick J. E. Raby, “*Amor and Amicitia*: A Mediaeval Poem,” *Speculum* 40 (October 1965): 599–610.

<sup>38</sup> Raby, “*Amor and Amicitia*: A Mediaeval Poem,” 601.

The mentality of the twelfth century also included a new conception of friendship between God and man, in which the humanity of God was predominant, and this contributed to making the whole natural and supernatural universe appear more benign, more friendly to man. We have seen in Alan of Lille's dream of a new man and a new world a profound if utopian concern for a renewal of man in which nature and God have an almost equal share.<sup>39</sup>

Heloise's persistent reflections in the *Epistolae duorum amantium* attest to this reality in which friendship takes on a central focus before both man and God. As early as letter 9, Heloise writes: "Volo et inhiante cupio ut litteris iuxta preceptum tuum intercurrentibus precordialis inter nos firmetur amicitia, donec illa michi nimium felix dies illucescat, qua votis omnibus desideratam tuam faciem videam . . . Vale in deo, quo validior est nemo" (I wish and eagerly desire that by exchanging letters according to your bidding, the heartfelt friendship between us may be strengthened until that exceedingly happy day shines on me when I shall see your face, the desire of all my prayers . . . Farewell in God, than whom no one is more strong).<sup>40</sup> Here, her earnest pleading with Abelard for a steadfast human friendship is grounded in an understanding of the relationship with God as providing the very foundation for that friendship. By letter 25, Heloise's pleas adopt an even bolder quality as she closes with a prayer that God's own love for her might reflect her intimate devotion to Abelard.<sup>41</sup> Although Abelard does not explicitly address Heloise's daring expressions of mutuality with God that seem to fuel her treatment of friendship in these early letters, he does applaud her account of the dynamics of human friendship, proclaiming in letter 50: "Tuum admiror ingenium, que tam subtiliter de amicitie legibus argumentaris ut non Tullium legisse, sed ipsi Tullio precepta dedisse videaris" (I admire your talent, you who discuss the rules of friendship so subtly that you seem not to have read Tully but to have given those precepts to Tully himself).<sup>42</sup>

As in the context of rhetoric, so in the context of friendship, Cicero's thought is again of central importance in their writings.<sup>43</sup> A critical component of Cicero's discussion of friendship, especially in the *De amicitia*—which Mews has noted to be the most cited Ciceronian source in the early letters—is that of *virtus*,<sup>44</sup> which both Heloise and Abelard

<sup>39</sup> Gerhart Ladner, "Terms and Ideas of Renewal," *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable with Carol D. Lanham (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), 1–33; here 16.

<sup>40</sup> Letter 9, Mews, *The Lost Love Letters*, 194, 195.

<sup>41</sup> Letter 25, Mews, *The Lost Love Letters*, 212, 213: "Sicut tibi cupio, ita michi faciat deus" (May God do for me such as I desire for you).

<sup>42</sup> Letter 50, Mews, *The Lost Love Letters*, 232, 233.

<sup>43</sup> Mews cites the *De amicitia*, *Tusculanae disputationes*, and *De officiis* as sources in this exchange. See *The Lost Love Letters*, 196, n. 12b; 210, n. 25a; 226, n. 49c.

<sup>44</sup> See also C. Stephen Jaeger, *Ennobling Love: In Search of a Lost Sensibility*. The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 29.

interweave throughout their reflections of friendship. C. Stephen Jaeger's extensive study in this area is instructive:

The connection of friendship with virtue became the theme of Cicero's *Laelius de amicitia* . . . . While he recognizes its pragmatic side, he restricts the definition of friendship to "love of virtue in another man": "Friendship cannot exist except among good men." When friendship consists in perfect agreement among men on all things human and divine, joined with goodwill and affection, then it is the best gift of the gods to man, apart from wisdom (6.22). Cicero agrees with the "noble" view that virtue is the chief good of man, and claims that virtue alone creates and conserves friendship. Virtue is the highest object of desire, that force in a person most able to generate love. . . . It assumes the chasteness and spirituality of a friendship which does not require the physical presence. A man's goodness and virtue are the common knowledge of his society, passed on in its common report. Hence absence is the test of friendship based on excellence of character: if love originates in the admiration of virtue, then friendship can be generated with no admixture of sensuality, even without the physical presence of the beloved.<sup>45</sup>

According to Cicero, what is required for friendship is persons (i.e., men) dedicated to a life of virtue, such that their desires are directed toward virtue and such that virtue itself guides their love.<sup>46</sup> As Jaeger emphasizes, this "Ciceronian idea virtually eliminates the erotic."<sup>47</sup> As Jaeger also emphasizes, noting how "the admired virtues of the other form a common motif of the [early] letters,"<sup>48</sup> Heloise's "rooting a passionate and carnal-spiritual love in virtue . . . employed the terms of Ciceronian friendship in a context to which they were alien."<sup>49</sup> They were alien to Cicero's work in the *De amicitia* precisely because they include women in the equation, they engage the erotic, and, particularly in the later letters, they reveal a commitment so confidently and entirely embraced that virtue itself is subsumed by the wisdom identified with eloquence in the beginning of the *De inventione*.

A second point of emphasis made by Jaeger in *Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe 950–1200* and highlighted by John Ward in "Women and Latin Rhetoric From Hrotsvit to Hildegard" is the addition of the role of the teacher to the relation between virtue and friendship:

Much of the humanist thought of the twelfth century must be explained by the idea that scholars of that age, conscious of losing the charisma of the great teachers of the immediate past, whose personalities were already dissolving in the emerging world of written culture,

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<sup>45</sup> Jaeger, *Ennobling Love*, 29.

<sup>46</sup> Jaeger, *Ennobling Love*, 29.

<sup>47</sup> Jaeger, *Ennobling Love*, 30.

<sup>48</sup> Jaeger, *Ennobling Love*, 162.

<sup>49</sup> Jaeger, *Ennobling Love*, 168. Jaeger notes further: "She does the same by arguing the 'purity' of her love in her later letters." I will address this further in the textual analysis of section 2.1 and 2.2 of this paper.

sought to embalm their memory of the past figures in the new literacy of the proto-university world. Twelfth-century humanism acquires in this way a distinctly nostalgic touch.<sup>50</sup>

Devoting an entire chapter to this rich connection of teaching, virtue and friendship,<sup>51</sup> Jaeger points out: “Charismatic friendship is a *subject of instruction and at the same time a medium, a modality of teaching*.”<sup>52</sup> Following a selection from Quintilian’s *Institutio Oratoria* (2.9), which instructs about the devotion to be bestowed by students on their master, Jaeger adds that “if the teacher’s ‘virtue’ is the curriculum, then love is a major factor in learning.”<sup>53</sup> Again, the source is Cicero:

The logic of the connection is obvious: Cicero defined friendship as “love of virtue in another man.” If the acquisition of virtue is a goal of education, then love and friendship cannot be absent. To teach or learn without love would amount to an admission of the absence of virtue . . . . The absence of love would discredit the relationship in one of its fundamental purposes.<sup>54</sup>

Through the incorporation of women, the employment of erotic imagery and the commitment to a life of wisdom before both God and men,<sup>55</sup> such a rich interweaving of teaching, virtue and friendship begins to resemble Heloise’s project, a project that, by calling to mind Aspasia’s instruction in the First Letter of the correspondence, should also call to mind<sup>56</sup> Plato’s *Symposium*, where Pausanias’ speech on love reveals how “for the beloved, the only service he may perform for the lover with honor is that which is directed at wisdom and virtue. Only that love is beautiful which is based on education in reason and virtue.”<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Ward, “Women and Latin Rhetoric from Hrotsvit to Hildegard,” 126.

<sup>51</sup> Jaeger, *Ennobling Love*, 59–81.

<sup>52</sup> Jaeger, *Ennobling Love*, 59. Emphasis added. It is worth noting that what Gilles Mongeau, S.J., has observed about Aquinas’s spiritual theology in the *Summa Theologiae* wonderfully echoes Jaeger’s focus here. See n. 6 above. One way of reading the *Summa Theologiae* is precisely as a theology of friendship, beginning with the question on God’s love in I.20.2.ad3, and culminating in the Person of Christ in the *Tertia pars*. See Albrecht Classen, “Theological Approaches to Friendship: Thomas Aquinas” in the “Introduction” to this volume.

<sup>53</sup> Jaeger, *Ennobling Love*, 59.

<sup>54</sup> Jaeger, *Ennobling Love*, 61.

<sup>55</sup> See Barbara Newman, Review of *The Lost Love Letters of Heloise and Abelard: Perceptions of Dialogue in Twelfth-Century France*, *The Medieval Review* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan University Library, 2000) on Heloise’s stance in the early letters: “She acknowledges no conflict whatsoever between the love of God and the love of her teacher,” 4.

<sup>56</sup> Jaeger, *Ennobling Love*, 28.

<sup>57</sup> Jaeger, *Ennobling Love*, 28.

## 2. “Charismatic Friendship” in the Correspondence

Jaeger has noted that medieval friendship “is a subject of instruction and at the same time a medium, a modality of teaching.”<sup>58</sup> This identification, highlighted in the previous section of this study, cannot be overemphasized; at its core, such an understanding of friendship constitutes a unity of content and form, of subject matter and delivery, at the heart of interpersonal and intercommunal relations. For Heloise, rhetoric facilitates this “medium,” or method of friendship, and her writing is a testimony to this reality. Stated otherwise, friendship is the subject matter requiring a pedagogy appropriate to teach it. Rhetoric provides that pedagogy. Taken together, they constitute “charismatic friendship.” Throughout the *Epistolae duorum amantium* and Letters, and with the help of Abelard, Heloise sustains a working treatise on friendship both as a *topos*, and through the “medium” of friendship with Abelard.<sup>59</sup> The dynamic key to this project is found in her First Letter to Abelard in response to the *Historia calamitatum*. As will be shown, by employing the *exemplum* of Aspasia from Cicero’s *De inventione*, Heloise seeks to communicate to Abelard that rhetoric does indeed have an integral place even—and perhaps especially—in a virtuous life. In fact, rhetoric is in the service of wisdom itself. The challenge for Heloise lies in her honest realization that, while she seeks to be in the service of the conversion of her own teacher, who has not fully appropriated the teaching/virtue/friendship dynamic in his relationship with Heloise, she is also seeking her own conversion which, she knows, is thoroughly intertwined with that of Abelard. By persevering with Abelard through this challenge, Heloise’s rhetorical project finds fruition in a complex union of wisdom and eloquence which Cicero could not have imagined. This section of the study highlights the movement of this project as it works itself out through the *Epistolae duorum amantium* and Letters. Since the Letters reveal the rigorous effort of the project, they will receive the most attention.

### 2.1 Rhetoric and Friendship in the *Epistolae duorum amantium*

In the *Epistolae duorum amantium*, the relation between wisdom and eloquence expresses itself as the tension between virtue and *eloquentia*. The cause of this tension involves a failure on Abelard’s part to truly engage a Ciceronian ideal of friendship which incorporates Heloise’s own contributions as a woman unwilling to discount either *amor* or God in her attempt at synthesis. Abelard has celebrated her for having put forth the “rules of friendship” and for having lived them,<sup>60</sup> but does not concern himself with any

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<sup>58</sup> Jaeger, *Ennobling Love*, 59.

<sup>59</sup> I am not suggesting that Heloise possessed full intentionality of such a project; rather, I hold that she was fulfilling the role identified by Peter Dronke in Part 1.1 of this paper.

<sup>60</sup> Letter 50, Mews, *The Lost Love Letters*, 232, 233.



such rules for eloquence. When he proclaims in letter 113, “*Facundum me sola facis*” (You alone make me eloquent),<sup>61</sup> he is appealing to Ovid, in the realm of *amor*, a realm which, for Abelard, may well be consonant with the work of rhetoric, but is too ambiguous a human experience to have any integral connection with logic or friendship or virtue.

Juanita Ruys has identified a “crisis over the nature of eloquence”<sup>62</sup> in these early letters, pointing out a conflict between Heloise’s “‘old’ eleventh-century learning”—which incorporated rhetoric, ethics, the epistolary genre, and a dedication to the virtuous teacher—and Abelard’s “‘new’ twelfth-century learning in which a plain, straightforward style was favoured and ethics was therefore divorced from eloquence.”<sup>63</sup> What this conflict forces Heloise to attempt in her persistent reflections on friendship is a synthesis of their learning.<sup>64</sup> Her conclusion in the early letters, observes Ruys, is that such a synthesis—to which she is determinately committed—requires an either/or in terms of virtue and eloquence. Heloise writes:

Magne temeritatis est litteratorie tibi verba dirigere, quia cuique litteratissimo et ad unguem usque perducto, cui omnis dispositio artium per inveterata incrementa affectionum transivit in habitum, non sufficit tam floridum eloquencie vultum depingere, ut iure tanti magistri mereatur conspectui apparere . . . magistro inquam tanto, magistro virtutibus, magistro moribus . . .

[It is very rash of me to send studied phrases to you, because even someone learned right down to his fingertips, who has transformed every artistic arrangement into habit through long-established practice, would not be capable of painting a portrait of eloquence florid enough to justly deserve being seen by so great a teacher (a teacher so great, I declare, a teacher of virtue, a teacher of character . . .)]<sup>65</sup>

Further along in letter 71, she notes: “*has inornatas litteras tibi mitto, earum probans indicio quam devote in omnibus me tuis preceptis subicio*” (I send you this unadorned letter as proof of how devotedly I submit myself to your instructions in all matters).<sup>66</sup> Ultimately, in the early letters, Heloise chooses devotion to her teacher, and the consequences are that while such devotion allows her to continue her working treatise on friendship and her commitment to the life of virtue, it threatens the very life of the correspondence reflecting these things, because such correspondence is her *dictamen*,

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<sup>61</sup> Letter 113, Mews, *The Lost Love Letters*, 288, 289.

<sup>62</sup> Ruys, “*Eloquencie vultum depingere*: Eloquence and *Dictamen* in the Love Letters of Heloise and Abelard,” 100.

<sup>63</sup> Ruys, “*Eloquencie vultum depingere*: Eloquence and *Dictamen* in the Love Letters of Heloise and Abelard,” 101. Ruys is paraphrasing Jaeger here.

<sup>64</sup> Ruys, “*Eloquencie vultum depingere*: Eloquence and *Dictamen* in the Love Letters of Heloise and Abelard,” 105.

<sup>65</sup> Letter 49, Mews, *The Lost Love Letters*, 228, 229.

<sup>66</sup> Letter 71, Mews, *The Lost Love Letters*, 250–51.

which is infused with eloquence and is itself a form of rhetoric: "Heloise thus adopts Abelard's beliefs on the deceitful nature of eloquence, but at the same time refuses to yield on the central importance of the master of morals, in fact inverting Abelard's arguments on eloquence to show that it is precisely because he *is* a teacher of virtue that she will not write eloquently to him."<sup>67</sup>

In one sense, Heloise has arrived at a synthesis in the early letters, but it clearly remains an uneasy one for her, because even such a synthesis with her virtuous teacher does not prove to engage Abelard any further in her inquiries into the nature of *amicitia* and *amor*.<sup>68</sup> Still, it is precisely her dedication to these inquiries that will guide her resolution in the Letters. While she is willing to sacrifice her position on eloquence in the early letters, she will never sacrifice her conviction about the relation between friendship and virtue as the root of her entire commitment to Abelard. Letter 49 is again revealing:

Nosti o maxima pars anime mee multos multis se ex causis diligere, sed nullam eorum tam firmam fore amicitiam quam que ex probitate atque virtute, et ex intima dilectione proveniat. Nam qui ob divicias vel voluptates sese diligere videntur, eorum nullomodo diuturnam arbitror amicitiam . . . Sed mea dilectio, pacto longe tibi alio sociata est. Nec enim me ignava opum pondera . . . te diligere compulerunt, sed sola excellentissima virtus, penes quam omnis honestatis, tociusque prosperitatis causa consistit. Illa quidem est que sibi sufficiens, nullius indiga, cupiditates omnes refrenat, amores reprimat, gaudia temperat, dolores extirpat; que cuncta apta, cuncta placentia, cuncta jocundissima sumministrat nichilque se melius reperire valet. Habeo sane repertum in te, unde te diligam, summum scilicet atque omnium prestantissimum bonum. Quod cum constet esse eternum, est michi causa procul dubio, qua eterno maneat in mei dilectione . . . Non erit vere ulla dies qua mei meminisse valeam, que sine tui memoria possit a me transduci. Quin a te illud idem sperem, nullo me scias scrupulo permoveri.

[You know, greatest part of my soul, that many people love each other for many reasons, but no friendship of theirs will be as constant as that which stems from integrity and virtue, and from deep love. For I do not consider the friendship of those who seem to love each other for riches and pleasures to be durable at all . . . But my love is united with you by a completely different pact. And the useless burdens of wealth . . . did not compel me to love you—only the highest virtue, in which lies the root of all honors and every success. Indeed, it is this virtue which is self-sufficient and in need of nothing else, which restrains passion, keeps desires in check, moderates joys and eradicates sorrows; which provides everything proper, everything pleasing, everything delightful; and than which nothing better can be found. Surely I have discovered in you—and thus I love you—undoubtedly the greatest and most outstanding good of all. Since it is established that this is eternal, it is for me the proof beyond doubt that

<sup>67</sup> Ruys, "Eloquencie vultum depingere: Eloquence and Dictamen in the Love Letters of Heloise and Abelard," 106.

<sup>68</sup> Constant J. Mews, "Philosophical Themes in the *Epistolae duorum amantium*: The First Letters of Heloise and Abelard," *Listening to Heloise* (2000), 35–52; here 49: "In those early years of their relationship, Abelard had difficulty in providing Heloise with the kind of philosophical dialogue that she sought."

you will remain in my love for eternity . . . Truly there will never be a day in which I would be able to think of myself and let it pass without thinking of you. Know that I am not concerned by any doubt that I may hope the same thing from you.]<sup>69</sup>

Here, Heloise identifies the root of her friendship with Abelard in “integrity and virtue, and deep love,” and then proceeds to focus on virtue and the way in which the “the highest virtue” nurtures friendship. Furthermore, this “highest virtue” at once orders human life through the embrace of divine life: “it is for me the proof beyond doubt that you will remain in my love for eternity.” Finally, as a result of this “highest virtue” they may be present to each other in thought.

Although Heloise doesn’t name this virtue in her letter—and Abelard doesn’t seek to inquire about it in his response<sup>70</sup>—I suggest that it is *sapientia*. Heloise has been attempting to get at the source of the richness of this friendship with Abelard, and identifying virtue is not enough; she must identify “the highest virtue.” Since Abelard does not appear to pursue this line of thought with her in these early letters—to him, she is “the only disciple of philosophy among all the young women of our age, the only one on whom fortune has completely bestowed all the gifts of the manifold virtues”—Heloise must persevere on her own. Her early letters reflect her understanding that authentic human wisdom clearly draws from divine wisdom and opens up to divine wisdom. For her, the gift of friendship mediates divine wisdom in the world. In letter 53, she addresses Abelard as “Sapientie lumine . . . mirabiliter prefulgenti,” (One shining wonderfully with the light of wisdom), and begins by proclaiming: “De favo sapientie si michi stillaret guttula scibilitatis,<sup>71</sup> aliqua olenti nectare cum omni mentis conamine, alme dilectioni tue litterarum notulis conarer depingere” (If a droplet of knowability trickled down to me from the honeycomb of wisdom, I would try with every effort of my mind to portray in the jottings of my letter various things with a fragrant nectar for your nourishing love).<sup>72</sup>

By letter 60, she suggests that the earlier divine “light” of his wisdom has faded, such that any wisdom he may now call his own is not redeeming: “Omnipotens deus qui neminem vult perire qui supra paternum amorem diligit peccatores, illuminet cor tuum gratie sue splendore, et reducat ad viam salutis, ut cognoscas que sit voluntas eius beneplacens et perfecta. Vale, sapientia et scientia tua me decepit, propterea omnis nostra amodo pereat scriptura” (May almighty God, who wants no one to perish and who loves sinners with more than paternal love, illuminate your heart with the splendor of His grace and bring you back to the road of salvation, so that you may understand that His will is favorable and perfect. Farewell; your wisdom and knowledge have deceived me, and therefore from now on may all our writing cease).<sup>73</sup> Through these closing words

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<sup>69</sup> Letter 49, Mews, *The Lost Love Letters*, 226–29.

<sup>70</sup> Instead, he simply refers several times to her own collective virtues.

<sup>71</sup> Letter 53, Mews, *The Lost Love Letters*, 234, n. 53b.

<sup>72</sup> Letter 53, Mews, *The Lost Love Letters*, 234, 235.

<sup>73</sup> Letter 60, Mews, *The Lost Love Letters*, 240, 241.

of letter 60, Heloise puts forth the basic concerns which will occupy her in the *Historia calamitatum* and the Letters. First, Abelard's wisdom is only divinely sanctioned when it does reveal a wisdom involving the "integrity and deep love" she identified earlier. Second, someone as gifted as he will only find "salvation" by being true to such divinely sanctioned wisdom, which he has known and has shared with Heloise.<sup>74</sup> Through Abelard's authentic human wisdom, Heloise has been able to know and love both him and herself. By deceiving her with an inauthentic human wisdom—that is one which cannot reconcile divine *sapiencia* and *amicitia* with *amor*—Abelard imposes a severe threat at the very basis of their friendship, with possibilities of fatality on human and divine levels. Here, facing the devastation wrought by Abelard, she responds by ending all writing, therefore ending any further speculation on rhetoric whatsoever. By the time of the *Historia calamitatum*, her response will be different.

## 2.2 Rhetoric and Friendship in the *Historia calamitatum* and Letters

In the series of Letters which begin as a response to the *Historia calamitatum*, the relation between wisdom and eloquence expresses itself as a reconciliation between wisdom and *persuasio*. It should be noted that the term *eloquentia* never appears, in any of its forms, in the *Historia calamitatum* or in the Letters.<sup>75</sup> Instead, *persuasio*, or its forms, appears once in the *Historia calamitatum*, three times in the Fifth Letter, and once in the Seventh Letter.<sup>76</sup> Through the Letters, Heloise takes up the opportunity to resume her inquiry into the nature of friendship. This time, however, instead of abandoning her project due to Abelard's false wisdom which had placed rhetoric in tension with the life of virtue, Heloise brilliantly and confidently employs rhetoric to encompass their entire exchange. No longer will it be identified with a *pathos* that is at odds with *ethos* and *logos*. Instead, in a truly Aristotelian manner, though with no known explicit knowledge of Aristotle's works, Heloise uses rhetoric that will encompass their entire correspondence. She achieves this by showing rhetoric to be in the service of wisdom itself.

Although scholars are still unclear to what degree Abelard's "Letter of Consolation to a Friend" was intended for Heloise, what is clear is the manner in which she employs the terms of his letter in her own First Letter to him.<sup>77</sup> On the most fundamental level, this

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<sup>74</sup> From her perspective, that is. His account in the *Historia calamitatum* reveals that he only interpreted his early commitment to her in one light.

<sup>75</sup> See <http://individual.utoronto.ca/pking/resources/abelard/Epistolae.txt> (last accessed on Aug. 1, 2010), which includes a scanned compilation of the editions noted in footnote 3 of this paper.

<sup>76</sup> The numbering of the letters employed in the body of this paper follows Levitan's translation, such that the numbering begins after the *Historia calamitatum*, and Letters 1, 3, and 5 are those of Heloise, and Letters 2, 4, 6 and 7 are those of Abelard. In the Letters, *persuasio* always appears in the context of St. Benedict's Rule.

<sup>77</sup> Wilson and McLeod, "Textual Strategies in the Abelard/Heloise Correspondence," 122.

move makes Abelard Heloise's "crown *auctoritas*," her chief authority.<sup>78</sup> The double difficulty however, of which Heloise is keenly aware, is that while she herself seeks consolation, her own chief authority is also in need of direction; nowhere in the First Letter does Heloise appeal to Abelard for his own wisdom. He is a teacher who has not upheld the "rules of friendship" with the student whom he had praised for her own performance of such rules. And so her project must serve them both. For Heloise, if they are unable to mediate wise loving to one another, they may never know true friendship, nor will they serve one another in Christ.<sup>79</sup>

Heloise achieves such a feat by presenting an *exemplum* which expresses two truths. First, rhetoric is equipped to direct their entire correspondence because it is not opposed to virtue, but rather is in the service of wisdom, and second, both Heloise and Abelard must seek out this wisdom through each other if they are to know true friendship and to serve one another in Christ. In *Rhetoric Retold: Regendering the Tradition from Antiquity Through the Renaissance*, Cheryl Glenn finds Aspasia to be Heloise's "crown *auctoritas*" in the First Letter: "Quoting from the now-missing text of Aeschines, Heloise argues for the excellence of a good wife and a good husband."<sup>80</sup> As Glenn notes further, Cicero was not the only thinker to give tribute to Aspasia:

According to several ancient sources . . . Socrates deeply respected Aspasia's thinking and admired her rhetorical prowess, disregarding, it seems, her status as a woman and a *hetaera*. In Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, for instance, Socrates explains to Critobulus the "art of catching friends" and of using an "intermediary": "I can quote Aspasia . . . She once told me that good matchmakers are successful only when the good reports they carry to and fro are true; false reports she would not recommend for the victims of deceptions hate one another and the matchmaker too . . ." Plutarch writes, "Socrates sometimes came to see her [Aspasia] with his disciples, and his intimate friends brought their wives to her to hear her discourse . . . as a teacher of rhetoric" (Lives 200); Athenaeus calls Aspasia "clever . . . Socrates' teacher in rhetoric" (5.29) and goes on to account for the extent of Aspasia's influence over Socrates.<sup>81</sup>

Furthermore, Glenn points out that through the *De inventione*, "Cicero uses Aspasia's lesson on induction as the centerpiece for his argument chapter."<sup>82</sup> When Heloise cites this text (*De inventione* 1.31.52), however, she does not follow Cicero's presentation of the lesson as narrated by Socrates; instead, "Heloise has bypassed the middleman and gone straight to the source, the original philosopher herself."<sup>83</sup> After explaining Aspasia's teaching about how "fortune belongs to one category of things and virtue to another,"

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<sup>78</sup> Dronke, *Women Writers of the Middle Ages*, 117.

<sup>79</sup> As Marc Saurette points out in "Peter the Venerable and Secular Friendship" in this volume, Peter employs the language of friendship with similar leanings in his letters.

<sup>80</sup> Glenn, *Rhetoric Retold*, 187, n. 25.

<sup>81</sup> Glenn, *Rhetoric Retold*, 40.

<sup>82</sup> Glenn, *Rhetoric Retold*, 43.

<sup>83</sup> First Letter, Levitan, *Abelard and Heloise*, 57, n. 10.

a teaching which Levitan notes “will find its way into Abelard’s *Ethics* (Luscombe 1971, 48),”<sup>84</sup> Heloise writes:

... sicut inductio illa Aspasiae philosophae apud Socraticum Aeschinem cum Xenophonte et uxore eius habita manifeste conuincit. Quam quidem inductionem cum praedicta philosopha ad reconciliandos inuicem illos proposuisset tali fine ipsam conclusit: Quare nisi hoc peregeritis ut neque uir melior neque femina in terris electior sit, profecto semper id quod optimum putabitis esse multo maxime requiretis ut et tu maritus sis quam optimae et haec quam optimo uiro nupta sit. Sancta profecto haec et plus quam philosophica est sententia ipsius potius sophiae quam philosophiae dicenda.

[This is the argument the philosopher Aspasia used with Xenophon and his wife in the dialogue of Aeschines the Socratic. After she set out her argument aimed at reconciling the pair, the philosopher capped her proof with this conclusion: “Therefore, if you two are not convinced that no worthier man exists and no finer woman exists anywhere on earth, then above all else you will always be seeking that one thing you think is best—to have the best of all possible husbands or the best of all possible wives.” This notion goes beyond philosophy and should not be called the pursuit of wisdom but wisdom itself.]<sup>85</sup>

Betty Radice translates the concluding sentence of this passage: “These are saintly words which are more than philosophic; indeed, they deserve the name of wisdom, not philosophy.”<sup>86</sup> Aspasia, the teacher of rhetoric, pronounces them characteristic “ipsius potius sophiae” precisely through inductive argument, which, Glenn reminds us, is “the centerpiece for [Cicero’s] . . . chapter.”<sup>87</sup> The matter of this teaching of wisdom concerns the relationship of a husband and wife, beloved to each other and seeking, one might say, “the highest virtue” through their love. Furthermore, this rhetoric employs logic in the service of this love.

Heloise does introduce the topic of friendship at the beginning of her letter, in response to Abelard’s own writing; however it is simply an introduction of the term, not an explicit definition. Immediately following the *salutatio* of this First Letter, she begins: “Missam ad amicum pro consolatione epistolam, dilectissime, uestrum ad me quidam nuper attulit” (The other day, my most beloved, one of your men brought me a copy of the letter you wrote as consolation for your friend).<sup>88</sup> Instead of challenging him here on his notion of the nature of friendship, Heloise instead repeats the term several times,<sup>89</sup> associating it in its superlative with her and her fellow nuns at the Paraclete.<sup>90</sup> What she does offer is an account of Abelard’s duty to her and to the Paraclete, as well as an

<sup>84</sup> First Letter, Levitan, *Abelard and Heloise*, 56, n. 9.

<sup>85</sup> Ep. 2, ed. Muckle, 71; First Letter, Levitan, *Abelard and Heloise*, 56–57.

<sup>86</sup> Radice, *The Letters of Abelard and Heloise*, 114.

<sup>87</sup> Glenn, *Rhetoric Retold*, 43.

<sup>88</sup> First Letter, Levitan, *Abelard and Heloise*, 49, n. 1.

<sup>89</sup> Ep. 2, ed. Muckle, 68, 69, 71, 72; First Letter, Levitan, *Abelard and Heloise*, 49, 50, 51, 52, 56.

<sup>90</sup> Ep. 2, ed. Muckle, 69; First Letter, Levitan, *Abelard and Heloise*, 52.

employment of the term *amica* in response to the *amicus* of his own account.<sup>91</sup> Martin Irvine observes the crucial importance of this move for Heloise's insistence to Abelard that both woman and *amor* must be involved in any definition of their relationship which will arise from their exchange. He notes how Heloise "prefers the name 'lover/mistress' (*amica*) over 'wife' (*uxor*)," citing her own words, which he observes to be "much more rhetorically charged" than Abelard's own account of her position. Irvine cites her proclamation: "If the name 'wife' seems more sacred and more sound, sweeter to me always is the word 'mistress' [*amica*] or, if it does not offend you, concubine or whore, so that the more I humbled myself for your sake, the more I would win your gratitude."<sup>92</sup> The Latin reads: "Et si uxoris nomen sanctius ac ualidius uidetur, dulcius mihi semper exstitit amicae uocabulum aut, si non indigneris, concubinae uel scorti ut quo me uidelicet pro te amplius humiliarem, ampliorem apud te consequerer gratiam . . ."<sup>93</sup> Mews also attests to the importance of Heloise's move here and emphasizes its subtlety: "the common translation of *amica* as 'mistress' here misleadingly implies that she wanted to offer him sexual favors. Her argument, however, is that the friendship that she wanted, defined both by *amor* and *amicitia*, was not driven by any desire for material advantage or worldly reputation. She calls God as her witness to the purity of her love."<sup>94</sup>

Heloise's First Letter to Abelard has set forth both the priority of rhetoric in the service of wisdom and the *topos* of friendship. As Katharina Wilson and Glenda McLeod point out, "in the literary genre of the *consolatio*, an ancient one even in the twelfth century, the core rhetorical strategy was 'the articulation of certain *topoi* and the enumeration of consoling *exempla* of greater tragedies than those experienced by the recipient.'"<sup>95</sup> These might be considered the proposed medicine in her treatment of both Abelard and herself; however Abelard's condition is what is guiding everything. Consequently, a final note on the First Letter must address Heloise's emphasis on consolation and presence, both of which are required from Abelard if this correspondence is going to succeed. The deficiency—both of his consolation and presence—at this point reflects negatively on his virtues, thereby threatening the source of their friendship, a situation noted in the early letters. Heloise is now much more prepared this time around; however she requires his intimate cooperation, for the situation is severe:

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<sup>91</sup> Martin Irvine, "Heloise and the Gendering of the Literate Subject," *Criticism and Dissent in the Middle Ages*, ed. Rita Copeland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 87–114; here 98.

<sup>92</sup> Irvine, "Heloise and the Gendering of the Literate Subject," 88.

<sup>93</sup> Ep 2, ed. Muckle, 71.

<sup>94</sup> Mews, "Philosophical Themes," 36. See also Irvine: "First, here, and through the remainder of this letter, Heloise merges the traditional discourse of monastic humility and submission to authority with the language of erotic submission by a willing lover . . . She did not submit to his authority in traditional social terms—as a woman under male authority—but as his lover (*amica*)," 99.

<sup>95</sup> Wilson and McLeod, "Textual Strategies in the Abelard/Heloise Correspondence," 129. Note how they challenge the notion of Abelard's conversion in the *Historia*, 121.

The failure to console has much the same roots as the failure to love: pride or an overzealous devotion to self . . . . [Heloise's] recognition of the seriousness of Abelard's failed consolation—it throws doubt on both his conversion and his love—and her attempt to redress this problem at all costs effectively project a portrait of a selfless love compared to Abelard's portrait of self-absorption.<sup>96</sup>

Not only will his consolation and presence provide the ground for his own conversion; it will also provide the ground for hers: "Per ipsum itaque cui te obtulisti Deum te obsecro ut quo modo potes tuam mihi praesentiam reddas, consolationem uidelicet mihi aliquam rescribendo hoc saltem pacto ut sic recreata diuino alacrior uacem obsequio" (So, by that God who claims your dedication, I beg of you, grant me your presence in the one way you can—by writing me some word of comfort, so that at least in this one way I may be restored to life, readier and fit for my own service to God).<sup>97</sup>

Abelard's response to Heloise in the Second Letter begins by appealing to her "own wisdom, in which I have always had implicit trust,"<sup>98</sup> and immediately thereafter citing three examples of friendship with God in the Scriptures.<sup>99</sup> Knowing well her own spiritual state—a state which Abelard himself has made explicit—Heloise will show in the Third Letter that an appeal to her wisdom was certainly not appropriate here. After all, how can he whose presence and consolation are lacking judge her wisdom? Abelard's attempt at furthering her treatise on friendship also proves unsuccessful. It is offered in the context of a discussion of the prayers of women who are faithful in the Lord, a discussion which might have proved fruitful except that Heloise must have noticed that none of his examples of friendship with God directly name women. Rather, women's prayers are in the service of the male friends of God. In the first example, citing God's dealings with Moses and Jeremiah, Abelard writes: "et quem ad uindictam iustitia quasi spontaneum ducit, amicorum supplicatio flectat et tamquam inuitum quasi ui quadam retineat. Sic quippe oranti uel oraturo dicitur: Dimitte me et ne obsistas mihi" (when justice leads him [God] to the vengeance he would take, the appeals of his friends can turn him aside and, almost by some force, restrain him, as it were, against his will. This is why before or during prayer a man will hear, "Let me alone and do not withstand me").<sup>100</sup> In the second example, Abelard notes, "Lazarum quoque amicum suum ad obsecrationem sororum eius, Mariae uidelicet ac Marthae, suscitauit" (his friend Lazarus, too, he brought to life at the prayers of his sisters, Mary and Martha).<sup>101</sup> In the third example, he cites Luke 11:8–10, and provides Moses as the appropriate illustration. Moreover, the tone of his closing suggests that Abelard believes he has addressed her

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<sup>96</sup> Wilson and McLeod, "Textual Strategies in the Abelard/Heloise Correspondence," 123.

<sup>97</sup> Ep. 2, ed. Muckle, 73; First Letter, Levitan, *Abelard and Heloise*, 62.

<sup>98</sup> Levitan, *Abelard and Heloise*, 63. See also: "Yes, your wisdom surely knows what is written there," 66.

<sup>99</sup> Levitan, *Abelard and Heloise*, 64, 66, 67.

<sup>100</sup> Ep. 3, ed. Muckle, 74; Second Letter, Levitan, *Abelard and Heloise*, 64.

<sup>101</sup> Ep. 3, ed. Muckle, 75; Second Letter, Levitan, *Abelard and Heloise*, 66.



such that the need for the correspondence has been fulfilled. Such stances compel Heloise to respond.

Abelard has not fittingly addressed her First Letter, and Heloise suggests this at the beginning of her Third Letter concerning the disorder of his salutation: "Miror, unice meus, quod praeter consuetudinem epistolarum, immo contra ipsum ordinem naturalem rerum, in ipsa fronte salutationis epistolaris me tibi praeponere praesumpisti" (I find it strange, my only one, that you have gone so far outside the well-known rules of writing letters—I should say, against the order of nature itself—that you have put my name ahead of yours in the greeting of the letter you wrote to me).<sup>102</sup> While she is modeling a stance of authentic humility<sup>103</sup> for Abelard here, she is also emphasizing to him that her own growth in wisdom is intertwined with his, and unless his role as her "superior" is restored—signified by his awareness of "the rhetoric of epistolary practice,"<sup>104</sup> which for Heloise reflects the virtue of the teacher—neither of them will grow in the life of virtue. He must learn to console her and be present to her as *amicus* to *amica*. Again, she writes: "Noli obsecro diuinum impedire seruitium cui nos maxime mancipasti" (I beg of you, do not impede that service to God to which, above all, you have bound us).<sup>105</sup> Still, in spite of her corrections in terms of his rhetoric, she continues to pursue her treatise on friendship in response to his own terms. He had written that he would address her "in iis etiam quae ad Deum pertinent magisterio" (in any matter that pertains to God),<sup>106</sup> and so she chooses her one reference to friendship in the Third Letter in this precise context: "Haec te gratia, carissime, praeuenit et ab his tibi stimulis una corporis plaga medendo multas in anima sanauit et in quo tibi amplius aduersari Deus creditor, propitior inuenitur (It seems, my dearest, that this grace came earlier to you, when the injury to your body freed your soul from all such torments, and the God who seemed your enemy proved your friend).<sup>107</sup> Heloise assures him that the consolation she needs is not opposed to divine consolation; in fact, the Scriptures only confirm that Abelard must attend to the disorders involved in his approach. Only then can he truly instruct her in the wisdom that is not only consolation but suffering: "Multis ficta sui laus nocuit . . . Per Isaiam Dominus clamat: . . . qui te beatificant ipsi te decipiunt . . . E contra autem per Salomonem dicitur: Verba sapientium quasi stimuli, et quasi clauis in altum defixi qui uidelicet uulnera nesciunt palpare, sed pungere (False praise has done great injury before. . . . As the Lord cries out through the mouth of Isaiah, "They that call thee blessed deceive thee." . . . But then, through Solomon we learn, "The words of the wise are like

<sup>102</sup> Ep. 4, ed. Muckle, 77; Third Letter, Levitan, *Abelard and Heloise*, 71.

<sup>103</sup> Wilson and McLeod, "Textual Strategies in the Abelard/Heloise Correspondence," 122.

<sup>104</sup> Levitan, *Abelard and Heloise*, 71, n. 1.

<sup>105</sup> Ep. 4, ed. Muckle, 78; Third Letter, Levitan, *Abelard and Heloise*, 73.

<sup>106</sup> Ep. 3, ed. Muckle, 73; Second Letter, Levitan, *Abelard and Heloise*, 63.

<sup>107</sup> Ep. 4, ed. Muckle, 81; Third Letter, Levitan, *Abelard and Heloise*, 80.

goads and as nails deeply fastened," and nails like these are never gentle with a wound but can only pierce it through).<sup>108</sup>

Abelard's Fourth Letter represents the *skopos* of their entire correspondence. Here, he celebrates Heloise's wisdom once again,<sup>109</sup> but such a move arrives in the midst of Abelard's own urgent contributions to her treatise on friendship. Here, a rich interweaving of discussions on human friendship,<sup>110</sup> divine friendship,<sup>111</sup> divine mercy and wisdom<sup>112</sup> and Heloise's wisdom<sup>113</sup> leads up to what is arguably the greatest rhetorical flourish—on friendship—of the correspondence:

Maiores caelo, maiores mundo, cuius pretium ipse Conditor mundi factus est. Quid in te, rogo, uiderit, qui nullius eget, ut pro te acquirenda usque ad agonias tam horrendae atque ignominiosae mortis certauerit? Quid in te, inquam, quaerit nisi teipsam? Verus est amicus qui teipsam non tua desiderat. Verus est amicus qui pro te moriturus dicebat: Maiorem hac dilectionem nemo habet ut animam suam ponat quis pro amicis suis. Amabat te ille ueraciter, non ego . . . Miseras in te meas uoluptates implebam, et hoc erat totum quod amabam. Pro te, inquis, passus sum, et fortassis uerum est, sed magis per te, et hoc ipsum inuitus, non amore tui, sed coactione mei, nec ad tuam salutem, sed ad dolorem. Ille uero salubriter, ille pro te sponte passus est qui passione sua omnem curat languorem, omnem remouet passionem. In hoc, obsecro, non in me tua tota sit deuotio, tota compassio, tota compunctio.

[But you are more than the heavens, you are more than the world, whose price was the Creator of the world. What did he see in you, I ask, when he himself lacked nothing, that he would buy you with the agony of his death? What does he seek in you except yourself? He is a true friend who wants nothing of what you own, but you yourself, a true friend who, when coming to his death for your sake, could say, "Greater love than this no man hath, that he lay down his life for his friends." It was he who truly loved you—I did not . . . You say I suffered for you, and perhaps that may be true; but more, I suffered through you and unwillingly at that, and not from love of you but from my own compulsion, and then not for your good but for your grief. He suffered for you willingly to bring your salvation. His suffering heals all sickness and puts an end to suffering. To him, I beg of you, and not to me do you owe all your devotion, compassion, your remorse.]<sup>114</sup>

Through this culminating rhetorical flourish, Abelard begins his own authentic contribution to Heloise's project, one which can finally sustain the healing she requires for her own deeper conversion in Christ. At the same time, this high point of rhetoric in the letters also reflects Abelard's own move toward authentic conversion. He reveals this by highlighting Heloise's relation to Christ, then identifying Christ as "true friend," and

<sup>108</sup> Ep. 4, ed. Muckle, 81–82; Third Letter, Levitan, *Abelard and Heloise*, 82.

<sup>109</sup> Ep. 5, ed. Muckle, 90; Fourth Letter, Levitan, *Abelard and Heloise*, 98.

<sup>110</sup> Ep. 5, ed. Muckle, 86–88; Fourth Letter, Levitan, *Abelard and Heloise*, 91–93.

<sup>111</sup> Ep. 5, ed. Muckle, 87–88; Fourth Letter, Levitan, *Abelard and Heloise*, 93.

<sup>112</sup> Ep. 5, ed. Muckle, 88–89; Fourth Letter, Levitan, *Abelard and Heloise*, 95.

<sup>113</sup> Ep. 5, ed. Muckle, 90; Fourth Letter, Levitan, *Abelard and Heloise*, 98.

<sup>114</sup> Ep. 5, ed. Muckle, 92; Fourth Letter, Levitan, *Abelard and Heloise*, 100.

then proceeding to attest to his own unworthiness in terms of such friendship. This is the turning point of their entire correspondence. Here, Heloise's insight from the First Letter that the teaching of rhetoric is in the service of wisdom has found fruition. Her teacher has been restored to his proper place of instruction through this rhetoric; his authentic humility has restored his virtue.

Furthermore, not only has Abelard fully attended to her early offering of the topic of friendship; he has, through his renewed virtuous stance, provided the mode of friendship as well, within which such a *topos* might be fruitfully explored and discovered. And he has done this precisely by directing Christ as *lover*, to Heloise ("Amabat te ille ueraciter, non ego"),<sup>115</sup> such that *amor* is no longer at odds with *amicitia*:

He wished to turn her devotion from himself towards God . . . but he did not simply insist that the selfless love which Heloise directed towards him should be given, rather, to God: he found an emotionally and rhetorically more powerful form in which to counter Heloise's view, personalizing God's love as Christ's love and presenting Christ, not himself, as Heloise's true lover.<sup>116</sup>

Although Wilson and McLeod locate only *Abelard's* spiritual growth here—a position with which I disagree even acknowledging the complexity of Heloise's rhetorical approach<sup>117</sup>—they also identify a deeper union effected through this letter, whereby Abelard acknowledges most concretely how they are "bound together," noting especially the concluding prayer of the letter, which Abelard has written for them both.<sup>118</sup> Had Aspasia been a Christian, she might have given this prayer to Xenophon and his wife.

The concluding passages before the prayer are equally revealing. Now that Abelard has once again embraced his proper place in his relationship with Heloise—as teacher of the life of virtue, and as *amicus* to the *amica* of Christ—he may rightly assume the place of student to Heloise. Through this stance, Abelard shows his commitment to a radical Christian mutuality through which both he and Heloise are now teachers and students of one another in Christ:

Minus quoque meritum meum minui conqueror, dum tuum crescere non diffido. Unum quippe sumus in Christo, una per legem matrimonii caro. Quidquid est tuum, mihi non arbitror alienum. Tuus autem est Christus quia facta est sponsa eius. Et nunc, ut supra memini, me habes seruum quem olim agnoscebas dominum, magis tibi tamen amore nunc

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<sup>115</sup> Ep. 5, ed. Muckle, 92.

<sup>116</sup> Marenbon, *The Philosophy of Peter Abelard*, 300.

<sup>117</sup> Wilson and McLeod, "Textual Strategies in the Abelard/Heloise Correspondence," 122. They point out that "the image becomes integral to the disputation, for a key element in Heloise's rhetorical posturing is her assumption of a series of different feminine figurae that act not in isolation but instead imply, respond to, and interact with various male positions in such a way as to transvalue and reconstruct both themselves and the images of the other."

<sup>118</sup> Wilson and McLeod, "Textual Strategies in the Abelard/Heloise Correspondence," 133–34.

spirituali coniunctum quam timore subiectum. Unde et de tuo nobis apud ipsum patrocínio amplius confidimus ut id obtineam ex tua quod non possum ex oratione propria.

[But I do not complain that my merit is diminished so long as I can trust that yours is growing greater. For we are one in Christ, one flesh through the law of marriage: whatever is yours must then be mine as well. And Christ is yours because you are his bride, and as I said, I am now your servant who was once your lord, but a servant joined with you in spiritual love, not bound over in obsequious fear. I place myself under your protection, then, fully trusting that through your prayers for me I yet may gain what I cannot gain alone.]<sup>119</sup>

Whereas Brian Patrick McGuire also identifies an explicit movement toward union with Heloise on Abelard's part ("as her spiritual lover"),<sup>120</sup> Barbara Newman provides a different focus, offering that "Abelard will even remove himself from the scenario entirely."<sup>121</sup> Her comparison of Heloise's response with the renunciations of Marguerite Porete is truly worthy of reflection, particularly, I suggest, in the context of Carmel Posa's reflections on the language of desire and renunciation in the Letters. Especially if we consider a movement of ongoing conversion taking place for both Heloise and Abelard, such readings challenge us to make further distinctions among the complex intertwining of such linguistic expressions of renunciation and desire. Posa's question requires further scholarly attention on many levels: "Is it possible to escape that 'linguistic dilemma' described by [Albrecht] Classen . . . that exists between 'both Godhead and the beloved, both the religious and the erotic experience?'"<sup>122</sup> Newman's reading challenges us to face these questions: In the later letters, is Abelard asking Heloise to "abandon her misplaced mysticism for an ordinary monastic life"?<sup>123</sup> Is Heloise's response a "silence" in "alignment with accepted monastic *auctoritas*,"<sup>124</sup> or are we compelled to consider a distinct dynamic taking place whereby, among the experiences of Heloise and Abelard—of conversion and mysticism, conversation and the commonplace—all remain, such that transformation, and not annihilation, seems to be the most fitting term?

<sup>119</sup> Ep. 5, ed. Muckle, 93; Fourth Letter, Levitan, *Abelard and Heloise*, 102.

<sup>120</sup> Brian Patrick McGuire, "Heloise and the Consolation of Friendship," *Listening to Heloise*, 303–22; here 312.

<sup>121</sup> Barbara Newman, "Authority, Authenticity and the Repression of Heloise," *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 22 (Spring 1992): 121–57; here 155.

<sup>122</sup> Carmel Posa, "'Desire': The Language of Love in the Feminine in Heloise's Letters," *Words of Love and Love of Words in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 347 (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2008), 129–48; here 133.

<sup>123</sup> Newman, "Authority, Authenticity and the Repression of Heloise," 153.

<sup>124</sup> Newman, "Authority, Authenticity and the Repression of Heloise," 155. For further study of Heloise's contributions to logic in the Letters, see, for instance, Eileen Kearney, "Heloise: Inquiry and the Sacra Pagina," *Ambiguous Realities: Women in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Carole Levin and Jeanie Watson (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1987), 66–81.

The salutation of the Fifth Letter seems to reveal both their deeper union and a sign that Heloise's rhetorical project encompasses Abelard's commitment to logic<sup>125</sup> quite well. What the introduction to her letter reveals is not a defeated silence, but rather an honest admission to her "inseparabilis comes" (inseparable companion)—Abelard's term for her in Letter Four<sup>126</sup>—that her own healing and conversion will not likely happen quickly. Still, she is now confident to entrust herself once again to his care:

Aliquod tamen dolori remedium uales conferre. si non hunc omnino possis auferre. Ut enim insertum clauum alius expellit sic cogitatio noua priorem excludit cum alias intentus animus priorum memoriam dimittere cogitur aut intermittere, Tanto uero amplius cogitatio quaelibet animum occupat et ab aliis deducit, quanto quod cogitatur honestius aestimatur et quo intendimus animum magis uidetur necessarium.

[And yet you have it in your power to palliate my grief to some extent, even if you cannot remove it all. For as one nail drives out another, so a new thought drives out an old, and the heart, which had been set in one direction, is forced to lay aside or to abandon its memories of what it once was. And the more this thought—of anything at all—occupies the heart and distracts it from other things, the more we think it an honorable thought, and the new direction in which we turn our hearts then seems more necessary and compelling.]<sup>127</sup>

Concerning the lines "as one nail drives out another . . .," Levitan cites Cicero and Jerome.<sup>128</sup> If we also cite Heloise's own reference to Ecclesiastes 12:11 from her Third Letter ("through Solomon we learn, 'The words of the wise are like goads and as nails deeply fastened'"),<sup>129</sup> we find her here submitting to the very wisdom which she has so ardently sought from Abelard. Yes, it will involve further suffering for Heloise, but it will be the suffering of conversion, to which she proceeds to devote herself through the concerns of her vocation at the Paraclete.

In the midst of these concerns for herself and her community, Heloise is now ready to take up once again a synonym for the work of rhetoric. It will not be eloquence this time, but a term that Abelard himself put forth in the *Historia calamitatum* in narrating how Heloise's "attempts to persuade or dissuade me were making no impression on my foolish obstinacy."<sup>130</sup> The terms *persuadens seu dissuadens*<sup>131</sup> are the same terms Abelard employs in his *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* to indicate the second of two of the

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<sup>125</sup> "Suo specialiter, sua singulariter. Heloise is using the terminology of formal dialectic," Levitan, *Abelard and Heloise*, 105, n. 1. For further study of Heloise's contributions to logic in the Letters, see for instance Eileen Kearney, "Heloise: Inquiry and the Sacra Pagina," *Ambiguous Realities: Women in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Carole Levin and Jeanie Watson (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1987), 66–81.

<sup>126</sup> Ep. 5, ed. Muckle, 90; Fourth Letter, Levitan, *Abelard and Heloise*, 97.

<sup>127</sup> Ep. 6, ed. Muckle, 241–42; Fifth Letter, Levitan, *Abelard and Heloise*, 106.

<sup>128</sup> Fifth Letter, Levitan, *Abelard and Heloise*, 106, n. 4.

<sup>129</sup> Third Letter, Levitan, *Abelard and Heloise*, 82.

<sup>130</sup> Radice, *The Letters of Abelard and Heloise*, 74.

<sup>131</sup> Ep. 1, ed. Monfrin.

modes of rhetoric, *docere* and *monere*.<sup>132</sup> As Peter von Moos notes of Abelard's *Commentary*, "to warn [*monere*] means[, AC] on the one hand, to convince by admonition (*persuadere*) and, on the other, to advise against by warning (*dissuadere*)."<sup>133</sup> Heloise uses the term "persuasion" three times in one section of the Fifth Letter, following upon and including Saint Benedict's own use of the word — "Saint Benedict, that most spiritual of men, is obliged by the conditions of the present age to allow it [wine] to monks."<sup>134</sup> Benedict's words and Radice's translation are as follows: "Licet inquit, legamus uinum monachorum omnino non esse sed quia nostris temporibus id monachis persuaderi non potest . . ." ("Although," he says, "we read that wine is no drink for monks, yet because nowadays monks cannot be persuaded of this etc.").<sup>135</sup> Ultimately, Heloise's conclusion concerning the employment of persuasion in this Fifth Letter is that it is itself limited in its force, in accordance with the disposition of the hearers. She emphasizes that St. Benedict himself

qua necessitate Regulam temperet in eo etiam quod periculosius est monachis, et quod eorum non esse nouerit, quia uidelicet huius abstinencia temporibus suis monachis iam persuaderi non poterat. Utinam eadem dispensatione et in hoc tempore ageretur ut uidelicet in his quae media boni et mali atque indifferentia dicuntur, tale temperamentum fieret ut quod iam persuaderi non ualet, professio non exigeret . . .

[had to temper the Rule even in what he knew was pernicious and not for monks, because in his day he could not persuade them to abstain. In our day, too, I would call for a similar dispensation, that the same moderation apply in all matters that fall between good and evil and are therefore called indifferent. What persuasion cannot now enforce, our vows should not exact.]<sup>136</sup>

If not persuasion, what is the appropriate language for directing such monks? The remaining half of the Fifth Letter is dedicated to pastoral teaching on cultivating the life of devotion, the language of the heart, and of the "inward man."<sup>137</sup>

The reply of Abelard's Sixth Letter is rich in encouraging the language of devotion<sup>138</sup> in the life of the Paraclete, thereby fulfilling the language prescribed by Heloise. He

<sup>132</sup> Mews, "Peter Abelard on Dialectic, Rhetoric, and the Principles of Argument," 51, n. 80: *Commentaria in Epistolam ad Romanos* [Comm. Rom.], Prol. lines 5–6, ed. by Eligius-Marie Buytaert. CCCM, 11 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1969), 37–54; here 41: "Omnis scriptura diuina more orationis rhetoricae aut docere intendit aut monere [Buytaert: mouere]; docet quippe dum quae fieri uel uitari oportet insuat, monet [Buytaert: mouet] autem dum sacris ad-monitionis suis uoluntatem nostram uel dissuadendo retrahit a malis uel persuadendo applicat bonis."

<sup>133</sup> von Moos, "Literary Aesthetics in the Latin Middle Ages: The Rhetorical Theology of Peter Abelard," 87.

<sup>134</sup> Fifth Letter, Levitan, *Abelard and Heloise*, 116.

<sup>135</sup> Ep. 6, ed. Muckle, 248; Radice, *The Letters of Abelard and Heloise*, 169.

<sup>136</sup> Ep. 6, ed. Muckle, 248; Fifth Letter, Levitan, *Abelard and Heloise*, 117.

<sup>137</sup> Fifth Letter, Levitan, *Abelard and Heloise*, 118–26.

<sup>138</sup> Is this, perhaps, Abelard's best way of engaging Heloise's *amor* — as a contribution to rhetoric's *eloquentia*, precisely as devotional language, as a distinct mode from *persuasio*?

begins: “Caritati tuae, carissima soror de origine tuae professionis tam tibi quam spiritualibus filiabus tuis sciscitanti, unde scilicet monialium coeperit religio . . .” (Love, my dearest sister, divine love leads you to ask about the origin of your calling and how the religious life of nuns began).<sup>139</sup> His selections from Jerome’s writings in the closing sections of the letter reveal an Abelard whose engagement in a radical mutuality with Heloise signifies an acceptance of the very vulnerability and self-offering she has given to him: “Dulcissimum quippe uiro sancto fuerat quacumque arte uerborum fragilem naturam ad ardua uirtutis studia promouere. Ut autem opera nobis quam uerba in hoc certiora praebeant argumenta, tanta huiusmodi feminas excoluit caritate ut immensa eius sanctitas naeuum sibi propriae imprimeret famae” (It was the greatest pleasure for Jerome to use all the verbal art at his command in rousing a weak nature to the pursuit of virtue. But in the end it is his actions, not his words, that offer the best argument for the love he had for these women, reaching the point where his very saintliness imperiled his reputation).<sup>140</sup> In what truly reads as a tribute to Abelard’s own journey with Heloise, Abelard cites Jerome’s letter to Asella concerning Paula:

Antequam domum sanctae Paulae noscerem, totius in me urbis studia consonabant. Omnium pene iudicio dignus summo sacerdotio decernebar. Sed postquam eam pro suo merito sanctitatis uenerari, colere, suscipere coepi, omnes me illico deseruere uirtutes. Et post aliqua: Saluta, inquit, Paulam et Eustochium, uelint nolint, in Christo meas.

[Before I knew the house of that saintly woman, all of Rome sang my praises and thought I was worthy of the highest priestly office. But since I began to revere the woman, to honor her and take her in my charge for the sake of her sanctity and merit, all my virtues have deserted me, it seems . . . Still, greet Paula and Eustochium for me: whether they will it or not, they are mine in Christ.]<sup>141</sup>

Following this citation, Abelard puts forth a remarkable comment about Origen. After honoring Christ’s own “incurred suspicion for associating with Mary Magdalene,” Abelard offers that Origen “risked even more” for women than any of Christ’s followers. What is significant in this penultimate presentation of Origen in Abelard’s writings—the final one will take place at the close of his Seventh Letter—is that Abelard is no longer presenting himself as more worthy than Origen, nor is he condemning Origen as he did in the *Historia calamitatum*.<sup>142</sup> This move only substantiates Abelard’s authentic humility and vulnerability to a greater degree.

<sup>139</sup> Ep. 7, ed. Muckle, 253; Sixth Letter, Levitan, *Abelard and Heloise*, 127.

<sup>140</sup> Ep. 7, ed. Muckle, 280; Sixth Letter, Levitan, *Abelard and Heloise*, 167.

<sup>141</sup> Ep. 7, ed. Muckle, 280; Sixth Letter, Levitan, *Abelard and Heloise*, 168. Here Abelard is conforming himself to the *topos* of the *procurator mulierum*, one of the much-cited titles for Jerome in the twelfth century.

<sup>142</sup> Levitan, *Abelard and Heloise*, 40: “When God set me free for a similar work, he was kinder to me than to Origen, though; for what Origen did himself – without reflection, it is thought, and in that he incurred no small blame – was done to me by others with no responsibility of my own . . .”

The Seventh Letter is Abelard's most explicit and complete tribute to Heloise's project with which she began their correspondence. This pastoral letter is at once an acknowledgment of rhetoric in the service of wisdom, a further contribution to a working treatise on friendship, and a devoted commitment to the very concrete needs of the religious community of the Paraclete. In the first and only explicit reference to *rhetorica* itself in the Letters, Abelard begins his Seventh Letter citing the same textual authority on rhetoric cited in Heloise's First Letter. Here, however, it is not Aspasia but Cicero himself being referenced. Following a few opening sentences in which he answers their request for guidance in terms of the rule of their community, Abelard notes that together they must be "itaque partim consuetudinibus bonis, partim scripturarum testimoniis uel rationum nitentes fulcimentis" (relying in part on scripture, in part on reason, and in part on the best of our traditions).<sup>143</sup> The Latin text and Radice's translation are as follows: "Hunc enim ut in Rhetorica sua Tullius meminit Crotoniatae ascuerunt ad quoddam templum quod religiosissime colebant excellentissimis picturis decorandum" (For, as Tully records in his *Rhetoric*, the people of Crotona appointed him to decorate with the best possible pictures a certain temple for which they had the highest veneration).<sup>144</sup> The reference is from *De inventione* 2.1, the second book of Cicero's early work on rhetoric. The context within which this passage appears is worthy of note. Cicero proceeds to employ the analogy of the painter in order to communicate the work of the teacher of rhetoric (II. 4–5), after which he confirms how later treatises on rhetoric have appropriately unified the contributions of the schools of Aristotle and Isocrates (II. 7–8), and reminds his readers that whereas the first book of his rhetoric had focused on "literary adornment" (*exornatione*), this second book will focus on the ideas themselves (II. 11).<sup>145</sup>

Also in this letter, Abelard cites the same quote from Benedict concerning the persuasion of monks<sup>146</sup> which Heloise cited several times in the Fifth Letter. But his reference here does not constitute a challenge to her own teaching on the limitations of persuasion, nor is it a repetition of Abelard's early definition of rhetoric as persuasion in his commentary on the *De topicis differentiis* of Boethius, a definition which Mews finds to be focused primarily on the "instrumentality" of rhetoric.<sup>147</sup> In his commentary, Abelard had defined persuasion as "moving and drawing the dispositions of men so that they desire or reject the same thing with us."<sup>148</sup> In the Seventh Letter, by contrast, his ultimate focus is not on the agenda of the *rhetor* or superior, but rather on the discretion and humility of the superior in the service of the cultivation of devout souls.<sup>149</sup>

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<sup>143</sup> Ep. 8, ed. McLaughlin, 242; Seventh Letter, Levitan, *Abelard and Heloise*, 170.

<sup>144</sup> Ep. 8, ed. McLaughlin, 242; Radice, *The Letters of Abelard and Heloise*, 183.

<sup>145</sup> Cicero, *De inventione*.

<sup>146</sup> Levitan, *Abelard and Heloise*, 220.

<sup>147</sup> Mews, "Peter Abelard on Dialectic, Rhetoric, and the Principles of Argument," 47.

<sup>148</sup> Mews, "Peter Abelard on Dialectic, Rhetoric, and the Principles of Argument," 47–48.

<sup>149</sup> Seventh Letter, Levitan, *Abelard and Heloise*, 224.



Abelard's contributions to friendship in this Letter are twofold. First, he offers himself in friendship through the continued self-offering of his work to the particular needs of Heloise's community. Second, he completes their exchange on the topic of friendship by explaining the way in which the members of a community of friendship extend themselves to each other and to the wider community. In terms of his second contribution, Abelard notes how "*enim pro amico sponsonem facimus cum aliquem caritas nostra in nostrae congregationis conuersationem suscipit*" (we become *surety for a friend* whenever our charitable love receives someone into the life of our community).<sup>150</sup> In his account of "*portariam siue ostiariam, quod idem est, pertinet de suscipiendis hospitibus uel quibuslibet aduenientibus et de his nuntiandis uel adducendis ubi oporteat et de cura hospitalitatis*" (the portress, or gatekeeper, [who] will have the responsibility of receiving guests and anyone else who comes to the convent, announcing them, bringing them to the appropriate place, and taking general charge over hospitality),<sup>151</sup> he incorporates both the language of rhetoric and of friendship:

Ex qua maxime tamquam ex uestibulo Domini religionem monasterii decorari oportet cum ab ipsa eius notitia incipiat. Sit igitur blandis uerbis, mitis alloquio, ut in his quoque quos excluderit conuenienti reddita ratione caritatem studeat aedificare. Hinc enim scriptum est: Responsio mollis frangit iram; sermo durus suscitatur furorem. Et alibi: Verbum dulce multiplicat amicos et mitigat inimicos.

[Since acquaintance with the convent begins with her, she must be an adornment to its religious life, as if she herself were the vestibule of the Lord. She therefore should be soft in speech and mild in address, eager to increase the good will even of those she turns away by giving them a suitable reason – as it is written, "A mild answer breaketh wrath, but a harsh word stirreth up fury," and "A sweet word multiplieth friends and appeaseth enemies."]<sup>152</sup>

Finally, throughout the Letter, Abelard provides constant reminders of the absolute necessity of the presence of superiors in the life of the community, harking back to Heloise's pleadings in the First Letter of their correspondence. The superior, Abelard notes, "*cum sibi commisso grege cuncta peregrat et tanto eis amplius prouideat, quanto eis amplius praesens assistit*" (should do everything alongside her flock: the more she is with them, the better she can look after them).<sup>153</sup> He continues several passages later: "*circa subiectas tanto sit magis sollicita quanto magis assidua*" (her constant presence among her women will demonstrate her greater care).<sup>154</sup> Saint Benedict himself modeled this example excellently in his monastery, including his presence at prayer and meals.<sup>155</sup>

<sup>150</sup> Ep. 8, ed. McLaughlin, 255; Seventh Letter, Levitan, *Abelard and Heloise*, 190. Italics are Levitan's.

<sup>151</sup> Ep. 8, ed. McLaughlin, 262; Seventh Letter, Levitan, *Abelard and Heloise*, 203.

<sup>152</sup> Ep. 8, ed. McLaughlin, 262; Seventh Letter, Levitan, *Abelard and Heloise*, 203.

<sup>153</sup> Ep. 8, ed. McLaughlin, 257; Seventh Letter, Levitan, *Abelard and Heloise*, 193.

<sup>154</sup> Ep. 8, ed. McLaughlin, 258; Seventh Letter, Levitan, *Abelard and Heloise*, 195.

<sup>155</sup> Seventh Letter, Levitan, *Abelard and Heloise*, 241.

In terms of Abelard's first contribution to friendship in the Seventh Letter, one need only cite his choice of Origen's homilies as the crown *auctoritas* of his closing words. As one of the three main *auctores* Abelard celebrates in the Sixth Letter (alongside Ambrose and Jerome<sup>156</sup>), Origen seems to be most noteworthy for his rhetorical ability,<sup>157</sup> an ability in the service of wisdom herself:

Ille quippe spiritualium puteorum fossor studiosus non solum ad eorum potum, sed etiam effossionem nos uehementer adhortans expositionis praelectae homelia XII ita loquitur: Tentemus facere etiam illud quod Sapientia commonet dicens: 'Bibe aquam de tuis fontibus et de tuis puteis et sit tibi fons tuus proprius' . . . Si enim suscepisti in te uerbum Dei, si acceptisti ab Iesu aquam uiuam et fideliter accepisti, fiet in te fons aquae salientis in uitam aeternam.

[For Origen worked hard to dig wells of the spirit and urged us both to drink from them and to dig others of our own. As he says in his twelfth homily: "Let us try to do what wisdom advises: 'Drink water from thy wells and from thy springs, and let thy spring be thine own' . . . For if you have taken the word of God into yourself, if you have received the living water from Jesus and have received it with faith, it will become in you a spring of water flowing to eternal life."]<sup>158</sup>

With his second contribution to friendship in this Letter, Abelard follows suit in his own rhetorical flourish which appears as part of the final movement of the Letter and which continues his emphasis on the urgency of the study of the Scriptures for a community of lovers of wisdom—whose love gives to the world as intimately as they receive from the Lord: "Et uos igitur lacte lotae, id est candore castimoniae nitentes iuxta haec fluenta quasi columbae residete et hinc sapientiae haustus sumentes, non solum discere, sed et docere et aliis tamquam oculi uiam possitis ostendere et sponsum ipsum non solum conspicerere, sed et aliis ualeatis describere" (And you as well, washed with the milk that is the whiteness of your chastity, must sit like doves beside these streams and drink drafts of wisdom from them—not only to learn but to teach, to show others, as it were, the way to turn their eyes; not only to know the Bridegroom for yourself but to have the means to speak of him to others).<sup>159</sup> With these words, Abelard provides for the nuns of the Paraclete a rhetorical offering in the manner in which Cicero strove to offer his own

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<sup>156</sup> Sixth Letter, Levitan, *Abelard and Heloise*, 166.

<sup>157</sup> It should be noted that recent scholarly attention is being given to Origen's rhetoric. See, for instance, K. J. Torjesen, "Influence of Rhetoric on Origen's Old Testament Homilies," *Origeniana Sexta* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1995): 13–25. Many of Torjesen's insights on the homilies should be given equal attention in Origen's other writings, such as his *Commentary on John*: "the meaning of what I am doing you are not aware of now, but later on you will know. . . is having your feet washed by me is. . . so that they may become beautiful, because you are about to preach good news of good things and walk upon the souls of men with clean feet," *Origen*, trans. Joseph W. Trigg (New York: Routledge, 1998), XXXII.VIII.87–88.

<sup>158</sup> Ep. 8, ed. McLaughlin, 291; Seventh Letter, Levitan, *Abelard and Heloise*, 252–53.

<sup>159</sup> Ep. 8, ed. McLaughlin, 292; Seventh Letter, Levitan, *Abelard and Heloise*, 254.

synthesis of Isocrates and Aristotle and their commentators. More immediately for Abelard, this synthesis required his working out of Heloise's contributions to *eloquentia*, denoting the devotional and contemplative aspect of spirituality, as well as his own evolving thought on *persuasio*, denoting the practical, active aspect of spirituality.<sup>160</sup>

### 3. Conclusion

This study of rhetoric and friendship in the extended correspondence of Heloise and Abelard has considered their writings as an evolving project of "charismatic friendship" engineered initially and chiefly by Heloise, and engaged and developed by Abelard. By affirming the ascription of the *Epistolae duorum amantium* to Heloise and Abelard, this study calls attention to the concluding reflections of Réka Forrai and Sylvain Piron in their 2007 article, "The Debate on the *Epistolae duorum amantium*: Current status quaestionis and Further Research." As Forrai and Piron point out, "What is needed to transform a 'high probability' is an undebatable common feature that would tie together the relationship between Heloise and Abelard as we know it, and what can be reconstructed out of the *Epistolae duorum amantium*."<sup>161</sup> Their insight is that Heloise's reflections about marriage provide a worthy area of inquiry for such a project.<sup>162</sup> While Heloise's reflections on marriage throughout the correspondence have not received any adequate attention in the present study, it is hoped that her work on friendship—and Abelard's intimate engagement in this project—proves to be found an integral, indispensable complement to such reflections. To this end, we would do well to attend to such studies

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<sup>160</sup> As suggested earlier, it is worth probing whether a reading which includes the *Problemata* reflects this reconciliation taking place even more thoroughly, with wisdom and rhetoric so intimately and integrally related, but in a complex manner only possibly constructed by *both* Heloise and Abelard, and unlike that accepted by either Cicero or Augustine, while incorporating several of the key rhetorical contributions of these authors. As even the early lines of the *Problemata* seem to indicate, Heloise can once again take up her commitment to letters, eloquence, friendship, love and wisdom in a new way. Where once she alone poured over the sweetness of her early letters from Abelard, urgently seeking a synthesis of friendship, love and wisdom from her teacher, now Heloise, in the company of a community that includes Abelard, contemplates the sweetness of the Scriptures in search of deeper wisdom about human and divine friendship, thereby revisiting the classroom—"your students to their teacher"—with Abelard in a new and profound way. We should recall again Abelard's own opening to his late *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* on the mode of divine wisdom: "The intention of all divine Scripture is to teach or to move in the manner of a rhetorical speech," while recalling as well Heloise's adamant commitment to human wisdom transformed: "All this your wisdom knows far better than I." Such proclamations could only have been the fruits of a divinely inspired cooperative affair. See Levitan, "The Questions of Heloise," 259, 258.

<sup>161</sup> Forrai and Piron, "The Debate on the *Epistolae duorum amantium*. Current status quaestionis and Further Research." See Constant J. Mews, "Cicero and the Boundaries of Friendship in the Twelfth Century," *Viator* 38 (2007): 369–84; here, 374–81, for one example of a fitting response to this invitation.

<sup>162</sup> Forrai and Piron, "The Debate on the *Epistolae duorum amantium*. Current status quaestionis and Further Research."

as Carmel Posa's reading of Heloise through a "re-orientation for the place of both love and desire in monastic and Christian spirituality," as well as Eileen Sweeney's reading of an "ethics and hermeneutics . . . that govern Abelard's theoretical and practical writings."<sup>163</sup>

In terms of the distinction between *eloquentia* and *persuasio* being made, it has been offered primarily as a way of attending to some of the distinct contributions of Heloise and Abelard to the rhetorical project in its pastoral mode. Most significantly, I believe, their cooperative work on the nature of rhetoric in the context of spirituality illustrates how transformed persons can transform rhetoric in the service *both* of self and community. Plato's own critical stance on rhetoric in the *Phaedrus* may be understood as laying the theoretical foundations for this enduring historical project:

Until someone knows the truth of each thing about which he speaks or writes and is able to define everything in its own genus, and having defined it knows how to break the genus down into species and subspecies to the point of indivisibility, discerning the nature of the soul in accordance with the same method, while discovering the logical category which fits with each nature, and until in a similar way he composes and adorns speech, furnishing variegated and complex speech to a variegated soul and simple speech to a simple soul—not until then will it be possible for speech to exist in an artistic form in so far as the nature of speech is capable of such treatment, neither for instruction nor for persuasion, as has been shown by our entire past discussion. (277b5–c6)<sup>164</sup>

The urgent nature of transforming selves for such a project, was, I believe, Heloise's insight, such that we are compelled, as readers, to consider not just the literary Heloise or even Heloise the philosopher, but Heloise the theologian, whose rigorous dedication to identifying and living the nature of friendship might be considered a worthy precursor to the *Secunda Pars* of the *Summa Theologiae* of St. Thomas Aquinas.<sup>165</sup>

Finally, the reconciliation discerned in the distinct approaches of Heloise and Abelard throughout the correspondence should not be underestimated for its existential appeal to scholars of history, philosophy, and theology alike. One element of this thesis is that

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<sup>163</sup> Posa, "'Desire': The Language of Love in the Feminine in Heloise's Letters," 146; Eileen C. Sweeney, "Abelard's *Historia Calamitatum* and Letters: Self as Search and Struggle," 306.

<sup>164</sup> See Kennedy, *Classical Rhetoric*, 74. Classen's emphasis on friendship as love in Aquinas's *Summa Theologiae* ("Introduction," 35) shows St. Thomas to be attending to friendship in a way that strikingly reflects Heloise's own project. For a bibliography of critical treatments of Aquinas's work on this relation, including James McEvoy's "The Other as Oneself: Friendship and Love in the Thought of St. Thomas Aquinas" and Joseph Bobik's "Aquinas on *Communicatio*, the Foundation of Friendship and *Caritas*," see the bibliographic listing, "Additional Studies on Aquinas's Doctrine of Love" in the online *Supplement to On Love and Charity: Readings from the Commentary on the Sentences of Peter Lombard*, trans. by Peter A. Kwasniewski, Thomas Bolin, O.S.B., and Joseph Bolin (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2008); <http://cuapress.cua.edu/books/supplementary/AquinasonLove/LoveSupp.pdf> (last accessed on Aug. 1, 2010).

<sup>165</sup> Kennedy's statement in *Classical Rhetoric* that Aquinas "can hardly be said to have had much interest in rhetoric" (219) must be revisited in light of the work of Mongeau, Sweetman and others. See n. 6 above.

the entire corpus of writings of Heloise and Abelard ultimately reveals an experience of a deepening, yet imperfect conversion for each of them; both continue to indicate their need for healing to the end.<sup>166</sup> Another element of this thesis is that their corpus also reveals a critical contribution on the part of each writer that must be reckoned with as an essential component to a holistic, integrated spirituality. What they have offered us in the history of letters, education, and spirituality is the most personal expression of a conversation seeking transformation on individual and communal levels. It is a conversation that lies at the heart of questions about intellect and will, love and language, learning and spirituality. In the greater context of ancient and medieval thought, it is a conversation that may be discerned, in different variations, in the combined contributions of Aristotle and Isocrates, Hugh of St. Victor and Bernard of Clairvaux, and Thomas Aquinas and Meister Eckhart. What continues to draw us to this particular correspondence at hand, however, is the very conversation being lived out, in self-offering, before our eyes.

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<sup>166</sup> See Heloise's own explicit words to this effect as cited in the Letters. See also Abelard's verses to their son, Astrolabe, which suggest that Abelard himself has not fully appropriated the full potential of their exchange. See Stanley Lombardo's translation in Levitan, *Abelard and Heloise*, 294–301; here 298 (especially lines 375–84).



## Chapter 5

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### Peter the Venerable and Secular Friendships

It was the summer of 1133. In a gesture of filial loyalty the abbot of Cluny, Peter the Venerable (r. 1122–1156), wrote his spiritual father Pope Innocent II to promise whatever aid and succor he could provide. The letter, one of Peter's earliest to him, likely received a warm welcome as Innocent was embroiled in a struggle with Anacletus II for control of the papacy and of Rome.<sup>1</sup> Innocent had been able to retake parts of the papal city with the help of "that friend of justice" Lothar III of Germany, who was making motions to leave after being crowned emperor.<sup>2</sup> The loss of his troops would have left Innocent unsupported against Anacletus's allies and Peter the Venerable pledged aid in response to this threat in three forms: his own diplomatic efforts, the resources of Cluniac monasteries (the *ecclesia cluniacensis*), and the assistance of the "friends of Cluny." About this latter group he promises:

Quoscumque michi et Cluniacensi aeclesiae qualibet amicitia iunctos, reges et principes, nobiles et ignobiles, magnos et pusillos agnouit, hos maiestatis uestrae

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<sup>1</sup> Peter the Venerable and most of his monks were staunch supporters of and at times propagandists for Innocent II; on this, see Mary Stroll, *The Jewish Pope: Ideology and Politics in the Papal Schism of 1130*. Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, 8 (Leiden and New York: Brill, 1987); see 21–44 for the role of Cluny and xiii–xvii, 1–9 for an excellent summary of historiography on the schism.

<sup>2</sup> The *Vita Norberti archiepiscopi Madgeburgensis* gives Lothar a long list of praiseworthy titles: *Lotarius imperator timens Deum, strenuus belli doctor, praecipuus in armis, providus in consilio terribilis inimicis Dei, iusticiae socius, inimicus iniusticiae*; edited in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, vol. 12, ed. Roger Wilmans (Hanover: Hahn, 1856), 663–706; here 702. This anonymous text was likely composed soon after Norbert's death in 1134 by an individual who was involved in the Roman campaign.

pedibus subdere per me ipsum uise per alios, loquendo, scribendo, mandando, terrendo, mulcendo pro posse non distuli.<sup>3</sup>

[As much as I can, whether by talk or text, by command, flattery or threat, I do not hesitate to subject to the feet of Your Majesty, through myself and through others, anyone—kings or princes, nobles or base-born, the great or the meek—who is joined to myself and to the *ecclesia cluniacensis* in any sort of friendship.]

Peter does not elaborate on the specifics of this aid, but he seems to suggest that a multitude of the laity were readying themselves to serve under Innocent II.

One might wonder if this was an impressive sounding but ultimately empty statement of Peter's personal support. Innocent likely would have understood Peter's words as a clear reference to an informal network of secular elites bound to Peter and to Cluny through ties of political friendship (*amicitia*). Later in the letter, Peter assumes Innocent's familiarity with the discourse of political friendship by equating friends with political allies and highlighting the importance of their loyalty in a time when enemies abound. And he asks Innocent to remember Solomon's injunction, "Recolite quod ait Salomon: Amici sint tibi multi" (May you have many friends: Eccl. 6.5), and then rephrases it saying, "et ideo numquam talibus uos satis abundare credatis" (Do not ever think that you can have enough of them)—making the case as if Innocent might hesitate to accept his offer.<sup>4</sup> Maybe Innocent did hesitate. His other great friend, Lothar, was abandoning him after receiving an imperial coronation and jurisdictional concessions. Perhaps Innocent was anxious about what more he would need to concede in order to get the support of these other 'friends'. He knew that monastic friendships demanded reciprocity and perhaps the favors he would owe were too great for him to return.

In this study, I wish to explore what Peter and Innocent would have thought was being offered in this letter. What did it mean to be friends with Cluny? What purpose did they serve? And who benefitted from this arrangement? As background to these questions, my study will first outline Peter the Venerable's attitude toward secular society and his general thoughts on friendship, showing that Peter welcomed the laity into the cloister and that friendship—a discourse used by Peter predominantly with other monks and churchmen—was also a means to associate lay people with the Cluniac path. The mutual benefits of this form of association are illustrated through the examples of Peter's interaction with

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<sup>3</sup> Peter the Venerable, *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, ed. Giles Constable, 2 vols. Harvard Historical Studies, 78 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967), vol. 1, 132, ep. 39. This work is hereafter abbreviated as *Letters*; all references will be to the first volume and all translations into English are my own, unless otherwise noted.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 133.



Raoul I of Vermandois, Alfonso VII of Léon-Castille, and Roger II of Sicily, in which offers of friendship show its potential to define and bind together prince, king and abbot.

## Peter the Venerable and Aristocratic Society

Peter the Venerable claimed a special position for the monastery of Cluny as a celestial citadel and earthly paradise unsullied by contact with the mundane world. During his abbacy, however, the cloisters of the *ecclesia cluniacensis* were neither sealed to the outside world, nor opposed to the wealth of resources nobles controlled.<sup>5</sup> Peter himself shows an ambivalence towards aristocratic society, both appealing to its prestige and also decrying its potential to abuse its power. Understanding how Peter related to secular magnates helps us to appreciate how he positions himself with his secular friends.

Ever since George Duby's study of Cluny's place in the Mâconnais, it has been common to speak of the ties of its monks to Burgundian aristocrats.<sup>6</sup> Barbara Rosenwein and others have convincingly argued that reciprocal exchanges between "the neighbors of St. Peter" and Cluniac monks made the boundary between the monastic and secular worlds porous from the time of Cluny's foundation.<sup>7</sup> Personal relationships between abbots, monks and lay nobles determined how cloister and countryside related to one another until the

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<sup>5</sup> See, for example, the glorification of Cluny in Peter's *De miraculis*, book I, chapter 9; edited as *Petri Cluniacensis abbas, De miraculis libri duo*, ed. Dominique Bouthillier. Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalis, 83 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1988).

<sup>6</sup> George Duby, *La Société aux XIe et XIIe siècles dans la région mâconnaise*. Bibliothèque générale de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes, 35 (Paris: A. Colin, 1953).

<sup>7</sup> For the early history of Cluny's implantation within the aristocracy, see Barbara Rosenwein, *Rhinoceros Bound: Cluny in the Tenth Century*. The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982), and eadem, *To be the Neighbor of St. Peter: The Social Meaning of Cluny's Property: 909–1049* (Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press, 1989). Rosenwein's conclusions are buttressed in the exhaustive account of Odo of Cluny's life and ideas by Isabelle Rosé, *Construire une société seigneuriale: Itinéraire et ecclésiologie de l'abbé Odon de Cluny (fin du IXe – milieu du Xe siècle)*, Collection d'études médiévales de Nice, 8 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008). For the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, see Philippe Racinet, "L'Expansion de Cluny sous Hugues 1er de Semur," *Le Gouvernement d'Hugues de Semur à Cluny. Actes du Colloque scientifique international (Cluny, septembre 1988)* (Macon: Buguet-Comptour, 1990): 93–131, and "Le Prieuré clunisien, une composante essentielle du monde aristocratique (xie– xiiie siècle)", *Die Cluniazenser in ihrem politisch-sozialen Umfeld*, ed. Giles Constable, Gert Melville, and Jörg Oberst. Vita Regularis, 7 (Münster: Lit Verlag, 1998): 189–212. Dider Méhu provides an exhaustive account of the relations of the monks and burgers of Cluny in *Paix et communautés autour de l'abbaye de Cluny (Xe–XVe siècles)*. Collection d'histoire et d'archéologie médiévales, 9 (Lyon: Presses Universitaires de Lyon, 2001).

thirteenth-century.<sup>8</sup> Abbots were chosen from the great aristocratic families linked to Cluny, and the monks predominantly came from the noble class.<sup>9</sup>

Peter's background and the public image he cultivated suggest that he was very typical in this respect. His monks widely acknowledged that Peter came from Cluny's aristocratic network and highlighted this aspect when perpetuating his reputation and, later, his memory. A panegyric poem written and circulated during his lifetime, for example, asks Cluniac monks to revel in Peter's noble heritage:

Plaudite, felices, hilarescite, Cluniacenses,  
 Redditus est vobis moribus alter Hugo.  
 Nobilis ille fuit, magnisque parentibus ortus:  
 Hunc quoque praeclarum reddit origo patrum.  
 Ille super cunctos, quos excolit ac veneratur  
 Gallia Lugduni, nobilitate nitet.  
 Hunc Latiae gentes regum de stirpe potentes,  
 Arverni populi progenuere duces.<sup>10</sup>

[Celebrate and rejoice happy Cluniacs  
 for another Hugh in his *mores* was given to you.  
 Hugh was noble and born of powerful parents;  
 The ancestry of Peter's forefathers also renders him preeminent.  
 Hugh, whom Gaul worshiped and venerated above all,  
 shines with nobility from Lyons.  
 The dukes of the people of Auvergne,  
 that powerful nation born of the kings of Rome, begat Peter.]

The author, Peter of Poitiers (who would later act as secretary and archivist for his abbot), identifies Peter the Venerable with a past Cluniac abbot, Hugh of Semur († 1109), whose aristocratic origins and connection to the Capetian dynasty were well publicized in a series of *vitae* written after his canonization in 1120.<sup>11</sup> Peter the Venerable, likewise, is presented as an aristocrat coming from the line of kings. The author glosses over, however, that his family, the Montboissiers, were of relatively secondary stature among the nobles of Auvergne.<sup>12</sup> The claim to royal

<sup>8</sup> Racinet, "Le Prieuré clunisien," 210–11.

<sup>9</sup> Charles de Miramon, "Embrasser l'état monastique à l'âge adulte (1050–1200). Étude sur la conversion tardive," *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 54.4 (1999): 825–49; here 830–32.

<sup>10</sup> Peter of Poitiers, *Panegyricus, Patrologia Latina* (Paris: Garnier, 1844–1864), vol. 189, col. 48–57; here 48, 1–7.

<sup>11</sup> Adriaan H. Bredero, "La Canonisation de Saint Hugues et celle de ses devanciers," *Le Gouvernement d'Hughes de Semur*, 154, 168; see also Frank Barlow, "The Canonization and the Early Lives of Hugh I, Abbot of Cluny," *Analecta Bollandiana* 98 (1980): 297–334.

<sup>12</sup> Constable notes that the Montboissiers of Peter's generation, however, became the premier ecclesiastical family of southern Burgundy, Lyonnais and Auvergne—a key source of influence

ancestry, it seems, marks an interest by the author in playing up Peter's nobility; the comparison to Hugh buttresses by association Peter's weak claims to pre-eminence. Peter the Venerable himself must have approved of this characterization, since this description opens a poem which the abbot approved and later defended.<sup>13</sup> This collusion of the two Peters suggests that family and noble stature were key parts of his public identity.

The *Chronicle* of Geoffrey of Vigéois, Hugh of Poitiers' *Chronicle of Vézelay* and the late-medieval *Chronicon cluniacense* all highlight the aristocratic origins of Peter the Venerable in their brief comments on him, suggesting that the information was widely known and repeated, but chief among the texts commemorating Peter's aristocratic background is the *Vita Petri Venerabilis*, written during the abbacy of Stephen of Boulogne (r. 1161–73) by a Cluniac monk Raoul. This text outlines Peter's life and provides a traditional catalogue of hagiographic features (e.g., his virtues, his miracles). Sprinkled within are subtle defenses of Peter's abbacy—the legitimacy of his election, the importance of his support for Innocent II, the utility of his monastic reforms—and the text also brings up Peter's contact with secular society several times. It highlights especially how he was beloved by all, saying “Hunc imperatores, reges et principes orbis pio affectu amabant, venerabantur et colebant, et quasi patri et domino adhaerebant” (Emperors, kings and princes of the world loved Peter with pious affection, venerated and respected him, and cleaved to him as they would to a lord and father).<sup>14</sup>

As the *Vita Petri* portrays it, Peter ranked as one of these princes. Raoul bookends his description of Peter's saintly acts with an account of his noble birth at the beginning and a record of his extended family in the end. The first bits of information about Peter are the names of his parents, Maurice and Raingard, whom Raoul identifies vaguely as nobles of Auvergne (now identified by Giles Constable as members of the Montboissier family).<sup>15</sup> The advantages of this

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for expanding the family's noble power in the twelfth century; *Letters*, 2, 234.

<sup>13</sup> It is evident that this poem circulated with some readership, because Peter the Venerable felt it necessary to write a defense of it, *Adversus calumniatores carminum sui Petri Pictaviensis defensio* (PL 189, col. 1005–17) after its poor style won sufficient criticism. The dedication of the *Panegyricus* to Peter the Venerable and the same Peter's defense of the poem suggest strongly that this depiction conformed to a public image of which the abbot approved. These two works deserve further study—no analysis of the two has appeared since Jean Leclercq's brief comments on them in his *Pierre le Vénérable. Figures Monastiques* (Paris: Éditions de Fontenelle, 1946).

<sup>14</sup> Raoul de Sully, *Vita Petri Venerabilis*, PL 189, col. 15–27; here col. 19C.

<sup>15</sup> For detailed information on Peter's family, see *Letters*, 2, 233–35; Constable's analysis is repeated and updated by Dominique Iogna-Prat, *Ordonner et exclure: Cluny et la société chrétienne face à l'hérésie, au judaïsme et à l'islam, 1000–1500* (Paris: Aubier, 1998), trans. by Graham Robert Edwards, *Order and Exclusion: Cluny and Christendom Face Heresy, Judaism, and Islam (1000–1150). Conjunctions of Religion and Power in the Medieval Past* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003), 99–100.

ancestry are highlighted immediately by the author. Raoul describes Peter as being specially chosen by St. Peter even before his birth—something revealed to his parents by the aforementioned Abbot Hugh. While pregnant, Raingard had sought the blessing of the Abbot Hugh of Semur, who told her that the baby was intended for the Cluniac cloister.<sup>16</sup> That she was able and willing to have access to Hugh indicates to the audience that her family had ties to the Cluniac orbit and she was important enough to merit the personal attention of its abbot. The final chapter of the *vita* makes the status of the family even more explicit, noting that his great-grandfather had founded a Cluniac dependency, his mother and father both ended their lives in Cluniac houses and his brothers were important ecclesiastical and secular lords.<sup>17</sup> But while the *Vita Petri* may have underscored Peter the Venerable's aristocratic background, it certainly did not suggest that he was beholden to his kin or his class in any way.

Gregory Smith's study of Peter the Venerable's concept of violence indicates that Peter was very wary about the aristocracy's negative potential.<sup>18</sup> In contrast to the picture of a smooth exchange between monastery and nobility put forth by many historians of Cluny, Smith argues that the nobility was a group whose influence and coercive force Peter disparaged. He repeatedly describes their behavior to be base and violent, as in a letter (ca. 1146) to Pope Eugenius III:

Impugnat assidue alter alterum, ac uunt pene universi in mutuam caedem gladiolus, conspirat frater in fratris interitum, castrorum domini, inferioris nominis milites, burgenses, rustici populi, laicorum omne genus, de illo clamant, quod propheta dei olim pessimo regi Israel locutus est: Vidi uniuersum Israel dispersum in montibus quasi oues non habentes pastorem.<sup>19</sup>

[One is constantly fighting against another; nearly all of them sharpen their swords for mutual slaughter; brother conspires for the death of a brother, all members of the laity—whether lords of castles, knights of lesser distinction, burgers, or peasants—lament what the prophet of God once said to an evil king of Israel: "I saw all Israel scattered in the mountains like sheep who have no shepherd".]

This letter (like many others) dwells on a single theme: the combative and divisive nature of the aristocracy must be brought to obey the pacifying authority of the Church. What the "bad" aristocracy lacked was the mutual love and charity (so abundant among monks!) necessary to unite Christians and Christendom. The solution seemed clear to Peter. Lay magnates needed to be drawn even closer into the bosom of Cluny to be taught to practice its *caritas*.

<sup>16</sup> Raoul de Sully, *Vita Petri Venerabilis*, col. 17B.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., col. 28AB.

<sup>18</sup> Gregory A. Smith, "*Sine rege, Sine principe*: Peter the Venerable on Violence in Twelfth-Century Burgundy," *Speculum* 77 (2002): 1–33.

<sup>19</sup> *Letters*, 406, ep. 171; this translation modifies the one offered by Smith, "*Sine rege*," 15.

As his monks expected, Peter the Venerable carefully fulfilled his abbatial duty to mediate the interaction of the world inside and outside the cloister.<sup>20</sup> Dominique Iogna-Prat has convincingly argued that he engaged even more directly with the laity than typical for previous abbots. Traditionally Cluniac ideology was disseminated to secular society through the gift-exchange cycle, which drew in not only the donor, but also his or her wider social network. A noble who entered Cluny as a monk, for example, would often make a donation of land at the time of his conversion, which would be agreed to by his wife and kin, would be witnessed by his friends and could involve the transfer of serfs to Cluniac authority.<sup>21</sup> Such exchanges were often recorded in written charters, which were both a legalistic record of the donation and a written statement of Cluniac eschatology addressed to a lay audience. As Sébastien Barret has shown, this written record was likely only one aspect of a larger oral and ritual display and such occasions of gift-giving or conversion provided an important opportunity for Cluniacs to involve a segment of secular society outside their walls.<sup>22</sup>

Such exchanges continued during Peter's abbacy and were supplemented by additional measures.<sup>23</sup> In Iogna-Prat's judgment, Peter advanced a traditional Cluniac concern with providing monastic hospitality to an ever-increasing number of visitors. This influx of outsiders would have provided Peter and his monks with continuing opportunities to meet with lay persons. Peter also intervened with other churchmen, such as the pope, on behalf of a growing number of lay benefactors. This privilege was also granted to the families of deceased benefactors, since death did not sever a connection with Cluny.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> See Adalbert de Vogüé, *La communauté et l'abbé dans la règle de saint Benoît* (Paris: Desclée, De Brouwer, 1961), trans. by Charles Philippi and Ethel Rae Perkins as *Community and Abbot in the Rule of St. Benedict*. Cistercian Studies, 5, 2 vols. (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1979–1985).

<sup>21</sup> Iogna-Prat, *Order and Exclusion*, 88–89.

<sup>22</sup> Sébastien Barret, "Éléments d'institutionnalité dans les actes originaux du 'fonds de Cluny' de la Bibliothèque nationale de France (Xe–XIe siècles)", *Die Bettelorden im Aufbau: Beiträge zu Institutionalisierungsprozessen im mittelalterlichen Religiosentum*, ed. Gert Melville and Jörg Oberste, Vita Regularis, 11 (Münster, Hamburg, and London: Lit. Verlag, 1999), 557–601.

<sup>23</sup> The records of the exchanges during Peter's abbacy are archived in Cluny's cartularies. For charters dating to Peter's abbacy, see *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny*, ed. Bernard and Alexandre Bruel. Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France – Première série. Histoire politique, 6 vols (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1876–1903; Frankfurt a. M.: Minerva-GmbH, 1974), vol. 5, 310–538. These charters and other Burgundian charters can now be searched or downloaded through the *Chartae Burgundiae Medii Aevi* project, at: [http://www.artehis.eu/spip.php?article629&var\\_mode=calcul](http://www.artehis.eu/spip.php?article629&var_mode=calcul) (last accessed on Aug. 1, 2010).

<sup>24</sup> King Alfonso VII of Léon-Castille, discussed below, provides an example of cross-generational links. For a particularly ghoulish example of the perceived association between Cluny and donor after death, see Raoul de Sully's story (*Vita Petri Venerabilis*, col. 25C) about an unnamed English knight who was visited by the specter of King Henry of England. As Raoul tells it, Henry asked the knight to warn his "friend and father, Peter" that the monks of St. Pancras should not cease

Under Peter the Venerable, Cluny actively sought to engage outwardly. A feeling of responsibility for the whole Christian world very much underlies Peter the Venerable's ideal of authorship, which allowed him to be a "silent preacher" without leaving the cloister.<sup>25</sup> Iogna-Prat sees Peter's theological treatises as the codification of a desire to consolidate Christian orthodoxy (and thus Christendom) in a Cluniac world-view demonizing the Jewish, Islamic and heretical 'Others'. While this argument has been criticized since the manuscripts of his treatises show little evidence for circulating outside the Cluniac orbit, Iogna-Prat persuasively makes the case that it was Peter's intention.<sup>26</sup>

Gillian Knight suggests that Peter's letters (and later his letter collection) also fulfill this preaching mission—spreading his Cluniac message through the long distance friendship networks that Peter cultivated.<sup>27</sup> Drawing on Julian Haseldine's contention that *amicitia* allowed disagreements to be broached and discussed by monks, Knight sees friendship as a key strategy of Peter the Venerable's diplomatic efforts.<sup>28</sup> With the papal court, with rival abbots, and with recalcitrant bishops, Peter appealed to friendship to resolve conflict.

Though Knight's analysis is limited to Peter's communication with ecclesiastical and monastic figures, her conclusion seems to hold true for secular society as well. Of Peter's seventy correspondents (as extant in his letter collection), thirteen are not churchmen, ranging in status from lawyers to kings. Many letters allowed Peter to speak directly to nobles outside his normal sphere of influence, such as the King of Jerusalem (ep. 82) or John Comnenus, the Byzantine Emperor (ep. 75). Others simply reinforced relationships which had already been established, such as his correspondence with the knight Hugh Catula or the lawyer Dulcian, whom Peter reminded about their unfulfilled vows to enter Cluny. Many more letters to lay individuals were likely written, but have since been lost.<sup>29</sup>

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from saying prayers for his soul. Peter did so and was later visited by Henry's ghost who thanked him for his intercession.

<sup>25</sup> Dominique Iogna-Prat, "L'Impossible silence. Pierre le Vénérable, neuvième abbé de Cluny (1122–1156), et la pastorale du livre," *La Parole du prédicateur (Ve–XVe siècle)*, ed. R. M. Dessi, and M. Lauwers. Centre d'études médiévales de Nice, 1 (Nice: Z'édicions, 1997), 111–52; he also makes this claim throughout *Order and Exclusion*.

<sup>26</sup> See for example the reviews in a special volume of *Early Medieval Europe*, in particular Isabelle Cochelin's "Orders and Exclusions," *Early Medieval Europe* 13.4 (2005): 395–403; here 397–98.

<sup>27</sup> Gillian Knight, "Uses and Abuses of *amicitia*: The Correspondence between Peter the Venerable and Hato of Troyes," *Reading Medieval Studies* 23 (1997): 35–67; here 36–37, and *The Correspondence between Peter the Venerable and Bernard of Clairvaux: A Semantic and Structural Analysis*. Church, Faith and Culture in the Medieval West (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2002), 1–25.

<sup>28</sup> See Julian Haseldine, "Friendship and Rivalry: the Role of *Amicitia* in Twelfth-Century Monastic Relations," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 44.3 (1993): 390–414; here 392–94.

<sup>29</sup> *Letters*, vol. 2, 13–15.

As I argue below, friendship is often referenced as part of the diplomatic exchanges contained in these letters. Peter's letters to lay persons used the discourse of friendship as the basis of his epistolary relationships—whether Peter had met his correspondents or not. They show that Peter counted some of the most influential kings and nobles of Europe as his so-called 'friends,' whom he strove to draw into stronger association with Cluny. Before turning to these letters, however, it is necessary to treat briefly what 'friendship' meant to Peter the Venerable.

### Peter's Models of Friendship

According to his *vita*, Peter the Venerable was beloved to all his monks and "won the affection of all" (*omnium affectus in se provocaret*).<sup>30</sup> The author further notes, "*Dilegebat namque fratres intimo cordis fervore, et unumquodque quasi se ipsum*" (He loved the brothers with the innermost fervor of his heart and treated them as if his very self).<sup>31</sup> If we take Peter's hagiographer at his word, many of his relationships with his monks could be considered friendships—in the modern sense of friendship as a private emotional bond between individuals. Unlike the modern variety, however, friendships among medieval aristocrats were often used as public expressions of alliance, or demonstrations of membership in a "co-operative union".<sup>32</sup> Lords would routinely enter into sworn friendships that were made concrete through rituals or, beginning in the twelfth century, through written contracts. These relationships were intended to ensure mutual support and to help realize common goals in a society lacking the complex network of institutions that permeates the political culture of current Western society.

While the equation of friendship and alliance was at the basis of medieval friendship practices, a long history of related customs and ideas had raised friendship into a secular and religious ideal by the twelfth century among Europe's lay and clerical elites. Classical conceptions of civic virtue and Christian models of love had converged by Peter's time to establish a lofty definition of friendship, adherence to which was a form of self-validation for those in power. By thinking and acting "friendly", lords (both ecclesiastical and temporal) engaged in specific behavioral patterns and ways of feeling that differentiated them, as C.

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<sup>30</sup> Raoul de Sully, *Vita Petri Venerabilis*, col. 19B.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 19B.

<sup>32</sup> Gerd Althoff, *Verwandte, Freunde und Getreue: zum politischen Stellenwert der Gruppenbindungen im früheren Mittelalter* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1990), trans. by Christopher Carroll as *Family, Friends and Followers: Political and Social Bonds in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 67.

Stephen Jaeger has argued, and provided tangible proof of their “moral and class superiority”.<sup>33</sup> Jaeger explains that this form of public “gesture” demanded a grounding in real emotion and could not be empty ceremonial posturing, since to do that would reverse the prestige-giving effect. That is to say, a friendship seen as hypocritical would diminish the status of someone claiming prestige through it. As Jaeger argues, this definition of friendship was equally important in court or cloister.

As a son of the powerful Montboissier family, Peter the Venerable could hardly have avoided a familiarity with the political friendships that arose between lay aristocrats. Peter continued to be involved in the social and political world of his birth and well understood the bonds of co-operation underlying its order. His knowledge of aristocratic friendship, for example, can be seen clearly in a letter (ca. 1140) to his brother Pontius, then abbot of Vézelay.<sup>34</sup> In it he decries Pontius’s lack of concern about their feuding brothers Heraclius, a provost of a college of secular canons in Lyons, and Eustache, a knight and aristocrat. These two had become locked in mutual conflict (*guerra*) of some unspecified nature which led Peter the Venerable to intervene and to establish a peaceful accord between them. “By my, I repeat *my*, effort, care and constant concern,” Peter stresses, “our brothers are now bound in friendship and perpetual alliance by unbreakable oaths” (*Meo, meo inquam, studio, mea cura, mea inquietudine [. . .] Eracliumque et Eustachium germanos, sacramentis inuiolabilibus in perpetuum foedus amicitiamque iuratos*).<sup>35</sup> This letter not only shows that Peter was well aware of aristocratic practices of friendship, but that he saw an important role for a churchman in defining, establishing and overseeing them.

Peter the Venerable never dealt at any length with the subject of friendship, nor does he differentiate whether there are modes of friendship suitable only to the religious or to the secular sphere. Lacking any explicit evidence of this distinction and since we only have indications of his thinking on the subject, we are forced to extrapolate a model of friendship with the laity from his comments to other monks, abbots and bishops. These hints are, however, suggestive of the general rules and responsibilities that Peter the Venerable saw as integral to “true” Christian friendship, and seem applicable to both the secular and sacred world. If Peter was speaking to outsiders with an intent to introduce his Cluniac ideology, presumably he could not say one thing to churchmen and another to the laity without being seen as hypocritical (and thus unworthy of respect and of true friendship).

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<sup>33</sup> C. Stephen Jaeger, *Ennobling Love. In Search of a Lost Sensibility*. The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 36.

<sup>34</sup> *Letters*, 232–33, ep. 91.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 233.



For Peter, friendship was a Christian bond grounded in love and charity, which demanded the performance of specific duties (e.g., exchanging favors, reciprocating letters) to provide stability to what was a fluid relationship.<sup>36</sup> Almost without fail, Peter's letters to his friends emphasize the deep and abiding love between him and the recipient. Using language a modern reader would consider Romantic, Peter yearns to speak with his many "beloveds" ("carissime") and talks of friendship as a relationship which "knows only to love" ("nichilque nisi diligere sciens").<sup>37</sup> This love is imagined as a spiritual love, arising as it does from a soul's recognition of a kindred spirit.<sup>38</sup> By this Peter did not suggest the maxim that "likes attract", but rather admitted that only pure and virtuous souls are able to perceive and sustain the unanimity ("unanimitas") and accord ("consensio") that must exist between friends. For this reason, Peter's letters describe friends as sharing "a single heart" ("simplex cor") or as "half my soul" ("animae dimidium meae") and consider the bond of friendship to be "a love derived from a supernal love" ("amor ille a superno amore diriuatus") or "a vestige of eternal love" ("uestigium amoris eterni").<sup>39</sup> Peter understood charity to be implicated in the experience of friendship and he expected friendship to act in the service of God and in pursuit of the good.<sup>40</sup>

Peter's explanatory framework for friendship was spiritual but we should be cautious about believing that he naively imagined Christendom to be a society of friends. The bond of charity explained how friendship was possible between people in a world of sin, but did not provide an indication of how people would behave. How people made use of the possibilities afforded by charity/friendship defined what kind of persons they were and determined their reward in the afterlife. In this sense, therefore, Peter views friendship as the product of Christian free will: the possibility for friendship is divinely mandated, but people must

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<sup>36</sup> I provide here only a brief summary of Peter's thought on friendship, something more fully described in my article, "Thoughts on Friendship in the Letters of Peter the Venerable," forthcoming in *Revue Bénédictine* 120.2 (2010).

<sup>37</sup> *Letters*, 9, ep. 5; *nichilque nisi diligere sciens*.

<sup>38</sup> Jaeger (*Ennobling Love*, 14–16) uses the term "non-libidinal" desire to describe this bond. Though these letters are filled with declarations of love between men, I agree with Jaeger's assertion that it is anachronistic to see such language as evidence of homo-eroticism.

<sup>39</sup> *Letters*, vol. 2, ep. 5 and ep. 55. The second quotation is a citation of Horace, *Odes*, I, iii, l. 8.

<sup>40</sup> He criticizes Peter of Poitiers, for instance, for failing to consider the public good: "Never caring to reciprocate any return for our goodwill—what I call a salubrious right of friendship—you seem to live for yourself, to take care for your affairs, but to slight those of others and—what is even worse—of friends." *Letters*, 49, ep. 26: "[C]um te michi semper adherere debere, tam multus amor quo te amplectebam, quam multa utilitas qua te indigebam instanter commonerent subposui tamen uelle meum uoluntati tuae, praeposui salutem tuam necessitati meae, praetuli ocium tuum negotiis meis. Tu autem nullam huic nostrae beniuolentiae uicem reddere curans, quod saluo amicitiae priuilegio dixerim, uideris tibi uidere, tua curare, ea quae sunt aliorum et quod est deterius amicorum uilipendere."

voluntarily subject themselves to its regimen. They did so, Peter believes, by following the obligations and performance of friendship. If friends act without fail, long established friendships will endure without end and continue in Heaven.

Many of Peter's images emphasize the strength of his relationship with his dearest friends. It is an unbreakable cord, a chain and fetters he will never remove and an indestructible shackle.<sup>41</sup> But with these same friends, he also uses metaphors underscoring friendship's transitory nature. Friendship could be a rising and setting sun, finely aging wine, or a fire, sometimes burning bright, sometimes cooling to embers. This last metaphor—first used to warn Hato of Troyes about the necessity of a constant performance of friendship— is particularly evocative of how Peter views the inherent instability of friendship:

Probatio dilectionis, exhibitio est operas. Si ignis est, calet. Si calet, non diu flammam continet. Si diu continuerit, mox ignis esse cessabit.<sup>42</sup>

[*The proof of love is a demonstration in works. If there is a fire, it provides warmth. If it provides warmth, then it has not burned for long. If it has burned for some time, then soon it will burn itself out.*]

In friendship, Peter suggests, constant attention is needed. It demands careful stoking and knowing when to add more fuel for the fire. If too much time is taken between demonstrations of friendship, he implies, the passion of friendship will die.

Peter's letters include a range of possibilities for what constitutes the necessary practices of friendship. They are generally conceived to be tangible favors (such as assistance in episcopal negotiations, judicial help, gifts of land, revenues, or memorial masses) and more immaterial support (such as discussion, debate, advice and consolation). These latter actions dominate Peter's letters on friendship which seek to express the passion and emotion of his love through the written word. A letter to Hato describes this process:

Morem follis habes karissime, qui spiritu quo plenus est, emortuam fere scintillam ignescere, et in immensas quandoque flammam erumpere cogit. Sic spiritus tuus non ut ille aerius sed ut credo diuinus non quidem erga te emortuum ignem pectoris mei, sed diu silentio flando suscitare nititur, et ad uerba solita reuocare molitur.<sup>43</sup>

[You have the manner of a bellows, my beloved, whose breath causes dying embers to ignite and then to erupt into enormous flames. By writing often, as if constantly blowing like a bellows, your spirit (not the airy, but the divine spirit as I see it) labors to rekindle the fire of my heart (certainly not deadened towards you!), and it also

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<sup>41</sup> See ep. 5, 14, 49, 55 and 108.

<sup>42</sup> *Letters*, 10, ep. 5.

<sup>43</sup> *Letters*, 223, ep. 86.

struggles to recall to its customary wordiness the breath of my speech long hooded in silence.]

The good will and pleasant thoughts that arise following a demonstration of friendship lead to a specific way of feeling among strong friends. The more gifts are exchanged and the more love is expressed, the greater is the desire to reciprocate, and thus greater is the mutual bond between friends. Peter assimilates the terminology and theoretical obligations of *amicitia*, therefore, to the medieval processes of gift-giving.<sup>44</sup>

Peter gave friendship both a practical social role and an uplifting spiritual goal, and in understanding it as such, he paralleled contemporary lay and religious models of friendship. In Peter's letters we see evidence of Jaeger's idea that medieval Christian thinkers adhered to an idealized paradigm of friendship. Time and time again Peter differentiates between friends "in name" (also called "false friends" or "friends of Mammon") and "true" or "sincere" friends.<sup>45</sup> This latter type, which Peter the Venerable extols throughout his letters, is limited to the few who are capable of it. This is not to say that Peter restricts the theoretical potential for friendship to lay and ecclesiastical elites. He does admit that true friendship is conceptually possible between all Christians since God's charity has infused them with the ability to love. But only the rare individual was perceived to submit—or was portrayed as adhering—to friendship's demanding regimen.

Despite the abstract theoretical underpinning to Peter's ideas, these ideas had a very concrete function. Key to understanding Peter's depiction of 'true' friendship is to be aware of its ability to establish social differentiation; his discussions and rules for how friends behave allow him to make distinctions in status between individuals. The praise or critique of a friendship was a means for Peter to reward or to humiliate and either was intended to encourage further positive interaction. With his ecclesiastical and monastic friends, Peter praised their gifts of dialogue, advice or love to fan the flames of friendship. With secular friends, Peter saw the exchange of favors in more material terms—the 'love' was only real when backed up by donations or physical support for the Church. This difference, however, does not mean that Peter abandoned his uplifting ideal of spiritual friendship as a soul's recognition of its like. Instead, Peter used the spiritual aspect of friendship as a way to involve lay magnates further in a Cluniac ideology already engrained through the gift-exchange common in the *ecclesia cluniacensis*.

An understanding of who these people were, and why they became friends with Cluny opens a window on the political and social use that Peter the Venerable

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<sup>44</sup> See also the contribution to this volume by Stavroula Constantinou who offers an extensive discussion of gift-giving within the realm of friendship.

<sup>45</sup> See ep. 6 and 49,

made of friendship. He used the discourse of friendship to communicate a political theory for proper Christian governance and encouraged nobles to enter into associative friendships with Cluny (i.e., the monastic family and congregation of Cluny). I now turn to considering the nature of these relationships which bound Peter the Venerable in friendship with some of the most powerful figures of twelfth-century Christendom.

## Secular Friendships

The picture we can recreate of the lay ‘friends of Cluny’ during Peter’s abbacy remains fragmentary—unsurprising given the factors hindering any reconstruction of this amorphous network. Peter’s correspondence shows that a wide range of persons—abbots and priors, bishops and clerics, kings and noblemen—were admitted into Peter the Venerable’s friendship circle. More than forty separate groups or individuals are explicitly named as friends; less than one fifth were lay persons. This number should not be used to estimate the number of his lay friendships, however, since the surviving letter collection does not provide a complete record but only a selection of letters designed to promote Peter’s prestige. Letters citing secular friendships, therefore, likely record only the most elite of his amicable associations.

The number of the ‘friends of Cluny’ during Peter the Venerable’s abbacy was likely considerable. Monastic necrologies (lists of the deceased to be memorialized liturgically) suggest that a sizeable population of *amici* was linked with Cluny.<sup>46</sup> While the necrology of Cluny itself has been lost, the necrologies of other houses within the *ecclesia cluniacensis* accord the status of family or friend (*familiares/amici nostri*) to a long list of nobles and other lay persons within the Cluniac orbit.<sup>47</sup> The necrology of Marcigny-sur-Loire (where Peter’s mother Raingard ended her life) endows some men and many women with the status of *amicus noster/ amica nostra* alongside their names.<sup>48</sup> For example, a ‘Judith’ (*Iulitta*), likely the sister of Roger II of Sicily, is memorialized on March 30th as “our friend.”<sup>49</sup> The references to friendship in the necrologies (see the appendix to this article) identify most individuals with these few words or the additional proviso that an office needed

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<sup>46</sup> Iogna-Prat, *Order and Exclusion*, 65–67.

<sup>47</sup> A composite recreation of the Cluniac necrology is provided in the side by side presentation of several necrologies, *Synopse der cluniacensischen Necrologien*, ed. Joachim Wollasch, 2 vols. Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften, 39 (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1982).

<sup>48</sup> For a history of Marcigny and a discussion of the necrology, see Else Maria Wischermann, *Marcigny-sur-Loire: Gründungs- und Frühgeschichte des ersten Cluniacenserinnenpriorates, 1050–1150*. Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften. 42 (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1986).

<sup>49</sup> Wollasch, *Synopse der cluniacensischen Necrologien*, 179; *Iulitta amica nostra*.

be performed for them. There is no clear correlation between special offices being said and friendship, however, since “*officium fiat*” is recorded far more often than whether an individual was an *amicus/amica*.

Beyond their names recorded in a book of memory, almost no details are known about these individuals’ relationships with Cluny. For some others we have slightly more evidence from Peter’s letters. Peter writes to King Sigard I of Norway, called “*nobilissimo regum et nostrae amico*” (the most noble of kings and friend of our society) for his Christian rule, his protection of the Church and his unceasing war against the enemies of Christ’s cross.<sup>50</sup> Count Amadeus III of Savoy (†1148) is addressed as the “*nobilissimo principi et karissimo amico nostro domino Amedeo*” (the most noble prince and most beloved friend of ours” in a letter (1137/1138) urging him to come to peace with his nephew King Louis VII of France. This title was likely earned by the number of monasteries Amadeus patronized.<sup>51</sup> We can only surmise how Sigard and Amadeus came by their status, but three other nobles, Raoul I of Vermandois, Alfonso VII of León-Castille and Roger II of Sicily, allow us to establish a more nuanced picture of Peter and his secular friends.

### Raoul I of Vermandois

Sometime after 1152, Peter wrote to all his monks in all the monasteries linked to Cluny in order to record his gratitude for a lifetime of good works done by Count Raoul (Radulphus) I of Vermandois, a member of the royal family and a royal seneschal.<sup>52</sup> The first part of this text retells how Count Raoul made one final grant of land and money as he lay dying, before bringing himself—and his deathbed offering—to the monastic community of Cluny.<sup>53</sup> The second part of the text draws on a source charter no longer extant elsewhere, outlining in detail the nature of Raoul’s gifts and the way they were to be reciprocated with a host of Cluniac prayers and masses. The document records a not unusual occurrence: the deathbed conversion (*ad succurendum*) of one of Cluny’s patrons earned him liturgical remembrance as a full monk. What is atypical, however, is that Raoul also gained the title of “*magnus amicus et benefactor*” (great friend and benefactor) of Cluny. Understanding why Peter chose to note this allows us to open a window on a social, political and religious relationship existing between a prominent abbot and a powerful noble.

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<sup>50</sup> *Letters*, 140–41, ep. 44.

<sup>51</sup> *Letters*, 199, ep. 68.

<sup>52</sup> *Letters*, 2, 312, n. 9.

<sup>53</sup> *Recueil des chartes de l’abbaye de Cluny*, 5, 123, n°. 4070.

From the first reference to Raoul as a “great friend” at the opening of Peter’s letter, we see that his relationship to Cluny is presented as a facet of Raoul’s identity as basic as his name, station and lineage:

Ego frater Petrus, humilis Cluniacensis abbas, nota facio legentibus ea quae sequuntur. Comes Rodulfus de Perrona, filius Hugonis Magni, fratris Philippi regis Francorum, magnus amicus et benefactor exstitit hujus, in qua omnipotenti Deo servire optamus, sanctae Cluniacensis Ecclesiae. Hic post reliqua bona opera sua, quibus Deum sibi propitiare dum incolumis viveret, laborabat, jam infirmus et morti proximus praecedentibus aliquid majus adjunxit.<sup>54</sup>

[I, brother Peter, the humble abbot of Cluny, make known the following matters to the reader: Count Raoul of Perrone, son of Hugh the Great who himself was the brother of Philip, king of the Franks, stands out as a great friend and benefactor of this, the Holy Cluniac Church, in which we desire to serve God omnipotent. After all his other good works done to appease God when hale and hearty, this man, when sick and at death’s door, added another great offering to his past ones.]

Peter admits a certain parallel between himself, who serves God, and Raoul, who serves under Him through his gifts. This equivalence earns the count a place of respect within the Cluniac pantheon and necrology, as the document subsequently outlines. The reward for Raoul’s good works and his many gifts is spelled out in detail and the text enumerates how often and how many masses were to be said for his soul by each and every monk of the *ecclesia cluniacensis*. Beyond the expected services, however, Peter indicates that Raoul should be gifted with additional commemorations which are “rarely” granted and when offered are only done so to Cluny’s other great friends, namely kings and emperor key to becoming a “great friend” was a proven history of benefaction: founding monasteries, granting revenues for their upkeep, or providing large lump sum payments of silver and gold to a Cluny increasingly desperate to meet its expenses.<sup>55</sup> The characterization of a benefactor as a friend seems normal today, when the term commonly identifies financial donors to arts groups (e.g., friends of the orchestra<sup>56</sup>)

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> For indications of the financial condition of Cluny under Peter’s abbacy, see his *Dispositio rei familiaris* (*Recueil des chartes de l’abbaye de Cluny*, 5, 475–82, no. 4132. On this text, see George Duby, “Le Budget de l’abbaye de Cluny entre 1080 et 1155. Economie domaniale et économie monétaire,” *Annales E.S.C.* 7 (1952): 155–71 and more recently, Denyse Riche, *L’Ordre de Cluny à la fin du Moyen Âge : Le vieux pays clunisien, XIIe–XVe siècle*. Centre Européen de Recherches sur les Congrégations et Ordres Religieux Travaux et Recherches, 13 (Saint-Étienne: Publications de l’Université de Saint-Étienne, 2000), 90–93.

<sup>56</sup> For example, the organization the *Friends of the National Art Centre Orchestra* (Ottawa), defines themselves thusly: “By statute, *Friends of NACO* is an Association; by membership, *Friends* is a community. Through events and activities, *Friends* is a space where music lovers meet, and come to embrace, share and develop a common passion. Founded at the same time as the NAC

and at first glance, this connotation of friend seems typical for the medieval period as well.

Though infrequently, Peter does use *magnus amicus* elsewhere to indicate Cluny's most liberal benefactors—suggesting that this meaning was understood by his medieval readers. For example, Peter's book of miracle stories retells a dream vision which outlines in quasi-juridical language the specifics of King Alfonso VI's donations to Cluny and their reconfirmation by his successors. At the end of this story-charter, Peter notes that Alfonso VI († 1109) was known across Spain and France as a "Cluniacensis ecclesie magnus amicus" (great friend of the Cluniac church) due to his generosity.<sup>57</sup> In a letter to Henry, Bishop of Winchester, Peter praises him and King Stephen of England for their continuous gifts. In 1135 he describes them as exemplary donors, saying "omnes pene Cluniacensis ouilis amici [...] omnes prouisoires, omnes benefactores in uobis uno confluerint" (all the friends of the Cluniac flock, all its providers, and all its benefactors have come together in you) and as "super uniuersos amicos et benefactores nostros" (standing out above all of Cluny's friends and benefactors).<sup>58</sup> But many benefactors did not earn the name *amicus*. The Empress Matilda, Stephen's rival in claiming the crown of England, for example, was rewarded for her and her father's generosity with liturgical commemoration identical to Raoul's (ca. 1155), but perhaps out of deference to Stephen's position she was not raised to the status of friend.<sup>59</sup>

If the title was unimportant, though, why did Peter emphasize that Raoul was a "great friend and benefactor" not once, but twice in this letter?<sup>60</sup> As argued below, the examples of Alfonso VII and Roger II suggest that Peter does so because being a friend entails more than being a benefactor. Friends needed to meet Peter's standard of true friendship of offering more from the heart and less with the mouth, more through actions and less with words.<sup>61</sup> Though gifts were the means

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Orchestra some 40 years ago, *Friends* has been connecting music and people ever since" (<http://www.friendsofnaco.ca>; last accessed on Feb. 19, 2010).

<sup>57</sup> *De miraculis*, 1: 28, 91. Like Raoul, Alfonso VI was commemorated in all the monasteries of Cluny and a directive sent by Abbot Hugh († 1109) refers to him as a *fidelis amicus* (*Receuil des chartes*, 4, no. 3442). Alfonso VI and Raoul I of Vermandois are granted an identical list of liturgical services.

<sup>58</sup> *Letters*, 228, ep. 88, and 178, ep. 56. Henry likely passed several years at Cluny in his early life, though it is not clear whether he professed as a monk there before the end of his life; see Ilicia J. Sprey, "Henry of Winchester and the Expansion of Legatine Authority in England," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 91 (1996), 785–805; here 790–91.

<sup>59</sup> *Recueil des chartes*, 5, 532–33, no. 4183. With the exception of a mention that he exchanged "friendly words" with Heloise, Peter the Venerable's extant letters do not reference a single "friendship" with a woman. The repeated citation of women as friends in the Cluniac necrologies (noted in the appendix to this article) suggests that gender was not a barrier to official friendship with Cluny.

<sup>60</sup> The only other charter I have come across which used a similar expression, is a charter granted and recorded by Bishop Bernard of Saintes in 1149 to Geoffrey of Le Loroux, archbishop of Bordeaux, calling him an *amicus . . . ecclesiae cluniacensis*; *ibid.*, 5, 484, no. 4139.

<sup>61</sup> *Letters*, 213, ep. 79. The passage reads as a whole: *Dubitandum erat de uerbis, nisi ea opera*

for powerful magnates to participate in and support the goals of the *ecclesia cluniacensis*, Peter portrayed these gifts as indications of a shared vision of Christian political order—since Cluny’s friendship could not be bought by lucre alone.

### Alfonso VII, King-Emperor of León-Castille

The implication of friendship with aristocratic gift-exchange is further illustrated by Peter the Venerable’s (and therefore Cluny’s) relationship with Alfonso VII (†1158), the grandson of Alfonso VI (whom Peter also called a “great friend of Cluny”). Following the death of Alfonso VI in 1109, the ties of Castilian magnates to the *ecclesia cluniacensis* had lessened and the frequency as well as the size of donations had decreased.<sup>62</sup> Early on in his reign (September 7, 1132), however, Alfonso VII invested Cluny with the sizable gift of the venerable abbey of Sahagún (*Sanctus Facundus*). A charter records his rationale:

Ad hoc divina providentia imperatores et reges terreni regni apicem conscendere permittit, ut servorum Dei de sua abundantia suppleant inopiam et sic per misericordiam quam impenderint, æternam post temporalem mereantur percipere coronam.<sup>63</sup>

[Divine providence allows emperors and kings to rise to the height of terrestrial kingship in order that they might supplement the poverty of the servants of God from their abundance and thus through the mercy which they disburse, they merit to receive an eternal crown after the temporal crown.]

This grant gave formal juridical and financial authority over a monastery where Cluny had maintained a reforming presence since the time of Alfonso VI.<sup>64</sup> Ten years later a similar donation was made during Peter the Venerable’s journey to Spain in 1142, as evidenced by a charter (July 29, 1142) giving the monastery of San-Pedro-de-Càrdena to Cluny by Alfonso VII. It records an arrangement of

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*praevenissent. Mercatus est amicus animus non nudo affectu amicos, quibus minus in ore, plus in corde, minus in uerbis, plus in rebus indulgere conuevit.*

<sup>62</sup> See Charles J. Bishko “Liturgical Intercession at Cluny for the King-Emperors of León,” *Studia Monastica* 3 (1961): 53–76.

<sup>63</sup> *Recueil des chartes*, 5, 390–91, no. 4038; (dated 7 September, 1132).

<sup>64</sup> Bernard Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VI, 1065–1109* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 106 and Charles J. Bishko, “Count Henrique of Portugal, Cluny, and the antecedents of the Pacto Sucessório,” *Revista Portuguesa de Historia* 13 (1971): 155–88; here 168–70; rpt. in *Spanish and Portuguese Monastic History 600–1300* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1984): art. ix. We can perhaps also see in this grant the growing tendency of Cluny under abbot Pontius and under Peter the Venerable to enshrine in juridical language the links between the Abbot of Cluny and the monasteries connected to them.



reciprocity identical in nature between the spiritual authority of Cluny and the temporal power of the king-emperor of Léon-Castile:

Quanto divitiis et possessionibus habundantius quisque videtur affluere, tanto largius de his que possidet et ecclesiis et ueris Dei cultoribus pro salute animæ suæ debet impendere, juxta illud Apostoli: Facite bonum ad omnes, maxime autem ad domesticos fidei, et illud Salomonis: Divitiæ viri redemptio animæ ipsius sunt.<sup>65</sup>

[The more someone is seen to abound greatly in riches and possessions, the more he should be very generous with what he possesses to churches and the true worshippers of God for the salvation of his soul, as indicated by the words of the Apostle, *Do good to all, but especially to the servants of faith* and those of Solomon, *A man's wealth is the redemption of his soul.*]

The religious preamble segues into a record of exchange common to Cluniac charters: lands and money for Cluny, prayers for Alfonso VII and his parents. Less than a year and a half later, Alfonso further strengthens the bond between himself and Cluny by repeating almost identical words and very similar conditions in a grant of the abbey of San-Vicente-de-Salamanca to Cluny (October 29, 1143).<sup>66</sup> All these donations repeat the message that Alfonso shared a similar vision of Christian political society with Peter and with Cluny.<sup>67</sup> These texts all claim that the king made the donations because he *already* conceived of his obligations to the Church along these lines. Ostensibly it was Alfonso, not Peter, that requested such exchanges. This charter, like the one recording Raoul's gifts, therefore contains both legal niceties, but also contains an ideological message of union between monastery and magnate.

The context for these grants, however, suggests the nuance of Peter's relationship with Cluny's secular friends. In the time between these two major donations, Peter the Venerable speaks very favorably of Alfonso VII in a plaintive letter (mid-1143) to Innocent II:

Imperator Hyspanus, magnus Christiani populi princeps, devotus maiestati vestrae filius, licet apud pietatem vestram multum possit et posse debeat, tamen quia inter modernos reges praecipuus amicus et benefactor Cluniacensis ecclesiae est, me ad praesens mediatorem et apud vos intercessorem elegit.<sup>68</sup>

[Though the emperor of Spain, that great prince of the Christian people, a devoted son of your majesty, is very able and should be able to come before Your Piety, he has

<sup>65</sup> *Recueil des chartes*, 5, 423–24, no. 4072; (dated 29 July, 1142).

<sup>66</sup> *Recueil des chartes*, 5, 428–29, no. 4076 (dated 29 October, 1143).

<sup>67</sup> Charles J. Bishko, "Peter the Venerable's Journey to Spain," *Petrus Venerabilis, 1156–1956*, Studia Anselmiana, 40 (Rome: Herder, 1956), 163–75; here 170–71; rpt. in *Spanish and Portuguese Monastic History*, art. xii.

<sup>68</sup> *Letters*, 265, ep. 103.

chosen me to come as a mediator and intercessor, since he is a friend and benefactor of the Cluniac Church extraordinary among today's kings.]

On Alfonso's behalf, Peter attempts to influence Innocent II's judgement on the disputed election of the archbishopric of Compostela. He argues that Alfonso's candidate, Bishop Berengar of Salamanca, was the most worthy candidate who should be allowed to take up his crosier. Peter begs for his pope's favor, and requests that he respect justice, since Berengar was elected canonically and was a virtuous man, unlike the disputant who, as Peter describes it, was driven by lucre.

Given the timing of Alfonso's grants to Cluny, it may appear that the grant of San-Pedro-de-Càrdena is a 'down payment' for Peter's future intercession. Charles Bishko interprets Peter's trip to Spain in this way—a result of Alfonso's need to ensure that his man was installed as the ecclesiastical lord in an area where he was extending his influence but faced opposition.<sup>69</sup> The use of the term *amicus*, however, cautions against seeing this exchange as some sort of simple trade of land for diplomacy. The term reminds Innocent that Alfonso VII had already shown himself well disposed to Cluny and its reform program, and that his forefathers ranked among Cluny's supporters. Elsewhere, Peter's letters to popes and bishops show that he often used a public declaration of friendship as a form of medieval character reference. To accept to be named or to name oneself as a friend of a man searching for an ecclesiastical position, was to vouch for his Christian nature and virtuous behavior.<sup>70</sup> By this statement, Peter makes the claim that he is not a hired gun for Alfonso, but rather an individual taking care for the sake of common charity. And since Peter's letter, buttressed by that of other prominent churchmen, convinced Innocent that Berengar was a worthy candidate, he must have been persuasive.<sup>71</sup>

From this episode, we glimpse how Peter subsumes Alfonso's behavior into the discourse of friendship. He portrays him to Innocent as one bound by the obligations of friendship and uses this image to persuade Innocent that Alfonso was acting in the interests of the Church. But Peter did not make an empty rhetorical claim. He had strong "proof of friendship" that Alfonso was a like-minded supporter of the Church. To be thought to accept Alfonso as friend for self-interest (thereby acting the "friend of Mammon") would acknowledge Peter's hypocrisy and would destroy his credibility, not only with Innocent, but with any learned audience of the letter.

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<sup>69</sup> Bishko, "Peter the Venerable's Journey to Spain," 170–71.

<sup>70</sup> See for example, ep. 79, 85, 89, and 166.

<sup>71</sup> Bernard of Clairvaux, for example, also wrote to Innocent II in support of Berengar (see Bishko, "Peter the Venerable's Journey to Spain," 172).

## Roger II, King of Sicily

A letter (1139/1141) to Peter's "domino et amicus" (lord and friend) Roger II, the king of Sicily (†1154) further suggests how gifts alone did not justify a rank among Cluny's great friends.<sup>72</sup> Peter the Venerable concedes that reports of Roger's benevolent rule "first impelled me to love you and also urged me to admit you to the ranks of the greatest friends and benefactors of the Cluniac church, that is, the great Roman, French, English and Spanish kings".<sup>73</sup> This praise of Roger is not unlike what was offered to Stephen, Alfonso or Raoul, and points to the origin of friendship in a common Christian outlook. But how is it that Roger became one of Cluny's "great friends" when he had not made a single donation to Cluny? Roger, it should be remembered, had been an ardent supporter of the anti-pope Anacletus II, was excommunicated by Innocent II in April 1139 and had captured and imprisoned Innocent II a few months later. The transformation of Roger's position reveals that Peter's use of friendship was not just a reward for past behavior, but also a prize to be offered when looking to the future.

Peter opens the letter declaring that he embraces Roger with the arms of true love, even if one had never laid eyes on the other. He announces that he came to know about Roger's sincere love for Cluny from the testimony of a Cluniac monk Geoffrey who was the prior of San Maria de Gimmara, the only Cluniac house in Sicily and who was making overtures to Cluny on Roger's behalf.<sup>74</sup> The nature of Roger's proposals is left unstated by Peter, but almost certainly they related to the truce forced on Innocent II by Roger (25 July, 1139). The letter is filled with praise for Roger's peace-making and communicates Peter's anxiety about the tenuousness of the current peace. This political alliance is likely the explanation for why Peter extends his friendship to Roger. As with Alfonso VII, Peter welcomed this secular leader's request for diplomacy as part of the cycle of friendship.

The letter's central theme repeats the ideology recorded in Alfonso VII's charters: God permits temporal kings to rule as His intermediaries so long as their power is marshaled to undertake the will of God. This Roger does, Peter praises, by creating a lasting peace in an area (Sicily, Apulia and Calabria) historically wracked by conflict and disorder. Roger is therefore an exemplar of Christian kingship which evokes Peter's recognition of shared charity. Peter offers his friendship, the proof of which he then outlines in detail:

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<sup>72</sup> Letters, 230, ep. 90; *domino et amicus Rogerio*.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., 231, ep. 90; *Ista [...] ut inter magnos reges Romanos dico, Francos, Anglos, Hispanos, maximos Cluniacensis aeclesiae amicos et benefactores, uos quoque admitterem coegerunt*.

<sup>74</sup> This house was founded by Roger's sister Judith. For the charter of donation, see *Recueil des chartes*, 5, 165–71, no. 3815.

Ea de causa iam ex multo tempore pro pace, pro honore, pro salute vestra et apud deum precatorem, et apud homines praedicatorem me constitui, et ad idem agendum tam de nostris quam de alienis quos potui attraxi. Testis est horum conscientia mea, testis Romanus cancellarius, testis et ipse dominus papa, quem Pisis quam Romae quem intra Gallias constitutum, praesens uerbis, absens litteris de pace uestra sepe conueni, et ne inimicis uestris uestram pacem eiusque perturbatoribus crederet, et rogaui et monui. Quod licet diu dilatatum, sed nunc tandem ad effectum perductum, nos et omnes quicumque audire potuerunt pacis amatores laetificat, et ad gratiarum actiones deo persoluendas inuitat.<sup>75</sup>

[For this reason, already now for a long time I have proven myself a supplicant before God and a preacher to men out of concern for peace, for honor, for your salvation, and I have marshaled both my countrymen and foreigners to do the same. My conscience is witness to this, as is the Roman chancellor [Haimeric] and the lord Pope [Innocent II] himself, recognized in Pisa, Roma and throughout France. I often bring up your peace to him, with words spoken when together, with letters when apart. I have asked and urged him not to believe your enemies and the disturbers of your peace. This, though delayed for some time, has now finally had an effect. This delights us and all lovers of peace—namely, everyone who hears about this— and incites us to make demonstrations of thanks to God.]

The sincerity of his offer of friendship is demonstrated, Peter claims, by his longstanding diplomacy on Roger's behalf. And Peter next verbalizes his expectation of a return for his benevolence. Future donations (or "demonstrations of thanks") by Roger would rebalance Peter's favor.

Peter's letter, however, does not offer only a single tit-for-tat exchange, but a continuing relationship. He expresses his hope that Roger's potential donations would allow the spread of Cluniac monasteries in his lands, which would, in turn, bring further returns to Roger in the form of social and religious solidarity. Peter suggests that increasing the number of Cluniac monks in Sicily would multiply the ardor for religion in Roger's kingdom—a kingdom which once was a safe haven for the Saracens. Their example would establish the Christian unity, he argues, key to a firm loyalty to Roger's Christian kingship. An allusion to the book of Sirach (4.10) reminds Roger about the political value of this strategy, since a king relying on his power alone "*cum cecederit non habet subleuantem*" (does not have someone to support him when he falls).<sup>76</sup> By working for orthodoxy and by spreading word of Roger's renown, Cluny's monks and its friendship provided

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<sup>75</sup> *Letters*, 231, ep. 90.

<sup>76</sup> *Letters*, 232, ep. 90.

avenues for Roger to strengthen his kingdom.<sup>77</sup> Through this exchange king and cloister would be bound together by ever tighter bonds of mutual support.

Peter's letter can be viewed as an outline of the conditions for Peter/Cluny to support Roger in pursuing peace with Innocent. As Peter portrays the situation, if Roger sincerely wanted a lasting peace with Innocent through Cluny, then he would have to want to be its friend. Peter implicitly demands that Roger adhere to what was expected of a friend and explicitly underlines that Roger could not be just a typical noble, but virtue incarnate, another Solomon, a fervent defender of the peace. Peter also enjoins Roger to engage in the exchange of benevolence (e.g. gifts) that characterized friendship. There is nothing particularly unique about this depiction, as Peter's other letters demonstrate this presentation to be *topoic*.<sup>78</sup> Recalling Odo of Cluny's depiction of Gerald of Aurillac as a monkish warrior, Roger is glorified for his civilized Christian nature and his friendship with Cluny.<sup>79</sup> The glorifying portrait is designed to aggrandize Roger, but also to communicate Peter's civilizing message: support Cluny or risk being publicized as an uncharitable aristocrat.

The evidence from Roger II's reign indicates that Peter was correct in identifying Roger's deep concern for maintaining an image as a Christian leader. Hubert Houben's account of Roger II shows that he labored to enshrine and popularize an image of himself as a Christian ruler (e.g., governing in accordance with Christian ideas of justice, supporting the Church, encouraging Christian intellectuals) in art, architecture and literature.<sup>80</sup> One example of this campaign is a history of his reign commissioned by Roger from a Benedictine abbot, Alexander of Teles (+1143), which praises Roger's Christian majesty and emphasizes his extreme hatred for liars, hypocrites and flatterers.<sup>81</sup> Such a concern with

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<sup>77</sup> The practical tone of Peter's argument is repeated in subsequent letters. The reciprocal role of king and Cluny is again explored in ep. 131 (*Letters*, 330–33) where Peter emphasizes the utility of donating to Cluny, where gifts will not be spent on the monks, but will be multiplied in direct charity. Peter unabashedly characterizes Cluny as playing an important role in the earthly world and acting as a treasury for all Christians (monks or otherwise).

<sup>78</sup> Cf. ep. 75 to the Byzantine Emperor John Comnenus or ep. 82 to the King of Jerusalem. Peter addresses King Sigard of Norway in almost identical terms: "So greatly do you submit the pride of kings most affectionately to the sweet yoke of Christ ...." *Letters*, ep. 44, 141; [Q]ualiter regium fastum suaui Christi iugo affectuosissime subieceritis.

<sup>79</sup> On the civilizing undertone in Odo's *Vita Gerardi*, cf. Stuart Airlie, "The Anxiety of Sanctity: St Gerald of Aurillac and his Maker," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 43 (1992), 372–95.

<sup>80</sup> Hubert Houben, *Roger II di Sicilia: un sovrano tra Oriente und Occidente*. Centro europeo di studi normanni, 8 (Roma: Editori Laterza, 1999), trans. by Graham A. Loud and Diane Milburn as *Roger II of Sicily: A Ruler between East and West*. Cambridge Medieval Textbooks (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 113–34.

<sup>81</sup> *Alexandri Telesini abbatis Ystoria Rogerii Regis Sicilie Calabrie atque Apulie*, ed. L. De Nava. Historical Commentary by D. Clementi. Fonti per la storia d'Italia pubblicati dall'Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 112 (Rome: Istituto Palazzo Borromini, 1991), IV, 3–4, 82–3, cited in Houben, *Roger*

disseminating a popular conception of himself as above reproach is what Peter may have been appealing to with his offer of sincere friendship.

Perhaps Peter was also encouraged by the knowledge that the women in Roger's life had already shown themselves to be important supporters of Cluny. Roger's first wife Elvira was the daughter of Alfonso VI of Léon-Castille and may have played a role in urging Roger to link himself to a powerful monastery traditionally allied with her family. Judith, Roger's sister, had already linked herself to Cluny by granting that the Sicilian monastery of San Maria de Gimmara be filled with Cluniac monks.

There is no indication, however, that Roger ever responded favorably to Peter's suggestions.<sup>82</sup> The peace agreement between Innocent and Roger languished due to the opposition of Roman cardinals, and successive popes remained antagonistic to Roger.<sup>83</sup> Nor do any letters from Roger survive to indicate whether Peter's strategy was successful in binding him to Cluny. Peter did send two subsequent letters to him (the first dating from 1146 and the second from soon after) enjoining Roger to act in line with the model of kingship outlined in his initial letter in 1139. The 1146 letter implores Roger's generosity and outlines a king's responsibility to dispense his largesse to the poor brothers of Cluny. The later epistle enjoins Roger to reach a peace with the Emperor Conrad III and offers himself as a mediator. That Peter could ask or offer such services hints at a continued relationship between Roger and Cluny, whether real or claimed. While the first letter no longer makes mention of Roger as a friend, the second remarks that Cluny still commemorated Roger alongside its other "friends and benefactors", allowing Peter to continue to make requests, long after Cluny's initial utility for Roger had faded into the past.<sup>84</sup>

## Conclusion

In conclusion, I return to Peter's offer of assistance to Innocent II. Peter's letter did not bring with it the necessary martial force to sustain Innocent in Rome. In fact, nobody came to help and soon after receiving Peter's letter, he fled Rome for northern Italy—then traveling on to France—where secular and ecclesiastical

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*II of Sicily*, 177.

<sup>82</sup> *Letters*, 2, 160, note to ep. 90; Lynn White, *Latin Monasticism in Norman Sicily*, Mediaeval Academy of America Monographs, 13 (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1938), 56.

<sup>83</sup> Ian S. Robinson, "The Papacy, 1122–1198," *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, ed. Rosamond McKitterick and David Abulafia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 317–83; here, 376.

<sup>84</sup> *Letters*, 394–95, ep. 162.

lords, of whom Peter was one, sheltered and aided him. If we are to trust the *Vita Petri Venerabilis*, however, Peter is the hero of the story. In this account, Peter had himself raced to Rome, bringing horses with him to ferry Innocent to France.<sup>85</sup> Not only did Peter shepherd Innocent to Cluny, but he then welcomed and celebrated him with such solemnity that, according to the author Raoul, the rest of the Gallican Church immediately recognized Innocent as the rightful claimant. In turn, a love for Peter compelled the French king, and then the kings of England, Spain and Germany to follow suit and to ensure unity throughout Christendom.<sup>86</sup> Peter the Venerable was indisputably a key supporter and propagandist on Innocent's behalf, but Raoul's depiction almost comically overemphasizes Peter's role and the influence he had over the lay supporters of Cluny. Innocent II, though elected irregularly and only rarely in Rome, did succeed in becoming the universally recognized claimant to the papacy largely because of his superior ability at controlling public opinion.<sup>87</sup> Ultimately it was not lances or swords which settled the papal schism, but the protracted negotiations between the various camps, the successful propaganda campaigns waged by Innocent's supporters and the death of Anacletus II. The 'soft power' wielded by Peter the Venerable, and others like him, succeeded in breaking the impasse and unifying the Roman Church under a single pontiff.

This sort of diplomatic power was the purpose of Peter's and Cluny's friendships: to help overcome divisiveness and to associate everybody under Christian harmonious accord. To be a friend of Cluny was to participate in a system of power reinforcing the existing collaboration of the castle and the monastery. Monks and nobles alike saw value in creating links between their worlds: Alfonso was able to lend weight to his ecclesiastical negotiations by Peter's intervention while Cluny was provided with further resources to continue their monastic mission; Peter sought to solidify the peace between Roger and the papacy, while Roger could portray himself as a holy Christian king. Friendship gave lords and monks an ability to negotiate such mutually beneficial exchanges without appearing mercenary. By subsuming such exchanges under the mantle of friendship, moreover, both groups engaged in a form of public behavior which reinforced their elite status as the inheritors of the ancient art of *amicitia*.

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<sup>85</sup> *Vita Petri Venerabilis*, col. 20.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 21A.

<sup>87</sup> Mary Stroll, *The Jewish Pope*, 169–78.

## Appendix A. Friend citations in the Cluniac Necrologies<sup>†</sup>

Date	Entry	Necrology	Page
<u>Familiares</u>			
1.1	Duranni amici nostri, et aliorum familiarium nostri	Marcigny	3
4.1	Otto amicus noster	Moissac/ St. Saulve	9
16.1	Geraldus/ Giraldu amicus noster	Marcigny	33
21.2	Patris eius Heinrici militis amici nostri	Longpont	105
8.3	Euelendis amica nostra 135	Marcigny/ SMdC	
22.3	Fraselma amica nostra	Longpont	163
23.3	Agnes [de Mont Morlun] sanctimonialis amica nostra	St. Martial I, II	165
25.3	Adeleidis amica nostra	Marcigny	169a
29.3	Arrodus amicus noster	Longpont	177
30.3	Iulitta [Judith] amica nostra	Marcigny	179
1.4	Illesendis amica	Marcigny	183
11.4	Azcicae amica	Marcigny	203
16.4	Hugo amicus	Marcigny	213
17.4	Martinus amicus	Marcigny	215a
18.4	Bernerius amicus	Marcigny	217
19.4	Gila amica	Marcigny	219
20.4	Rodulfus amicus	Marcigny	221a
26.4	Amiza amica nostra	Marcigny	233
3.5	Otgisus amicus noster	Marcigny	247
	Obiit Petronilla de Bison, amica nostra, que iacet in cimiterio nostro; officium fiat pro ipsa, quia nobis quam plurima bona fecit in uita sua et in ultima uoluntate legauit sexaginta solidos Parisienses pro suo aniuersario annuatim faciendo	Longpont	247
5.5	Rotbertus amicus	Longpont	251

<sup>†</sup> As reconstructed in the *Synopse der Necrologien*. Dates take the form of day followed by month.



6.5	Obiit Osanna uxor Michaelis de Gaurie que dedit conuentui unam peciam uinee apud Castriis in territorio, quod dicitur <...> con pro se et pro marito suo pro anniuersariis amicorum. Officium fiat.	Longpont	253
6.6	UUaldrada amica nostra	Marcigny	315
9.6	Eustachius amicus noster	SMdC	321
10.6	Stephanus amicus qui dedit XI solidos, officium	St. Martial II	323
11.6	Burchardus sacerdos amicus	Marcigny	325
19.6	Obiit Arenborga amica nostra	Marcigny	340
21.6	Maroardus amicus	Marcigny	345
24.6	Berchardis amica	Marcigny	351
13.7	Alonnus sacerdos amicus	Marcigny	389
22.7	Gertrudis amica nostra	Marcigny	407
28.7	Uldricus tricenarius de Crecei amicus	Marcigny	419
14.9	Balfredus sacerdos amicus	Marcigny	515
20.9	Ermengardis amica nostra	Marcigny	527
29.10	Beatrix amica nostra	Marcigny	605
30.10	Dalmatius amicus noster, officium fiat	SMdC, St. Martial I, II	607
1.11	Ancilla amica nostra	Marcigny	611
26.11	Emma amica nostra	Marcigny	661
20.12	Emmo presbiter amicus noster	Marcigny	709
27.12	Berchildis amica nostra	Marcigny	723

### Monachi

18.1	Lizelinus amicus	Marcigny	36
18.1	Margareta amici nostri, officium pro ipsis	Marcigny	39
22.5	Hugo de Lupidomibus succentor Belvacensis monachus ad succurrendum, qui dedit priori centum libras Turonenses in utilitatem ecclesie conuertendas. Et conuentui centum libras Turonenses ad emendam redditus pro pitancia conuentus, pro quo concessimus eidem missam		

specialem deffunctorum, clebrandam  
pro remedio anime sue et auunculi sui  
prioris Balduini et fratrum suorum et  
patris et matris et omnium amicorum  
suorum ad altare Sancte Margarete,  
scribendam singulis ebdomadis, sabbato,  
in tabula. Officium fiat, capa in choro. SMdC

## Chapter 6

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### Mysterious Friends in the *Prayers* and Letters of Anselm of Canterbury<sup>1</sup>

#### Introduction: Absent Friends

On 20 April, 2009, *The New York Times* reported that friendship is salubrious.<sup>2</sup> Drawing on several empirical studies, the article suggests that the more friends people have, the more likely they are to prevent and recover from serious illnesses. The article maintains, however, that the positive effects of friendship do not result from the physical presence of friends; the effect of friendship is psychological, for the proximity of friends is irrelevant. The mere idea of having friends, wherever they are, is more efficacious than any other external factor including partnership, marriage, and family.

This study is about mysterious friends who through their absence provide exactly the kind of friendship that Anselm of Canterbury (1033–1109), abbot of Bec and archbishop of Canterbury, finds suitable for the spiritual life. Readers of Anselm's large corpus have given much attention to his letters of friendship.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to Linda Georgianna, Elizabeth Allen, and Julia Reinhard Lupton for reading drafts of this essay and providing thoughtful and engaging feedback. I also thank the editors of this volume for their helpful comments. This essay is for Marsha Dutton, in gratitude for first getting me interested in medieval literature and friendship.

<sup>2</sup> Tara Parker-Pope, "What are Friends for? A Longer Life," *The New York Times*, April 20, 2009.

<sup>3</sup> Scholarship over the past fifty years on friendship in Anselm's letters includes Adele Fiske, "Saint Anselm and Friendship," *Studia Monastica* 3 (1961): 259–90; Richard W. Southern, *Saint Anselm and his Biographer: A Study of Monastic Life and Thought, 1059–c.1130* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), 67–76; John Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality: Gay People in Western Europe from the Beginning of the Christian Era to the Fourteenth Century* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 215–20; Brian Patrick McGuire, *Friendship and*

Paying admirably careful attention to the language of Anselm's letters of friendship, Adele Fiske argues that friendship for Anselm is a reciprocal love and consciousness of absent friends who are most real as an interior image—an idea impressed on the heart “like a waxen seal” (“cordi meo velut sigillum cerae imprimitur”) (Ep. 4.15:3.104; Letter 4:1.81) whose “minds the fire of love welds together” (“mentes in unam ignis dilectionis conflant”) (Ep. 5.7:3.106; Letter 5:1.84).<sup>4</sup> She writes, “[R]eciprocity and conscious awareness [for friends] . . . indicate an experience that is wholly interior, and that produces an interior presence of the friends to each other, a certainty of love, and a mutual possession of each other.”<sup>5</sup> In such a reading, Anselm, influenced by Augustinian Platonism, believes that the friend is a reflection of the self and the unity of all Christians, just as the soul in its purest state is an image of God. Implicit in such a reading also is that classical ideas of friendship expressed by Aristotle, Cicero, and Cassian are perfectly preserved, insofar as each friend is aware of the other through an awareness of himself, and are in fact reinforced by assumptions of Christian unity, as expressed in the description of the Apostles recorded in Acts 4.32 (“multitudinis credentium erat cor et anima una” (Of the multitude of believers, there was one heart and soul)) to which Anselm and many other monastic writers in the Middle Ages such as Cassian, Bernard of Clairvaux, and Aelred of Rievaulx often refer to authorize friendship or communal monastic life in general.<sup>6</sup>

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*Community: The Monastic Experience, 350–1250*. Cistercian Studies Series, 95 (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1988), 210–27; Mary-Rose Barral, “Reflections on Anselm’s Friendship and *Conversatio*,” *Anselm Studies: An Occasional Journal* 2 (1988): 165–82; Southern, *Saint Anselm: A Portrait in a Landscape* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) (hereafter *Portrait*), 138–65; Julian P. Haseldine, “Love, Separation and Male Friendship: Words and Actions in Saint Anselm’s Letters to His Friends,” *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*, ed. Dawn M. Hadley. Women and Men in History (London and New York: Longman, 1999), 238–55; and Holle M. Canatella, “Friendship in Anselm of Canterbury’s Correspondence: Ideals and Experience,” *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies. The Theory and Practice of Friendship in the Middle Ages* 38.2 (2007): 351–67.

<sup>4</sup> All Latin quotations of the works of Anselm come from the standard edition, *S. Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi Opera Omnia*, ed. Franciscus Salesius Schmitt, 6 vols. (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Friedrich Frommann Verlag, 1968), hereafter *AOO*. All quotations of Anselm’s Latin letters are taken from *AOO*, vols. 4–6. I shall cite Epistle (Ep.), the letter number, Schmitt’s line number(s), the volume in Schmitt’s edition, and the page number(s), in that order. Nearly all quotations of Anselm’s letters translated into English come from the standard translation, *The Letters of Saint Anselm of Canterbury*, trans. Walter Fröhlich, 3 vols. (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1990–1994). I shall cite Letter, followed by the letter number, the volume number, and page number(s), in that order. If I do not enclose the translation in quotations marks, then the translation is my own.

<sup>5</sup> Fiske, “Saint Anselm and Friendship,” 262.

<sup>6</sup> On classical ideas of friendship and Anselm’s possible familiarity with them, see below, n. 18. On the language of Acts 4.32 as a reinforcement of communal life and friendship, see, for example, Cassian, *Collationes* (*Conferences*) 16.6.4, Anselm, Ep. 48.4–5, Aelred, *De spiritali amicitia* (*On Spiritual Friendship*) 1.28, 2.21, 2.67, 3.99, and 3.124, and Bernard, *Sermones super cantica canticorum*

Richard W. Southern's sensitive scholarship on Anselm's theology of friendship, as expressed in his letters, remains the dominant critical model today. For Southern, Anselm's language of friendship is ecstasy serving a spiritual end to be incorporated into strict obedience to God and the exacting monastic life.<sup>7</sup> Stressing the Augustinian Platonism of Anselm's thought, Southern argues that Anselm approaches friendship much like any other topic in his corpus: "He turns his mind to contemplate an ideal image, attaches himself to it with passionate intensity, and seeks its realization in individuals."<sup>8</sup> For Anselm, Southern writes, friendship is "an aid to, and in a certain sense a culmination of, the religious life."<sup>9</sup> Echoing Fiske, Southern argues that friendship for Anselm is defined by the indissoluble union of souls in the love of God.<sup>10</sup>

Brian Patrick McGuire starts from the premise that friendships in medieval monastic settings were formed in the context of community. Before Anselm, he argues, preferential friendships were subordinated to communal harmony in which all were loved equally. Praise of friendship was at best tepid. Friendship could occur, he argues, only if communal harmony was not disrupted.<sup>11</sup> The development of friendship for Anselm, McGuire argues, became "a way to enrich monastic life, which Anselm considered the best and often the only way to reach paradise."<sup>12</sup> McGuire nicely historicizes emerging discussions of friendship in light of the increased exchange of knowledge from cathedral schools, with their classical learning, to monastic schools; the special attention given to inner emotions and humanity in the new form of devotion that began to emerge; and a more dynamic and mobile society in which individuals often found themselves in new and foreign situations, prompting them to seek out friendships.<sup>13</sup> Like Fiske and Southern, he views friendship for Anselm as a spiritually seamless union of two souls joined together through a common love and awareness of the self and the friend.<sup>14</sup>

Despite scholarly attention to the ostensible homogeneity of friendship in Anselm's letters, however, it is only through a reading of Anselm's *Prayers*, whose ideas of friendship have received little attention from scholars, but in which Anselm invokes certain saints as friends and offers a *Prayer for Friends*, that the nuances of a more ambiguous form of friendship become apparent in both the

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(*Sermons on the Song of Songs*) 14.2, 26.9, 30.3, and 71.9.

<sup>7</sup> Southern, *Portrait*, 146–47.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 155.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 139.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 141, 147, 155.

<sup>11</sup> McGuire, *Friendship and Community*, 134–79.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 214.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 227–30.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 214–15.

*Prayers* and the letters. Friendship, as Jacques Derrida argues, is a necessary impossibility. It operates through unstable speech acts but nonetheless structures political societies.<sup>15</sup> Though my own study does not concern such political aspects, it similarly examines friendship as evidence not of historical reality, but of an unstable and imagined spiritual ideal.<sup>16</sup> Asserting what are in fact spiritual advantages of various ruptures in human relations, as we shall see, I argue that Anselm presents friendship as a linguistic construction, a potential unrealized on earth, and a useful fiction developing the medieval Christian by subjecting selfhood to tenuous human relations.<sup>17</sup>

Scholars generally argue that Anselm continues the classical discourse of *amicitia* while adding a Christian flavor to it.<sup>18</sup> In the rhetoric of the classical tradition, equality, unity, reciprocity, virtue, disinterestedness, plenitude, openness, and the physical presence of friends constitute friendship. It operates between two equals who love each other solely for the sake of the other; it brings people together to share their virtue, not because one needs something from the other; it takes place in a joint, seamless soul that necessarily wills the same things; and it requires friends to spend time together.<sup>19</sup> However, what the classics relegate to the non-

<sup>15</sup> Jacques Derrida, *The Politics of Friendship*, trans. George Collins. Phronesis (London and New York: Verso, 1997).

<sup>16</sup> Studies that treat Anselm's friendships as historical realities include McGuire, *Friendship and Community*, 210–27; Canatella, "Friendship in Anselm"; and Barral, "Reflections."

<sup>17</sup> Haseldine, "Love, Separation and Male Friendship," notes that the study of friendship is usually divided into two broad categories: "[T]here are those which regard friendship as a reflection of the exploration of individual identity and spirituality, and those which see it primarily as a function of political network-formation," 245. My own study, soon to be evident, is concerned with the former.

<sup>18</sup> Though Fiske does not specifically mention classical sources in her article, her ideas concerning Anselm and friendship are thoroughly classical, and could be found almost anywhere in Aristotle, Cicero, or Cassian, for which see below in the following note, n. 18. For example, Fiske, "Saint Anselm and Friendship," mentions Anselmian friendships' "reciprocity and conscious awareness" (262), "union of will" (267), "unity" and "oneness of heart" (269–70), similarity of friends inseparably bound together (282, 290), equality (284), and immutability (287). McGuire, *Friendship and Community*, uses similar rhetoric of the perfect unity and clarity or openness between Anselm and his friends, 214–15. Southern, *Portrait*, argues that Anselm, though informed by classical models of friendship, injects the passionate language of ecstasy into his letters, differing markedly from the more reserved Stoic language of Cicero, Seneca, and Cassian, 141–43. While this is true, Southern, *Portrait*, nonetheless betrays elements of classical friendship in his descriptions of Anselm's experience, in which friendship operates through the "union of souls" (141), and the "fusion of souls" (147), though now of course for a heavenly end. Haseldine, "Love, Separation and Male Friendship," notes several of the traits of classical friendship inherited by the Middle Ages, with the major exception that "[m]edieval thinkers set divine love in place of natural virtue as the motive force behind friendship," 241–42; here 242. Canatella, "Friendship in Anselm," comments on the seamlessness of Anselm's friendships (360), remarking also on the medieval period's retention of equality in friendship (353).

<sup>19</sup> These classical commonplaces of friendship largely come from Aristotle's eighth and ninth books

ideal, Anselm sees as a condition of fallen friendship. Anselm's friendships with the saints in prayer are contested, contingent, deficient, and metonymic because the Atonement (Christ's "standing-in" for humankind) structures all relations. And, when read in light of the *Prayers*, friendship in Anselm's letters rests on a necessary illusion of stability, in which the friend is an inscrutably absent idea, rather than a presently clear and understandable reality. Nonetheless, for Anselm, human relations are more spiritually beneficial than for Augustine, who in the *Confessions* hesitates to sanction friendship as a tool for the Christian life, and more individuated than for Cassian, for whom friendship must be integrated into community.

Some elements of friendship from the classical period do survive for Anselm in a Christianized form. Friends must still be virtuous, now defined as union in a Christian profession (the monastic life). And Anselm continues the Aristotelian and Ciceronian attestation that knowledge of the self hinges on knowledge of and relationships with others. But this is possible only when Anselm understands himself through the lens of the Redemption as a potential self, a capacity for God (*capax dei*), which, although always in flux, strives to return to its origins as a stable image of God (*imago dei*).<sup>20</sup> Friendship with the saints moves Anselm beyond the stalemate of human friendship by allowing him to realize through exemplary saint-friends his identity in relation to God and God's love.

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of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, Cicero's *De Amicitia*, and Cassian's *Sixteenth Conference*. Southern, *Portrait*, reminds us that Anselm, "[l]ike every other serious monastic student," must have known Cassian's writing on friendship in his *Collationes* (*Conferences*), 139. Canatella, "Friendship in Anselm", conveniently calls attention to the fact that "all twenty-four books of Cassian's *Collationes* were contained in a single volume in the Bec library, and thus, were available to Anselm," 355. See *Catalogus librorum abbatiae Beccensis*, *Patrologia Latina*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne [database online] (Ann Arbor, MI 1996 [last accessed on April 2, 2009]) [hereafter *PL*], vol. 150, col. 775B. Carolinne White argues that Cassian may very well have been familiar with Cicero and Aristotle on friendship, *Christian Friendship in the Fourth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 175–76. See also the contribution to this volume by C. Stephen Jaeger. On the pervasive influence and revival of Cicero's *De Amicitia* in the long twelfth century in monastic and courtly literature, see Jan M. Ziolkowski, "Twelfth-Century Understandings and Adaptations of Ancient Friendship," *Mediaeval Antiquity*, ed. Andries Welkenhuysen, Herman Braet, and Werner Verbeke. *Mediaevalia Lovaniensia Series 1*, 24 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1995), 59–81; see also Constant J. Mews, "Cicero and the Boundaries of Friendship in the Twelfth Century," *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies*. The Theory and Practice of Friendship in the Middle Ages 38.2 (2007): 369–84. Though Anselm was almost certainly not directly familiar with Aristotle on friendship, Cicero transmits Aristotelian thought in his dialogue-treatise. To be clear, though, I am not arguing for unambiguous transmission of friendship from Aristotle, Cicero, or Cassian to Anselm; I am merely suggesting that his ideas are different from theirs.

<sup>20</sup> Augustine refers to the "capax dei" in *De trinitate*: "Eo quippe ipso imago ejus est, quo ejus capax est, ejusque particeps esse potest" (The mind is the image of God, in that it is capable of Him and can be partaker of Him). *De Trinitate*, 14.8, *PL* [last accessed on July 15, 2009] vol. 42, col. 1044.

For love sanctifies all relations. As impossible as Anselm finds friendship with God, saint-friends in the *Prayers* provide the crucial narrative link to God, who has demonstrated in recorded Scriptural texts His friendship with them. And in calling his friendship with the saints into being, Anselm hopes that they will triangulate his relationship with God, their friend. Moreover, if, for Anselm, friendship is the problem because in its classical form it is impossible on earth, he realizes that it is also the solution. For loving others and forming friendships in the world, as impenetrably distant as friends may be, nonetheless mimic the behavior of God and win merit in His eyes.

### Prayer and Textuality: Saints and the Self

Historians, who comprise the large majority of Anselm scholars, tend to slight the textual nature of his friendships, treating them as unmediated descriptions of pre-existing realities. As Julian P. Haseldine correctively notes, though, Anselm's letters of friendship are "the medium of the cultivation of friendship itself."<sup>21</sup> The same is true of Anselm's *Prayers*. Mitigating the terror of God, and the obscurity of the self veiled by sin, these friendships with the saints do not simply exist, but are linguistically called into existence. Saint-friends become for Anselm manifestations of his ideas concerning God, human relations, and the Atonement.

The composition of the *Prayers* spans Anselm's adult life, beginning shortly before 1070 when he was prior of Bec in Normandy, and continuing through his abbacy at Bec and archbishopric at Canterbury.<sup>22</sup> Though most were written in the 1070s, contemporaneously with many of his letters of friendship, it was not until 1104 as archbishop that he put the final touches on the canonical group of nineteen prayers and three meditations, with a preface, in the order in which modern editions now preserve them.<sup>23</sup> Anselm initially composed the *Prayers* for noble

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<sup>21</sup> Haseldine, "Love, Separation and Male Friendship," 243.

<sup>22</sup> On the composition of Anselm's *Prayers*, see Southern, *Portrait*, 91–112, and *The Prayers and Meditations of Saint Anselm with the Proslogion*, trans. Benedicta Ward (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973). See Ward's "Introduction," 27–50. Southern and Ward agree that while the *Prayers* grew out of the liturgy, they are not themselves liturgical prayers. All of the saints to whom Anselm addresses his *Prayers* appear in liturgical prayers in some form, except for St Nicholas. As Ward argues, the translation of his relics to Bari on 9 May 1087 seems to have interested Bec and probably occasioned Anselm's *Prayer* to him, 69.

<sup>23</sup> Anselm's *Prayers* appear in this order: 1. *Prayer to God*. 2. *Prayer to Christ*. 3. *Prayer before Receiving the Body and Blood of Christ*. 4. *Prayer to the Holy Cross*. 5. *Prayer to St Mary (1)*. 6. *Prayer to St Mary (2)*. 7. *Prayer to St Mary (3)*. 8. *Prayer to St John the Baptist*. 9. *Prayer to St Peter*. 10. *Prayer to St Paul*. 11. *Prayer to St John the Evangelist (1)*. 12. *Prayer to St John the Evangelist (2)*. 13. *Prayer to St Stephen*. 14. *Prayer to St Nicholas*. 15. *Prayer to St Benedict*. 16. *Prayer to St Mary Magdalene*. 17. *Prayer by a Bishop or Abbot to the Patron Saint of his Church*. 18. *Prayer for Friends*. 19. *Prayer for Enemies*.



laywomen who had retired from the world to live a semi-monastic life.<sup>24</sup> These laywomen such as Adelaide, a daughter of William the Conqueror, and Mathilda of Tuscany required a form of devotion less exacting than the rigorous liturgical practices at monasteries following the *Benedictine Rule*, each with its own accretions leaving little time for private prayer. Anselm's *Prayers* were so popular, influential, and well circulated throughout the Middle Ages that many imitators added their own prayers to the collection, leaving modern scholarship in a state of disarray, unable to determine who was the author of which *Prayers*, until the 1930s when the authenticity of the more modest number of prayers and meditations that we know today was confirmed.<sup>25</sup>

An honorary member of the long twelfth-century Renaissance, noted for its emphasis on love and introspection, Anselm revolutionizes the genre of prayer. Preceding Anselm, Carolingian piety was, in a word, sober.<sup>26</sup> In their restraint, Carolingian prayers evade the Anselmian goals of prayer: self-awareness, an utter abhorrence of sin, a burning love for God, and oneness with God and the saint. Departing from a corporate and anonymous tradition of devotion lacking literary merit, Anselm's *Prayers* are personal, emotional, dramatic (in the most literal sense), and introspective works of literary art,<sup>27</sup> wherein, Southern writes,

The sinner stands alone before God . . . . The environment of prayer has shifted decisively from the church to the chamber, and from communal effort to severe and lonely introspection: we have not only withdrawn from corporate worship into the privacy of the chamber; we have withdrawn into the secrecy of the soul.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> On Anselm's pastoral care of women, see Sally Vaughn, *St Anselm and the Handmaidens of God: A Study of Anselm's Correspondence with Women*. Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy, 7 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), and Mary Jane Morrow, "Sharing Texts: Anselmian Prayers, a Nunnery's Psalter, and the Role of Friendship," *Voices in Dialogue: Reading Women in the Middle Ages*, ed. Linda Olson and Kathryn Kerby-Fulton (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005), 97–113. Though a comprehensive consideration of Anselm's friendships with women in his relatively few letters to them is beyond the scope of this study, one of Anselm's important opposite-sex friendships is analyzed below. Vaughn, *Handmaidens of God*, argues that Anselm's male and female friendships were equally significant and intimate, 134–35. Examining the presence and use of a contemporary pair of Anselm's *Prayers* housed in Shaftesbury, an English Benedictine nunnery led by Abbess Eulalia, one of Anselm's literary "friends," Morrow, "Sharing Texts," argues that such devotional materials "were shared among monastic and quasi-monastic women and men who perceived themselves as having similar social standing through recognition of shared work, common interests, and even friendship," 98. Canatella, "Friendship in Anselm," discusses Anselm's friendship with Countess Ida of Boulogne and concludes that he sees her as an equal, though with more reserved language than he uses in addressing his male friends, 361–67.

<sup>25</sup> For a discussion of this disentanglement, see Southern, *Saint Anselm and His Biographer*, 34–35.

<sup>26</sup> For a detailed analysis of Carolingian prayer, and an example of one, see Southern, *Portrait*, 93–99.

<sup>27</sup> Literary art is for Anselm not showmanship, but adherence to the laws of medieval *grammatica*, in which elevated style suggests elevated spirituality.

<sup>28</sup> Southern, *Portrait*, 100, 102.

Anselm constantly juxtaposes the glory of God with the horror of private human sin that he discovers in the *Prayers*. For Anselm, as for Augustine, humans were created in the image of God (*imago dei*), which has now been obfuscated by sin. Prayer requires one to excite the mind (*excitare mentem*) to escape the torpor of the body and behold the glory of God. But when Anselm attempts this, he can only remind himself of the stenchful shame of sin and its immeasurable offense to God. This self-abasement thwarts a belief in the mercy of God and a measured understanding of the self as a former and potential *imago dei*. Anselm needs a way out of his sinful self and this process, bound to repeat itself infinitely; thus, intercession is the saint-friend's primary function, as intercession among human friends is for Anselm the principal feature of friendship. His literary examination of the sordidness of the self and both the necessity and nature of relationships in the *Prayers* depart abruptly from Carolingian piety.

If in the *Prayers* readers constantly vacillate between hope in the form of mercy that the saint can provide and despair because of their sinfulness, they may concede defeat. This is perhaps why Anselm wrote the following preface:

*Orationes sive meditationes* quae subscriptae sunt, quoniam ad excitandam legentis mentem ad dei amorem vel timorem, seu ad suimet discussionem editae sunt, non sunt legendae in tumultu, sed in quiete, nec cursim et velociter, sed paulatim cum intenta et morosa meditatione. Nec debet intendere lector ut quamlibet earum totam perlegat, sed quantum sentit sibi deo adiuvante valere ad accendendum affectum orandi, vel quantum illum delectat. Nec necesse habet aliquam semper a principio incipere, sed ubi magis illi placuerit. Ad hoc enim ipsum paragraphis sunt distinctae per partes, ut ubi elegerit incipiat aut desinat, ne prolixitas aut frequens eiusdem loci repetitio generet fastidium, sed potius aliquem inde colligat lector propter quod factae sunt pietatis affectum. (Prologus 2–12)<sup>29</sup>

[The purpose of the prayers and meditations that follow is to stir up the mind of the reader to the love or fear of God, or to self-examination. They are not to be read in a turmoil, but quietly, not skimmed or hurried through, but taken a little at a time, with deep and thoughtful meditation. The reader should not trouble about reading the whole of any of them, but only as much as, by God's help, he finds useful in stirring up his spirit to pray, or as much as he likes. Nor is it necessary for him always to begin at the beginning, but wherever he pleases.

With this in mind the sections are divided into paragraphs, so that the reader can begin and leave off wherever he chooses; in this way he will not get bored with too much

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<sup>29</sup> All quotations of Anselm's Latin prayers, including the *Prologus*, come from *AOO*, vol. 3. I shall cite *Oratio* (*Or.*), the number of the prayer, the editor's line number(s), and the page number(s), in that order.

material but will be able to ponder more deeply those things that make him want to pray. (Preface 89)]<sup>30</sup>

The *Prayers* are not intended to be read as a unified whole or in one sitting, but digested slowly and randomly, so that the reader might privately ponder small portions of the text and engage in subtle meditation, with local meaning trumping overall logical chronology or coherence. In this, Anselm is again a direct descendant of Augustine who also believes in the value of random devotional reading—"tolle lege, tolle lege" ("Pick up and read, pick up and read"), as the apparition famously instructs at the moment preceding his conversion.<sup>31</sup> The Christian reader chooses what is most applicable, exciting the mind ("excitandam mentem"), stirring up the spirit to pray ("accendendum affectum orandi"), and producing compunction and love of God. The reader and not the author creates meaning.

Readings that characterize the *Prayers* as too obsessed with the abject human condition to be spiritually efficacious must be tempered by Anselm's reading instructions, which invite audience selectivity and imagination.<sup>32</sup> Post-structuralism has taught us the primacy of the text and audience over the author; as Thomas H. Bestul writes of the *Prayers*,

Anselm shows himself to be much less concerned with maintaining the integrity or inviolability of an author-determined text (the usual stance taken in such prefaces, envoys, and epistles) than he is with encouraging the possibility that his text or parts of his text might be incorporated in, or become the occasion for, another text, the prayer of the reader.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> English translations of the *Prayers*, including the *Preface* are in Ward, *Prayers and Meditations*. I shall cite *Prayer*, the number of the prayer, the editor's line number(s) of her poetic rendition, and the page number(s), in that order. Ward translates from a variety of manuscripts and not always from Schmitt's edition. Her translations are usually consistent with Schmitt's Latin edition, but in instances where they do not match, I have altered her translation to match Schmitt. When I do this, I indicate so in a note and enclose the emendations in square brackets. David N. Bell sees in Anselm's *Prologus* the basic components of the monastic life: *lectio, meditatio, and oratio*, grounded in Gregory the Great, the Venerable Bede, and Isidore of Seville, "A Token of Friendship? Anselmian Prayers and a Nunnery's Psalter: Response to Mary Jane Morrow: Where do We Go from Here?" *Voices in Dialogue: Reading Women in the Middle Ages*, ed. Linda Olson and Kathryn Kerby-Fulton (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005), 114–23; here 115.

<sup>31</sup> Augustine, *Confessions*, ed. James J. O'Donnell (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 8.12.29:1.101.

<sup>32</sup> Southern, *Portrait*, for example, reads the *Prayers* rather pessimistically, 99–106.

<sup>33</sup> Thomas H. Bestul, "Self and Subjectivity in the *Prayers* and *Meditations* of Anselm of Canterbury," *Saint Anselm: Bishop and Thinker: Papers Read at a Conference Held in the Catholic University of Lublin on 24–26 September 1996*, ed. Roman Majeran and Edward Iwo Zieliński (Lublin: University Press of the Catholic University of Lublin, 1999), 147–55; here 152–53.

This possibility of endless multiplication does not dilute but amplifies Anselm's *Prayers* for an audience instructed to engage in multiple perspectives of the text.<sup>34</sup> This is how friendship becomes relevant. Despite the bleak picture of the human condition that Anselm seems to paint, fissures occur in the text—one could say glimpses of hope—in the form of saint-friends. They assume characteristics foreign to scholarly understanding of Anselmian friendships but nonetheless allow Anselm and his readers, authorized by the narrative logic of forgiveness that Anselm develops, to understand themselves in relation to the saints, and to invoke them to intercede mercifully for all sinners.

By Anselm's time, prayers to the saints were a burgeoning genre, though Anselm increases the activity of the saints in effecting forgiveness to new levels. God still seemed aloof in the minds of monastic writers, and one was never quite sure what to say to Him in prayer, as in Anselm's own perfunctory *Prayer to God*. Affective piety, in which the image of a victorious Christ was subordinated to a pitiful, suffering one who could be worshipped sympathetically, had begun to bridge the gap between God and humankind, but it had by no means reached the heyday that it would in the twelfth century. Saints, however, offered an accessible alternative: they had once been human, prone to sin, and subject to God's great mercy. If speaking to an omniscient God directly about one's sins was too frightening, prayers to saints provided the petitioner with intercessors who were more likely to empathize with the situation and use their close relationship with God to effect reconciliation. Moreover, the saint becomes the perfect friend in Anselm's *Prayers* because he or she theoretically does not know the petitioner's sins as well as God does and does not judge the sinner. For Anselm, the best friend, human and divine, knows as little as possible about Anselm.

As McGuire argues, understanding the saints as friends of God, "*amici dei*," in medieval devotion fostered belief in "the worth of human bonds as part of the scheme of salvation."<sup>35</sup> In the culmination of Anselm's magisterial *Cur deus homo* (*Why God Became Man*) (ca. 1098), Anselm argues that Christ deserved to be rewarded for sacrificing His life because He, being sinless, owed nothing to God, but at the same time could not be rewarded because, being God Himself, He neither needed nor could accept anything. The solution, as Anselm suggests, was to confer His reward upon those to whom He was most closely bonded on Earth, those who needed it the most:

Quibus convenientius fructum et retributionem suae mortis attribuet quam illis, propter quos salvandos, sicut ratio veritatis nos docuit, hominem se fecit, et quibus, ut diximus, moriendo exemplum moriendi propter iustitiam dedit? . . . Aut quos iustius faciet haeredes debiti quo ipse non eget, et exundantiae suae plenitudinis,

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 151.

<sup>35</sup> McGuire, *Friendship and Community*, 228.

quam parentes et fratres suos, quos aspicit tot et tantis debitis obligatos egestate  
tabescere in profundo miseriarum? (*Cur deus homo* 2.19:2.130–131)<sup>36</sup>

[On whom is it more appropriate for him to bestow the reward and recompense for his death than on those for whose salvation, as the logic of truth teaches us, he made himself a man, and for whom, as we have said, he set an example, by his death, of dying for the sake of righteousness? . . . Again, whom is he with greater justice to make heirs of the recompense due to him, and of the overflowing of his bounty, than those who are parents and brothers to him, whom he sees, bound by so many and such enormous debts, wasting away with deprivation in the depths of misery?

(*Why God Became Man*, 353)]<sup>37</sup>

Anselm's God, pre-eminently abiding by the "logic of truth" ("ratio veritatis"), always acting fittingly ("convenientius"), sanctifies all human relationships out of the overflowing of His bounty ("exundantiae suae plenitudinis"). He did not appear on Earth to die immediately for humankind's sins, but lived among people, was familiar with them, befriended them, and, because of His love for them, ultimately died for them. And no humans were ever closer to God than the characters of the New Testament, many of whom Anselm invokes in prayer. Anselm refers to the saints as his friends who have another friend, God, whose ruptured relationship with Anselm the saints can triangulate and heal. In the Christian post-lapsarian world, one is no longer the Stoic man of plenitude and perfect virtue, who needs nothing out of friendship. Friendship is ruptured, and one must make demands of the saint-friend. While the best human friend for Anselm is monolithic, an idea fixed in time and space, whose stability provides Anselm with an illusorily stable understanding of himself, saints, authorized by the Scriptural narrative contingencies of their human lives intermingling with Christ on earth, are dynamic, changing along with the vicissitudes of the individual sinner's needs.

Anselm writes his *Prayers* in a period credited with the "discovery of the individual," as author, speaker, protagonist, and audience.<sup>38</sup> Colin Morris cites

<sup>36</sup> All quotations of Anselm's major theological treatises come from *AOO*, vols. 1–2. I shall cite the name of the work followed by the book number (if applicable), chapter number, the volume number, and the page number(s) in that order.

<sup>37</sup> All quotations of English translations of Anselm's major theological treatises come from *Anselm of Canterbury: The Major Works*, ed. Brian Davies and G. R. Evans (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998). I shall list the name of the work and page number.

<sup>38</sup> Walter Ullman, *The Individual and Society in the Middle Ages* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1966); Southern, *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies* (1970; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984); Peter Dronke, *Poetic Individuality in the Middle Ages: New Departures in Poetry, 1000–1150*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970); Colin Morris, *The Discovery of the Individual 1050–1200* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1972; rpt. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987); Robert Hanning, *The Individual in Twelfth-Century Romance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977); Linda Georgianna, *The Solitary Self: Individuality in the Ancrene Wisse* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard

among other features a renewed interest in classical literature emphasizing individual thoughts and desires, new educational structures that favored human reasoning rather than sacred authorities as a method of understanding Christianity, the emergence of biography and autobiography as literary forms that examined the peculiarities of individuals, and increased attention to confession as a means of exploring one's intentions and the psychology of sin, unique to each individual.<sup>39</sup> The twelfth century, Robert N. Swanson argues, produced a heightened sense of self-awareness as monks and laypersons alike discover a version of Christianity that emphasizes human choice and accountability in the story of salvation.<sup>40</sup>

Such critical insights have been tempered, however. Caroline Walker Bynum reminds us that no Latin word correlating to our modern *individual* exists in the twelfth century, and that while writers examine their inner thoughts, desires, sin, and holiness, they do so only through the lens of communal roles.<sup>41</sup> Moreover, identity in the twelfth century is not only socialized, but also provisional. Bernard of Clairvaux discusses self-knowledge in the twelfth century to recognize the self as great because it is made in the image of God, but also humble in the knowledge that its greatness comes from God alone.<sup>42</sup> Because of sin, one will never fully achieve the original status of the *imago dei* in this life, for this must be deferred until heaven.

The self is not autonomous and unchanging (a static, sinful soul), but rather begins to understand itself in dynamic, redemptive, and potential terms in light of others. Human friends in Anselm's letters and saint-friends in the *Prayers* remain impenetrable, unequal, distant, abstract, and separated, both geographically and psychologically. But Anselm finds a solution to absent friends that may not bridge the disconnect between them, but nonetheless dignifies them

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University Press, 1981); and John F. Benton, "Consciousness of Self and Perceptions of Individuality," *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), 263–95.

<sup>39</sup> This is the general argument of Morris's *The Discovery of the Individual 1050–1200*, cited above in n. 37.

<sup>40</sup> Robert N. Swanson, *The Twelfth-Century Renaissance* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1999), 148–49.

<sup>41</sup> Caroline Walker Bynum, *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1982), 85–90.

<sup>42</sup> "Si ignoras te, egredere et pasce haedos tuos" (If you do not know yourself, go out and pasture your herds), Bernard is fond of saying in various works, referring to the potential mystical encounter *par excellence* in *The Song of Songs* 1.3. See *De gradibus humilitatis et superbiae* (*On the Steps of Humility and Pride*), 7.21:32, *De diligendo deo* (*On Loving God*), 2.4:122, *Sermones super cantica canticorum*, 34–38:1:245–55, 2.3–18. For the explanation of humans' obligation to understand their greatness tempered by humility, see *De diligendo deo*, 2.4:122–23. References are to the standard Latin edition: *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, ed. Jean Leclercq, C. H. Talbot, and Henri M. Rochais, 8 vols. (Rome: Cistercian Editions, 1957–1977).

in the scheme of human redemption and illuminates the self via one's subjectivity—one's being *subject* to others.

## The Impenetrable Friend

Human friends, for Anselm, are more than often inadequate for the spiritual life, obscuring, rather than clarifying self-awareness. In one of three *Prayers to Mary*, Anselm accentuates the fractures that sin creates among all humans, between himself and Mary, and within himself:

Sic enim, pia domina, [mea anima] alienata est a se immanitate stuporis, ut vix sensum habeat enormis languoris. Sic sordibus et foetore foedatur, ut timeat ne ab ipsa misericors vultus tuus avertatur. Sic tabescit desperando respectus tui conversionem, ut etiam os obmutescat ad orationem.

Peccata mea, nequitiae meae, si habetis animam meam vestro veneno peremptam: vel cur sic facitis eam vestra foeditate horrendam, ut miseratio non possit aspicere illam?

...

O perturbata, o confusa peccandi conditio! En quippe vos, peccata mea, quomodo discernendo distrahitis, distrahendo corroditis, corrodendo torquetis praecordia mea. Eadem enim peccata mea, o domina, cognosci a te cupiunt propter curationem, parere tibi fugiunt propter execrationem. Non sanantur sine confessione, nec produntur sine confusione. Si celantur, sunt insanabilia; si videntur, sunt detestabilia. Urunt me dolore, terrent me timore. Mole me obruunt, pondere me premunt, pudore me confundunt.  
(*Or.* 5.12–19, 31–37:13–14)

[Good Lady,  
(my soul has been alienated from itself by a huge dullness)  
so that (it is) scarcely aware of the extent of (its) sickness.  
(It is) so filthy and stinking  
that (it is) afraid you will turn your merciful face from (it).  
So (it looks) to you to convert (it),  
but (is) held back by despair,  
and even my lips are shut against prayer.  
My sins, my wicked deeds,  
since you have destroyed my soul with your poison,  
why do you make it a horror with your filth,  
(so that pity cannot look upon it)?  
... How disturbed and confused is the state of sin!  
How my sins tear my heart in pieces and divide it,  
gnaw at it and torment it.  
And so, Lady, my sins  
long to be known by you so that they can be cured  
but flee from you for fear of being cursed.  
My sins cannot be cured unless they are confessed,

but to acknowledge them throws me into confusion.  
 If they are concealed they cannot be healed,  
 if they are seen they are detestable.  
 They chafe me with sorrow, they terrify me with fear,  
 they bury me with their weight, they press upon me heavily,  
 and confound me with shame. (Prayers, 5.20–31, 53–66:107–09)]<sup>43</sup>

In this quintessentially Anselmian prayer, Anselm adds in line after line language and images to express the horror of sin infecting his soul. Unlike other saints to whom he prays, Mary offers no narrative hook for Anselm — no moment in her life, he believes, that would allow him to invoke her human frailty and compare himself to her, for Mary, as Anselm argues elsewhere, was without sin.<sup>44</sup> Awestruck, all he can do is to worry over the unbridgeable gap between Mary and himself, as he discovers the painful paradox of confession. Anselm no fewer than five times despairs that the revelation of his sin to Mary will make his soul appear so foul (“sordibus et foetore foedatur,” 14; “veneno peremptam,” 17–18; “foeditate horrendam,” 18; “detestabilia,” 36) in her eyes that she will turn her merciful face from him (“misericors vultus tuus avertatur,” 15) and deny him the intercession that he needs. And yet, if he does not confess his sin, the revelation of which, to his mind, makes him appear unworthy of being healed, he will never be clean of sin (“non sanantur,” 34–35).

But Anselm is also alienated from himself: “[Mea anima] alienata est a se” (My soul has become alienated from itself) (13), he writes, pondering the opacity that sin causes. Anselm speaks of dullness (“stuporis,” 13), sickness (“languoris,” 14), confusion (“confusione,” 35), sorrow (“dolore,” 36), fear (“timore,” 36), and shame (“pudore,” 37), resulting from an awareness of sins that precludes self-knowledge.<sup>45</sup> Anselm is aware of himself insofar as he feels these variegated emotions, but not in the medieval sense in which knowledge of the true self is knowledge of the self as an *imago dei*. Sin obscures the self. In the Anselmian rubric of prayer, clarity of mind and forgiveness come not when he confesses, clears his

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<sup>43</sup> The round brackets in the English translation indicate that I have altered Ward’s translation and inserted my own translation. Ward turns the grammatical subjects “anima,” “soul” (implied from a previous Latin sentence not quoted above) and “peccata,” “sins,” into the first-person pronoun “I,” where there is no explicit or implicit “ego.” The point, worth noting, is that in the Latin, Anselm makes sin and confession impersonal by attributing agency to the soul, alienated from itself, and his sins, longing to be known. It is as though he is so ashamed of his sins that he tries to disassociate himself from his sinful soul.

<sup>44</sup> Anselm argues this in *De conceptu virginali et de originali peccato*.

<sup>45</sup> The horrible confusion Anselm experiences in confession runs contrary to trends in modern scholarship suggesting that medieval confession was conducive to liberating self-knowledge; see, for example, Georgianna, *The Solitary Self*, 79–119, and Leonard E. Boyle, “The Fourth Lateran Council and Manuals of Popular Theology,” *Popular Literature of Medieval England*, ed. Thomas J. Heffernan (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1985), 30–43.



mind of sin, and preserves rectitude all on his own—for this is impossible—but only by an act of suprarational mercy from the saint and God.

In ca. 1072, Anselm sent his three Marian *Prayers* along with a letter to his greatest absent friend and monastic brother Gundulf, whom, Anselm writes, he had in mind (“tua intentione”) while composing them.<sup>46</sup> Anselm writes to Gundulf as his “other heart in mutual affection” (“in mutua dilectione . . . alterum cor meum”) and offers him a guide for personal devotion to be used freely (Letter 28:1.121; Ep. 28.4:3.135). But Anselm’s depiction of the hypothesized “other” (“alterum”) in the Marian prayer that he sends him calls into question the efficacy of his writing for Gundulf’s “intentione.” Sin has besmirched Anselm so thoroughly that no one’s mercy can see his soul clearly: “miseratio non possit aspicere illam [meam animam],” (18–19). Sin alienates Anselm from friends. Human friends can see neither the true (*imago dei*) nor the sinful condition of the soul; it is sufficiently foul to repulse the pity of anyone.

That Anselm would call attention to the distance between friends in a *Prayer* written for Gundulf is shocking. Anselm writes to Gundulf with sweetness, using rhetoric that supposedly resonates with classical ideals of seamlessness between friends.<sup>47</sup> Now that questions of artificiality in the letters have been thoughtfully deliberated and dismissed, we can read the letters to Gundulf and similar ones to other recipients in their genuine spiritual sense.<sup>48</sup> The first excerpt, from ca. 1071, apparently responds to Gundulf’s complaint that Anselm does not write him frequently enough:

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<sup>46</sup> Anselm and Gundulf had known each other at Bec, but when Lanfranc became Archbishop of Canterbury, he took Gundulf with him, thus resulting in Anselm and Gundulf’s parting. This migration of monks from Bec to Canterbury provides the occasion for many of Anselm’s letters to absent friends.

<sup>47</sup> Fiske, “Saint Anselm and Friendship,” 269–70, 282, 290; McGuire, *Friendship and Community*, 214–15; Southern, *Portrait*, 147, 155–56.

<sup>48</sup> Interpreting the style of Anselm’s letters of *amicitia* has proven controversial, for the language seems exaggerated to the point of insincerity. Swanson, *The Twelfth-Century Renaissance*, goes so far as to suggest that the emotions behind the letters are sterile, and that writers employ such hyperbole to identify themselves as writing within a certain rhetorical tradition, the *epistola ad amicum*, modeled on the letters of Seneca and carried on by such twelfth-century writers as Anselm, Peter of Blois, John of Salisbury, Peter the Venerable, Bernard of Clairvaux, and Heloise, 146. Jean Leclercq, on the other hand, offers a less drastic reading of such effusion in *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture*, trans. Catharine Misrahi (New York: Fordham University Press, 1961). Literature should not be dismissed as fictitious or insincere, he argues, simply because it employs a high style of rhetoric, which monks often use to suggest an elevated sense of spirituality: “If there is art, or even artifice, in monastic letters just as in the others, they are in no way fictitious. They are merely fine letters in which spontaneous feelings are expressed in the forms fixed by literature. In reading them we must always make allowance for the part played by this literary attitude. Once again, we must repeat that taking a medieval text seriously does not necessarily mean taking all its expressions literally,” 178–79.

1. Praeterea cur—sicut audio—tanto maerore quereris quod numquam litteras meas videas, et tanto amore quaeris ut eas saepe accipias, cum meam conscientiam tecum semper habeas? Te quippe silente ego novi quia diligis me; et me tacente “tu scis quia amo te.” Tu mihi conscius es quia ego non dubito de te; et ego tibi testis sum quia tu certus es de me. Quoniam igitur nobis nostrarum conscii sumus conscientiarum de invicem, hoc tantum restat, ut ea quae erga nos sunt mandemus ad invicem, ut pariter vel gaudeamus vel solliciti simus pro invicem. (Ep. 4.16–23:3.104)

[Moreover, why do you complain so sorrowfully, as I hear, that you never see any letters of mine, and why do you beg me so lovingly that you may often receive them when you have my thoughts with you all the time? Even when you are silent I know you love me; and if I am silent “you know that I love you” (Jn 21.16). You are aware that I have no doubts about you, and I am your witness that you are sure of me. Since we are aware that we are in each other’s minds, therefore, it only remains for us to tell each other about our affairs so that we may either rejoice together or be concerned for each other. (Letter 4:1.81)]

The next excerpt to Gundulf, from ca. 1070–1077, again suggests that letters to absent friends are unnecessary because each one has an image of the other inside of him, this time echoing Anselm’s *Proslogion*, guiding the reader to arouse sufficient devotion to meditate, suggesting, as scholars have argued, that the process of imagining the friend in the mind is similar to experiencing God in the mind:<sup>49</sup>

2. Sed quid te docebit epistola mea quod ignores, o tu altera anima mea? “Intra in cubiculum” cordis tui et considera affectum veri amoris tui, et cognosces amorem veri amici tui. (Ep.16.5–7:3.121)

[But what will my letter tell you that you do not know, you, my second soul? “Go into the secret place” (Mt 6.6) of your heart and consider the affection of your true love and you will learn the love of your true friend. (Letter 16:1.103)]

Another excerpt to Gundulf, ca. 1076, alludes to the account in 1 Corinthians 2.9 of the mystery of the Rapture to describe the mystical—and therefore apparently seamless—relationship between friends:

3. Sed quid, si nec “oculus vidit, nec auris audivit,” sed solum “in cor hominis ascendit,” quem affectum praeparent diligentia corda diligentibus se? Testis enim mihi est experta conscientia tua, quia nec visu nec auditu sapor huius affectus a quoquam percipitur, nisi quantum mente ab unoquoque concipitur. Cum igitur scias quia sapor dilectionis nec oculis nec auribus agnoscitur, sed solo cordis ore delactabiliter gustatur: quibus verbis aut quibus litteris meus et tuus amor describetur? Et tamen tu instas mihi importune, ut faciam quod fieri non potest. Sufficiant nobis conscientiae nostrae, quibus nobis invicem conscii sumus quantum nos diligamus. (Ep. 59.12–20:3.174)

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<sup>49</sup> Fiske, “Saint Anselm and Friendship,” 270–72, 290; Southern, *Portrait*, 147, 158.

[But what if neither “eye has seen nor ear has heard” the affection loving hearts have laid up for those who love them, but it “has entered” only “into the human heart?” (1 Cor 2.9) Your experienced conscience is my witness that, except insofar as it is conceived in the mind, this savor of affection is not perceived by anyone through either sight or hearing. Since therefore you know that the savor of love cannot be discerned either by the eyes or the ears but can be delightfully tasted only by the heart’s mouth, in what words or by what letter can your love and mine be described? And yet you press me insistently to do what cannot be done. May our consciences, by which we are aware of how much we love each other, be (proof) enough for us.

(Letter 59:1.171–72)]

To Gilbert Crispin, whose promotion to the position of abbot at Westminster separated him from Anselm, Anselm writes one peculiar letter, ca. 1086–1089, of many that have prompted some scholars to interpret him as gay, or inclined toward homoerotic feelings, as we shall soon see:

4. Qui affectus quantus et quam verus sit cum multum cognoscerem, quando sese oculo ad oculum, osculo ad osculum, amplexu ad amplexum ostenderet: nunc multo magis experior, cum abesse illum irrecuperabiliter, in quo tanta iucunditate delectabar, intueor . . . . [O]ro vobiscum, ut aliquando nos invicem videntes oculo ad oculum, osculo ad osculum, amplexu ad amplexum non oblitum amorem recolamus.

(Ep. 130.6–15:3.272–73)

[I often perceived how great and how true (our) affection was when it displayed itself face to face, lip to lip, embrace to embrace: now when I contemplate how he in whom I delighted with such joy is irretrievably lost, I realize it more . . . . I pray with you that when we see each other again we should once more revive, face to face, lip to lip, embrace to embrace, our unforgotten love.

(Letter 130:1.305)]

The final excerpt, ca. 1074, addresses Frodelina, apparently a woman of some social status who enjoyed a reputation for holiness in Normandy. When Anselm wrote this letter he had never met her:

5. Postquam odorem vestrae bonae famae, quae longe lateque suaviter redolens circumvolat, persensi, semper desideravi ad vestram notitiam aliqua commoda occasione pervenire, ut per notitiam mererer aliquatenus ad amicitiam pertinere. Ut qui bonis meis meritis me video valde indigere, vestris me possem aliquantulum per caritatis communionem miscere. Sed gratias ago deo quia, dum hanc voluntatem gererem et voluntatis effectum cupidus exspectarem, intimatum est mihi per communem in Christo fratrem et amicum nostrum, domnum Hugonem, inclusum Cadumensem, quia sanctitas vestra non dissimili affectu similem de se apud me praestolaretur eventum . . . . Quoniam tamen vestris maioribus bonis desidero participare, nescio qua fronte possim vobis participationem meorum bonorum, qualiacumque sint, cum eam desideretis, negare . . . . Peto etiam, licet mea merita nequaquam vestris possint aequari, ut vestra beatitudo . . . . suorum meritum communioni aliquatenus dignetur admittere.

(Ep. 45.6–10, 23–30:3.158–59)

[Ever since I became aware of the odor of your good reputation which has spread far and wide like a sweet perfume, I have longed to make myself known to you at some favorable opportunity, that I might deserve through this acquaintanceship to gain your friendship ("amicitiam"). But since I see myself totally lacking in merit perhaps I might somehow share yours by a communion of charity. So I thank God that, while I was harboring this wish and was eagerly looking for a way of executing it, Dom Hugh, the hermit of Caen, our mutual brother and friend in Christ, informed me that your holiness, with sentiments not unlike my own, was looking for a similar opportunity in my regard . . . (S)ince I desire to share in your good qualities which are greater than mine, I do not know on what pretext I can refuse to let you share, as you desire, in mine, whatever they may be . . . Moreover, even if my merits can in no way be compared to yours, I beg that your holiness may deign to admit me in some way to the communion of your merits. (Letter 45:1.151–52)]

Anselm does not write to friends about business or gossip; his letters concern nothing but the subject of friendship itself.<sup>50</sup> In Anselm's Platonic mind, the friend exists through absence as an image in the mind, and Anselm expects that he similarly exists in his friend's mind ("mente concipitur," 59.15–16). This is why "conscientia," "knowing together" or "consciousness," and its cognates play a significant role especially in the first and third letters (Ep. 4 and Ep. 59) quoted above (4.18, 19, 21; 59.14, 19, 20).<sup>51</sup>

The standard interpretation of the three letters to Gundulf is that Anselm and Gundulf are so mystically bound together in a unity of purpose (the monastic life and the love of Christ) that their minds become fused: each one knows and feels what the other knows and feels by examining his own thoughts and feelings.<sup>52</sup> The friend lies inside oneself, and this, some suggest, is a suitable alternative to having the friend present.<sup>53</sup> But when these three letters are juxtaposed to the *Prayers*, problems with this traditional argument arise. If Anselm cannot even know himself because of the sin that clouds his mind, then he cannot know the friend's true self either; and if the friend can see neither the true Anselm (*imago dei*) nor the sinful one, having averted his face since no pity can see Anselm ("miseratio non possit aspicere illam, *Or.* 5.18–19), then the friend cannot know Anselm either. The

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<sup>50</sup> Southern, *Portrait*, divides Anselm's letters into two groups: the roughly one hundred and forty letters between 1070 and 1093, which comprise almost all of Anselm's letters of friendship, and the letters after 1093, the year he became archbishop, which deal mostly with ecclesiastical business and pastoral care, 138–39. All of the letters quoted above are from Anselm's pre-1093 collection.

<sup>51</sup> Fiske, "Saint Anselm and Friendship," writes at length on the role of *conscientia* in Anselm's letters, offering many insights (269–75), but nonetheless slights the ruptures of consciousness about which I write.

<sup>52</sup> Fiske "Saint Anselm and Friendship," 272; McGuire, *Friendship and Community*, 214–15.

<sup>53</sup> Fiske, "Saint Anselm and Friendship," 264.

friend is a linguistic artifice on which the mind meditates. Scholars argue that medieval authors fear the damage that absence might cause to friendship.<sup>54</sup> But even though Anselm feels the pain of separation,<sup>55</sup> not only is the friend absent; he *must* be absent in order for friendship to work, for Anselm's creation of the absent friend creates a model of stability.<sup>56</sup> Believing that he knows the friend and that the friend knows him comforts Anselm. If he can position the friend to be a steadfast exemplar of his inner life, which is always in flux, and thereby create unity out of chaos via the friend, then he can know a more appealing version of himself through his awareness of the absent friend's unchanging awareness of him, ("[q]uoniam igitur nobis nostrarum conscii sumus conscientiarum de invicem," Ep. 4.20–21; "since we are aware that we are in each other's minds"). This awareness of himself rarely changes precisely because the friends do not personally interact and the dynamic of their relationship rarely changes, as their only contact with each other involves writing about friendship. The more letters that Gundulf wants to learn about Anselm's feelings for and thoughts about him, the more tenuous the relationship becomes, and the more hesitant Anselm is to acquiesce, acknowledging instead that their relationship is seamless, thus requiring fewer, not more letters. Fiske writes of these letters:

[I]t is a greater joy to know that one's friend is growing in virtue than to have him present, for the spiritual presence of friends within each other is in that similitude of virtue.<sup>57</sup>

However, this "similitude of virtue" rests on an illusion of the friend suspended in space and time, an exemplar of false stability, and results in self-knowledge by

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<sup>54</sup> Carolinne White, "Friendship in Absence: Some Patristic Views," *Friendship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Julian P. Haseldine (Stroud, UK: Sutton Publishing, 1999), 72.

<sup>55</sup> On the pain of separation that Anselm reveals to absent friends, see: Ep. 75.3: "taedet"; Ep. 75.5: "cordis mei angorem de vestra absentia"; Ep. 76.5: "vexat"; Ep. 76.6: "torquet"; Ep. 84.8–10: "Testis est angor cordis mei hoc ipsum cogitantis, testes lacrimae obtenebrantes oculos et rigantes faciem et digitos id ipsum scribentis" (The witnesses [to the pain of our separation] are the anguish of my heart while thinking about it and the tears clouding the eyes and moistening the face and fingers of the one writing this); Ep. 178.15: "tabescere."

<sup>56</sup> McGuire, *Friendship and Community*, rightly acknowledges some of Anselm's letters that note the historical and spiritual reasons why Anselm must be absent from his friends in the service of God, so that they can assume their proper roles on earth, wherever God's will may take them, 216–17. In the same spirit, Haseldine, "Love, Separation and Male Friendship," reminds us that Anselm's letters are concerned with the monastic obedience that often dictated one's station in life and precluded the presence of friends, 250. To disobey would vitiate the very foundation of the love of God and service to His will on which monastic friendships were grounded. I contend, nonetheless, that friends must also be absent for psychological reasons in order for Anselm to build a stable view of himself based on his friends' fixed visions of himself.

<sup>57</sup> Fiske, "Saint Anselm and Friendship," 264.

proxy that rests also on an illusion.<sup>58</sup> That Anselm writes several letters of similar content and tone to people whom he had never personally met, though addressing them as friends, only reinforces such an argument that friends for Anselm often function as speech acts that provide him with an otherwise elusively stable image of himself.<sup>59</sup>

Anselm's use of textuality is notably absent from scholarly discussion. Anselm uses language to create friendships, attempting to uncover their mysteries, just as he tries to read God through the saints. But when he quotes Scripture and his own *Proslogion*, attempting to show the ostensible clarity of friendship, the texts seem to take over, conveying the opposite of what Anselm seems to intend, the effect of which is further obfuscation, not clarity.

The first words of the *Proslogion*, which Anselm quotes above in the second letter, invite the reader to enter a frame of mind suitable for understanding the nature of God:

Eia nunc, homuncio, fuge paululum occupationes tuas, absconde te modicum a tumultuosis cogitationibus tuis. Abice nunc onerosas curas, et postpone laboriosas distentiones tuas. Vaca aliquantulum deo, et requiesce aliquantulum in eo. "Intra in cubiculum" mentis tuæ, exclude omnia præter deum et quæ te iuvent ad quærendum eum, et "clauso ostio" quære eum. (Pros.1:1.97)

[Come now, insignificant man, fly for a moment from your affairs, escape for a little while from the tumult of your thoughts. Put aside now your weighty cares and leave your wearisome toils. Abandon yourself for a little to God and rest for a little in Him. "Enter into the inner chamber" of your (mind) ("mentis"), shut out everything save God and what can be of help in your quest for Him and having locked the door seek Him out (Mt 6.6). (Pros. 84)]

Much like the letters of friendship, in which he takes refuge in the absent friend, Anselm here flees ("fuge") from the world of change, unsteadiness, tumult ("tumultuosis"), burdens ("onerosas"), and toils ("laboriosas"). He seeks total isolation from the world in order to find restfulness in the soul so that he can meditate. He posits an abstract God who, in his now famous "ontological argument," exists in reality because he exists in the mind. Anselm echoes both the idea and the language to Gundulf: "Go into the secret place of your heart and

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<sup>58</sup> Fiske, "Saint Anselm and Friendship," also acknowledges the insecurity of physically present friends for Anselm, suggesting that absent friends provide the right kind of security (278), though, I argue, wholly illusory. McGuire, *Friendship and Community*, concludes that absent friends provide complete openness of the self and the friend to each other (214–15), although, again, I argue that this openness is illusory.

<sup>59</sup> Haseldine, "Love, Separation and Male Friendship," likewise alludes to the performative nature of friendship: "By using friendship and love to articulate social bonds, allegiances and solidarities the correspondents were advertising their adherence to a defined body of ideas which they shared, and so to an ideology which united them," 246.

consider the affection of your true love and you will learn the love of your true friend" (Letter 16) ("Intra in cubiculum cordis tui et considera affectum veri amoris tui, et cognosces amorem veri amici tui," Ep. 16.6–7).

Anselm finds rest in the idea of another person or divinity, which precedes a discovery of the other. But finding peacefulness in the idea of another fails to translate into knowledge of the other. God remains abstract as ever to Anselm throughout the *Proslogion*, and the friend remains inscrutable unless Anselm removes him from the vicissitudes of time, space, and, ultimately, life, to project the image of himself onto him, providing Anselm with the calm that he can never achieve in the tumultuous discourse of his own spiritual life.<sup>60</sup>

Anselm's eschatological allusion to 1 Corinthians also lays bare the disconnect between friends unable to be reconciled in this life. Fiske argues that Anselm quotes the language of the rapture in this letter — "Sed quid, si nec oculus vidit, nec auris audivit" (Ep. 59.12; But what if neither eye has seen nor ear has heard) — to express the mystical nature of friendship, suggesting that friends know each other through the joining together of souls, just as one tries to approach God.<sup>61</sup> But Anselm's appropriation of this eschatological language fails to produce mystical knowledge of the friend similar to the mystical knowledge of God. Anselm writes in the third letter to Gundulf:

Sed quid, si nec oculus vidit, nec auris audivit, sed solum in cor hominis ascendit, quem affectum praeparent diligentia corda diligentibus se? (Ep. 59.12–13)

[But what if neither eye has seen nor ear has heard the affection loving hearts have laid up ("praeparent") for those who love them, but it has entered only into the human heart? (Letter 59)]

1 Corinthians 2.9 reads as follows:

Sed sicut scriptum est quod oculus non vidit nec auris audivit nec in cor hominis ascendit quae praeparavit Deus his qui diligunt illum.

[But, as it is written: That eye hath not seen, nor ear heard: neither hath it entered into the heart of man, what things God hath prepared ("praeparavit") for them that love him.]

In fact, Anselm grants a knowledge and affection to the friend, via the heart, to which Scripture denies knowledge of the mysteries of God. However, this knowledge of and affection for the friend, much like the knowledge of God, is deferred until the rapture in which friends will finally be "glued together"

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<sup>60</sup> Southern, *Portrait*, notes the universal applicability of Anselm's letters; much like the *Prayers*, "the letters which glow with such unexpected passion can be appropriated by any reader who is in, or seeks, a similar state of devotion," 147.

<sup>61</sup> Fiske, "Saint Anselm and Friendship," 270–71.

("conglutinare").<sup>62</sup> In both cases, on earth it can only be prepared ("praeparare"), and the inscrutability of the friend can only be cleared away, resulting in a perfect clarity of affectionate mutual understanding, once friends have reached the summit of unity in heaven, as Anselm writes.<sup>63</sup>

The apparently eroticized fourth letter, to Gilbert, is a conundrum. John Boswell famously finds in Anselm's letters a "gay" sensibility, examining Anselm's desires for intimacy, kisses, and embraces.<sup>64</sup> Usually the only approximate recognition of "homosexuality" in the Middle Ages, however, is recognition not of human identity, but of sinful activity (sodomy), which is not a lifestyle or orientation suggesting, in the modern sense, that people are individuated by their sexual desires.<sup>65</sup> Anselm explicitly opposes sodomy like any other sin.<sup>66</sup> The lavish signs of affection that Anselm imagines bestowing on friends, Southern argues, are spiritual signs of two souls fused together.<sup>67</sup> They allegorize the friend, as many Cistercians of the twelfth century eroticize their love for Christ *vis-à-vis* the *Song of Songs*. Moreover, Anselm collected his letters for public reading, and often addressed one letter to several different people. Thus, this affection is probably neither repressed sexual desire seeping through, nor anything of which the characteristically hyper self-conscious Anselm would be embarrassed.

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<sup>62</sup> To the monks of Bec, after his departure to Canterbury, Anselm writes effusively that his soul is glued ("conglutinata") to theirs, but worries about the wounds ("vulneratione") caused by the pains of separation, Ep. 166.10–11. To Hugh the hermit, Anselm writes of the consummation of friendship and unity in heaven, in which each person will be like a king with a sovereign will because that will will be shared by all, including God from whom it emanates, Ep. 112.26–31. Echoing the *Prosligion*, 25:1.119, Anselm writes to Hugh: "Tanta enim erit dilectio inter deum et eos qui ibi erunt et inter se ipsos invicem, ut omnes se invicem diligant sicut se ipsos, sed omnes plus ament deum quam se ipsos. Et propter hoc nullus ibi volet nisi quod deus; et quod unus volet, hoc volent omnes; et quod unus vel omnes, hoc ipsum volet deus. Quapropter quidquid unusquisque volet, hoc erit et de se ipso et de omnibus aliis et de tota creatura et de ipso deo. Et sic singuli erunt perfecti reges, quia quod singuli volent, hoc erit; et omnes simul cum deo unus rex et quasi unus homo, quia omnes unum volent, et quod volent erit," Ep. 112.26–34:3.245 ("For so great shall be the love between God and those who shall be there, and between themselves, that they shall all love each other as they love themselves but all shall love God more than themselves. And because of this, no one there shall will anything but what God wills; and what one wills, all shall will; and what one or all will, this shall God himself will. Wherefore, whatever anyone individually wills, shall come about for himself and for all the others, for the whole of creation, and for God himself. And thus they shall each be perfect kings, because what they will individually, shall come about; and all of them shall at the same time be one king with God and, as it were, one person, because they shall all will one thing, and what they will shall come about," Letter 112:1.269).

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality*, 215–20 (cited above in n. 2).

<sup>65</sup> Southern, *Portrait*, 149.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., 150–52.

<sup>67</sup> Southern, *Portrait*, 150–55; Fiske "Saint Anselm and Friendship," 270–82.



Nonetheless, through *imagined* erotic sameness, these signs of affection lay bare the disconnect between friends, for these artifices, like Anselm's letter to Gilbert itself, are required to "revive" ("recolamus," Ep. 130.15) the friendship, if only in the mind, just as devotion for Anselm requires an external, if imagined, stimulant, such as music, texts, or the accidents of the Eucharist, to initiate access into the mysteries of God. Bridging the gap between Boswell and Southern, I suggest that Anselmian male-male friendship can be an eroticized state of mind, propped up by imagined artifices to revive the friendship through signs of sameness and symmetry, registered here through eyes ("oculo ad oculum," Ep. 130.13–14) and lips ("osculo ad osculum," Ep. 130.14) embracing each other.

The final letter, to Frodelina, is one of Anselm's few letters to women, to whom he generally writes with more emotionally reserved language than to men, although it is to women that Anselm initially writes his *Prayers* as a token of friendship. It could be argued that he sometimes treats women as more docile than men, providing them more often with explicit pastoral care; but spiritual encouragement appears equally in letters to men and women. Moreover, when Anselm refers to the friendship ("amicitiam," Ep. 45.8–9) that he hopes to share with Frodelina, a woman whom he had never met, he treats her not only as an equal at times but also as his imagined superior in virtue.<sup>68</sup> In his letters, Anselm believes that friends of any gender may equal each other in their love of God, but that one may (non-classically) surpass the other in virtue, which should be taught through their friendship. Instead of meeting Frodelina in person, Anselm here retains her as a state of mind perhaps to lessen sexual temptation, the ultimate cause for gender division and hierarchy in the rhetoric of medieval religious literature.<sup>69</sup>

While Boswell understands the discourse of homoeroticism in medieval literature to imply social tolerance, it seems more likely that, for Anselm, who sternly opposed sodomy, same-sex intimacy between men, as presented in the letter to Gilbert, implies innocent affection that intended public readers of Anselm's public letters would not suspect to be inclined toward sexual desire. However, with women, Anselm offers a slightly different version of friendship and backs off of such language precisely because, Anselm seems to believe, it could more easily be interpreted as erotic. While, for Anselm, the language of physical intimacy may be spiritualized for men, it does not appear possible between himself and his female addressees, and is therefore avoided, probably because in Anselm's mind the suspicion of opposite-sex sexual desire is more

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<sup>68</sup> Describing an opposite-sex relationship in Latin as "amicitia" is extremely rare before and after Anselm's time.

<sup>69</sup> See Barbara Newman, *From Virile Woman to WomanChrist: Studies in Medieval Religion and Literature*. Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), 1–45.

salient than that of same-sex sexual desire, as it often is in medieval religious literature. But the similar and useful distance between both Anselm and Gilbert and Anselm and Frodelina remains, if for different purposes. Rather than attempting to bridge the gap between himself and Frodelina with imagined signs of physical affection, as he *tries* with Gilbert, Anselm here keeps her at a distance and creates a reversed and useful hierarchy of friendship in which Frodelina, as a friend, operates as a patron of virtue—much like the saints to whom he prays.

### The Saint-Friend

In his *Prayers*, Anselm takes refuge in the saints constructed as friends who provide intercession; he consistently refers to most saints as friends of God (“*amici dei*”) and of himself. Though classical rhetoric of friendship eschews friendship based on utility, Anselm values saint-friends precisely because they are useful. Moreover, Anselm’s friendships with the saints are fractured, contingent, impenetrable, hierarchical, deprived, and everything else that the classical tradition relegates to the non-ideal. But when Anselm triangulates the saints with himself and God, he finds that saint-friends provide him with a level of self-awareness, a potential vision of himself as an *imago dei*, unavailable to him through human friends. Identity becomes subject to saintly social relations.

Anselm anxiously believes that his soul is too sordid to be viewed favorably by anyone, but saints have exemplary stories recorded in Scripture to authorize their humanity, empathy, and mercy, and know less about Anselm’s sins than an omniscient God does. In his *Prayer to St Stephen*, using a narrative hook, Anselm reminds Stephen that he who had pity on and interceded for the very men who stoned him to death should logically show the same kind of mercy to Anselm, one of his friends:

Accelera ergo, pie, precor, accelera antequam damner, antequam me rapiant tortores  
hostes humani generis; priusquam me absorbeat carcer infernalis, priusquam me  
consumant tormenta gehennae . . . .

Vir beate, quantam spem donas peccatoribus amicis tuis, cum audiunt  
te sic fuisse sollicitum pro impiis inimicis tuis! (Or. 13.44–47, 74–76:51–52)

[So I pray you, Stephen, make haste  
before I am condemned,  
before the enemies of the human race  
snatch me away to torment,  
before the prison of hell swallows me up,  
before the torments of gehenna consume me . . . .  
Blessed man,  
what hope you give to sinners who are your friends (“*amicis tuis*”)]

when they hear that you were so concerned  
about the wicked men who were your enemies ("inimicis tuis")!  
(*Prayer* 13.88–93, 148–51:176, 178)]

Anselm emphasizes the haste ("accelera . . . accelera") with which Stephen must grant mercy before ("antequam . . . antequam . . . priusquam . . . priusquam") he is damned, but perhaps also, as in the Marian *Prayer*, before he has revealed his sins and spoiled his chance for merciful intercession, which Stephen, one of his friends ("amicis tuis"), should provide since he provided it for his enemies ("inimicis tuis"), as emphasized by the parallel structure, rhyme, and internal alliteration of the two Latin phrases.

Anselm wants each saint to know as little as possible about his sins. The saint-friend is not, in the classical sense, intimate enough to be an "alter idem," (another self) as Cicero writes.<sup>70</sup> This is impossible (because he is a saint) and undesirable (because Anselm is a sinner). Derrida argues that friendship must rest on the illusion that friends know each other openly if their relationship is to persist unproblematically.<sup>71</sup> It is a necessary fiction. Anselm keeps human friends at a comfortable distance so as not to introduce "misunderstandings," "ruptures," and "hostile feelings."<sup>72</sup> The more our friends know about us the more likely we are to introduce fractures into the relationship, reveal unappealing parts of ourselves, and shatter the illusion of unity and equality. Anselm also approaches the saints aloofly by articulating disdain for but not the specific nature of the sinful side of himself. Of course Anselm probably evades reference to his specific sins because he composes for a public audience; nonetheless, distance structures all of Anselm's friendships. Although Derrida does not write from a Christian point of view, with sin in mind as a factor causing separation, for Anselm, because of sin, it is no longer possible or even desirable for friends to share knowledge of each other in the classical sense, as Derrida suggests.

But Anselm stretches the possibilities of friendship with the saints to their limits. While praying to the "amici dei" Anselm addresses none of their miracles, appearances, or glory, but finds moments in their human lives, recorded in Scripture, when God showed them mercy, or when they showed mercy to an abject person, and, then, authorized by his own corrosive sin, insists that they show him the same mercy.<sup>73</sup> So Anselm reminds John the Baptist of God's grace

<sup>70</sup> Cicero, *De amicitia*. Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 21.80:188–89.

<sup>71</sup> Derrida, *The Politics of Friendship*, 53.

<sup>72</sup> I quote Derrida, *The Politics of Friendship*, 53, who is actually quoting paragraph 376, on friendship, of Nietzsche's *Human All Too Human*.

<sup>73</sup> Ward, *The Prayers and Meditations*, 58, notes, "When [Anselm] addresses the saints he is interested only in two things, what God has done in them and how they have experienced his work."

in allowing him to baptize him ("Memento ergo, domine, ut sicut gratia dei te sic sublimavit, sic misericordia tua erigat quem culpa sua sic humiliavit," *Or.* 8.17-18:26; "So remember, sir, / that as the grace of God made you so high / so your mercy can raise him up / who is laid so low by his guilt," *Prayer* 8.36-39:128); Peter, of the mercy that God showed him even after he denied Him three times ("Pastor fidelis, converte oculos tuos ad eam et recognosce tibi commissam. Si enim erravit, tamen dominum et pastorem non negavit," *Or.* 9.35-37:31; "Faithful shepherd, look upon him, / and recognize that he has been committed to you. / He may have strayed but at least it is not he / who has denied his Lord and Shepherd," *Prayer* 9.73-76:137); Paul, of his own words, to which Anselm holds him accountable, concerning the grace he was sent to bring all Christians; John the Evangelist, of the "well-known friendship" ("famosa familiaritas,"<sup>74</sup> *Or.* 11.12:42) that he shared with Christ on earth, which he now calls upon as a place of refuge; Stephen, of his obligation to treat his human friends at least as well as he treated his enemies; and St. Nicholas, of the power he has to let mercy trickle down through him because of the merits of his friend, God ("tui familiaris merita," *Or.* 14.34:56).

Anselm meditates on these moments, for narrative and the vicissitudes of human activity open up redemptive possibilities. Whereas God and Anselm's *Prayer to God* resemble all that is static, Anselm looks to human mutability to find narrative hooks that mandate mercy. If Anselm must plead with immaculate Mary not to "vultus tuus avertere" (*Or.* 5.15; avert your face), he can boldly ask Peter to "convertere oculos tuos" (*Or.* 9.35-36; turn your eyes) toward him because he understands the need for mercy after sin. Indeed, Anselm dwells on Peter's sinful incredulity at length, almost to the point of insulting him and surely to the point of telling him that his own sins do not exceed Peter's. Sympathetic identification is the logic of friendship for Anselm, although it cannot be reciprocal. He needs each saint to identify with *his* need for grace and to initiate the process whereby he might receive it.

Anselm boldly demonstrates his deficiency and need, which saturate his *Prayers*. Every friendship with the saint is hierarchical and non-reciprocal, and Anselm's only hope is receiving from the saint what he lacks. He prays to Peter, his "amicus," in his role as shepherd:

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<sup>74</sup> Anselm consistently uses two words interchangeably to mean "friend": *amicus* and *familiaris*. *Amicus* has always meant "(a male) friend" from its origins in classical Latin. On the other hand, *familiaris* in classical Latin usually meant "slave" or "domestic servant," but gradually grew to mean one with whom another was "familiar." However, the use of *familiaris* as "friend" in the eleventh century is well attested in medieval Latin dictionaries. McGuire, "Friendship and Community," 206, has also analyzed the use of *familiaris* in literature contemporaneous with Anselm and concluded that it is identical to *amicus*.

Ecce enim ante fidelem pastorem iacet et gemit morbida ovis, coram domino pastoris et ovis. Fugitiva redit, erroris et inoboedientiae veniam petit. Pio et medico pastori morsus luporum et scissuras vulnerum quae errando incurrit et ulcera quae longa incuria nutrit revelat; et misereri sibi, dum adhuc spiritum trahit, plus miseriam suam coram misericorde pastore expandendo quam obsecrando exorat.

(*Or.* 9.23–28:30–31)

[See now, the sickly sheep,  
lies groaning at the shepherd's feet;  
he comes before the Lord of the shepherd and the sheep.  
The runaway returns  
and asks forgiveness for his errors and disobedience.  
He shows to the good and healing shepherd  
the gashes of wounds, and the bites of wolves,  
which he ran into when he strayed,  
and the neglected sore places  
that he has had for a long time.  
He begs him to have mercy while there is still life in him,  
and he prays more by showing his need  
to the merciful shepherd  
than by any beseeching.

(*Prayer* 9.43–56:136)]

Anselm magnifies his abject condition: he is the sickly sheep (“morbida ovis”) and runaway (“fugitiva”) who groans (“gemit”) over his viscerally depicted wounds (“scissuras vulnerum”), bites of wolves (“morsus luporum”), and ulcers (“ulcera”), all caused by sin. For Anselm, prayer becomes a psychological exposition of deprivation, misery, and illness (“expandendo miseriam”) more than the request (“obsecrando”) to be healed itself, for the more he meditates on Peter’s role as shepherd and *amicus dei* in the prayer, the more he comes to understand himself in terms of Peter, his friend. If Peter is the one whom God has chosen to safeguard his sheep, then Anselm finds a perfect opportunity to insert himself into the subject position of one who needs tending to. Anselm’s selfhood becomes contingent upon the saint’s persona, a possibility that receives constant reinforcement in this *Prayer* as Anselm changes his rhetorical strategies and himself every time that he has Peter change identities.

When Peter is the shepherd, Anselm emphasizes his vulnerability as a helpless animal. But if the image of a damaged sheep does not move Peter, then Anselm asks him to leave the realm of metaphor, and as the gatekeeper of heaven and an Apostle of Christ consider him a lost soul. He believes that he has not received a favorable hearing from Peter in his role as shepherd, and even says that the subsequent shift in identity is of such a magnitude that he must repeat his entire story again, from the beginning—which he does! Only this time, he refers to himself as a soul (“anima,” *Or.* 9.50) instead of a sheep, and the urgency of his

requests increases as he perceives impending damnation and invokes Peter who once had a body and soul, which sinned and received mercy from God. In the variety of subject positions Anselm occupies throughout the *Prayers*, however, he defines each one by a relationship with the saint founded on need.

And Anselm finds that the saints as friends of God have plenty to offer him. In his *Prayer to St Nicholas*, he exalts Nicholas's plenitude, which he hopes will flow into him as an act of friendship:

Illorum per te sentiamus indigentes exundantiam, quorum perpetuam plenus suscipis inundantiam.

O bonorum tuorum inundantia et malorum meorum abundantia; quanta est eorum distantia! Quam vehementer illa te facit felicem, quam nimis ista me infelicem! Illa ex plenitudine dei descendit, ista ex indigentia mea ascendit. Illa fluit ex dei copia, ista surgit ex mea inopia. O si illius inundantiae exundantia inundabit, ut diluat malorum meorum abundantiam! O si plenitudo illius satietatis replebit vacuitatem meae egestatis! Non dubito, domine, te hoc mihi impetrare, si tantum velis pro me iudicem meum, dilectum dilectorem tuum, exorare. (Or. 14.57–66:57)

[Through you we needy ones come to know that abundance  
which you receive fully in a perpetual stream.

O your plenitude of goodness,  
and my abundance of badness!

How far they are from each other!

How vehemently the first makes you happy,  
how greatly does the latter make me unhappy.

The first comes down from the plenitude of God,  
the latter goes up from the need of myself;  
the first flows from the abundance of God,  
the latter surges up from my poverty.

O if only that super-abundance would overflow  
and flood into my abundant ills!

O if only that full plenitude would fill  
the emptiness of my need!

I do not doubt, sir, that you can do this for me,  
if you are willing to ask that much for me of my judge  
who is your beloved friend ("dilectum dilectorem tuum").

(Prayer 14.106–121:187–88)]

Through God, the saint has a "super-abundance" ("inundantiae exundantia") of goodness and mercy with which he can cause Anselm's soul to overflow ("inundabit"), as though the two were seamlessly joined. The pure poetry Anselm uses in this passage deserves attention; he seems to have thought of every possible word to connote an overflowing fullness that the saint possesses ("exundantiam," "perpetuam plenus inundantiam," "abundantia," "plenitudine," "copia," "exundantia") many of which, when coupled with their verbs, further suggest flowing,

flooding, and filling up (“fluit,” “diluatur,” “replebit”)—as though the activity were natural and inevitable on the saint’s part. But this is not the confluence of a tributary and a river. It is a flood pouring into a desert. The saint is as abundantly good (“bonorum tuorum inundantia”) as Anselm is bad (“malorum meorum abundantia”), as expressed in parallel phrases. Anselm, the sinner, is empty and indigent (“vacuitatem,” “indigentia,” “egestatis”), in utter need of the saint to share his goodness.

The friendships in these two *Prayers* are inherently unequal, hierarchical, and non-reciprocal, which could not be more starkly opposed to classical models of friendship that Anselm inherited through Cassian, if not directly from Cicero himself. In such models, friendship must operate between two people of equal virtue and plenitude, so that friendship derives not from need but a desire to share one’s goodness with the friend, which creates further virtuous activity. All major philosophers after Plato, including Aristotle, Cicero, Seneca, Augustine, and Cassian vociferously deny that one who needs something from the potential friend can ever reach the highest summit of friendship. The virtuous man in pre-Christian literature is the Stoic, self-sufficient one. In friendships based on need, once that is met, the friendship dissipates along with the grounds on which the friendship is based. But in transferring friendship to the saints, Anselm ensures that the foundation of their friendship will never falter because the sinner’s need for divine grace is not transitory, as is a need for material goods or affection, which pre-Anselmian authors of friendship frown upon. The saint is the friend for Anselm precisely because he is the storehouse of goodness, derived from God, which Anselm believes can and should be transferred to the petitioner who will never not need it. Friendship in its Christian discourse with saints is necessarily unequal because the need for the other’s abundance of grace and virtue will never evaporate as long as one sins.

Friendships of timeless virtue in the classics have yielded to contingency, as in the *Prayer to St Peter*, in which both Peter’s and Anselm’s identities change according to Anselm’s needs. Contingent saints come between the sinner and a non-contingent God who is, as Anselm exclaims twenty-four times in nineteen prayers, a terrifying Judge (“iudex” or “accusator”), as in his *Prayer to St Stephen*:

Ecce enim astat reus ante tremendum iudicem. Accusatur multis et magnis offensis. Convincitur teste propria conscientia et testibus oculis ipsius iudicis. Bona non egit quae male actis compenset. Nullum familiarem iudicis aliquo praeterito obsequio meruit intercessorem, omnes offendendo meruit accusatores. Iudex terribiliter districtus, intolerabiliter severus, immoderate offensus, vehementer iratus; sententia eius semel prolata immutabilis. (Or. 13.19–24:50)

[For see, the accused stands before the tremendous Judge.  
He is accused of many and great offenses.  
He has done no good deeds

that can be weighed against the bad ones.

He has not deserved to have a friend of the Judge  
to act as his advocate because of some former service;  
having offended everyone, he deserves to be accused.

Terrible is the severity of the Judge,  
intolerably strict, for the offence against him is huge,  
and he is exceedingly wrathful.

Once given, his sentence cannot be changed. (Prayer 13.34–46:175)]

Unlike the loving, human God of Bernard of Clairvaux and Aelred of Rievaulx in the twelfth century, Anselm's God is a terrifying arbiter of justice, unsympathetic toward personal circumstances, intolerably strict ("intolerabiliter severus"), and exceedingly wrathful ("vehementer iratus"); He is, in a word, "immutabilis." Anselm is utterly terrified of the God-judge of whom he is no friend ("nullum familiarem iudicis"). But Anselm finds in the saints friends of the judge like Paul to whom he declares:

Domine, tu quoque dicis te ipsum "omnibus omnia factum," "ut omnes" lucrificas.  
Amice dei, exempla aliorum me faciunt praesumere, dicta tua me hortantur confidere.  
(Or. 10.135–37:38)

[Sir, you once said yourself that you "were made all things  
to all men, that you might gain all" (Cf. 1 Cor 9.22).  
Friend of God ("Amice dei"), the example of others makes me bold,  
your words draw me to have confidence. (Prayer 10.278–81:149)]

Anselm holds Paul to his words and reminds him that he must be as elastic in his dispensation of mercy as the sinner is mutable, ever changing and sinning anew. Understanding the nuances of the sinner's mind, Paul must change his identity and meet Anselm, stupefied by sin, wherever he is.

Intercession is the ultimate friendly activity. Anselm hopes that the saints, as friends of God and of himself, will amicably triangulate the three parties. Sin produces sufficient shame to prevent the sinner from talking to God directly, leaving Anselm trapped inside of himself in a state of aphasia, unable to articulate himself to God unless one who understands his language intercedes; in his *Prayer to St Nicholas* he thus explains his moral, linguistic, and devotional deficiencies:

Sed altissimus est et infirmus sum: quomodo attinget vox mea ad illum? Levabo super me animam meam, ut intendat in eum qui est super eam, si forte vocatus audiat eam. Sed utique iustissimus est et nimis iniquus sum: quomodo audiet clamorem meum? Intrabo intra me ipsum, excludam omnia praeter illum et me ipsum, et effundam animam meam et quae intra me sunt ante ipsum. Excitabo ut dolens et dolendus affectum meum, expandam aerumnas meas ante eum, si forte illa sua magna pietas moveat eum.



Sed nimis immensa, nimis infinita sunt delicta mea; non sufficit sine intercessore, nec susceptibilis est oratio mea. Rogabo aliquem de illis magnis familiaribus dei, si forte illum audiat pro me deus. Vocabo Nicolaum, illum magnum confessorem.

(*Or.* 14.8–18:55)

[But he is Most High, and I am weak;  
how can my voice reach up to him?  
I will lift up my soul above myself  
that it may come before him who is above it,  
perhaps he will hear me when I call.  
But then he is Most Just, and I have greatly sinned;  
how should he hear my cry?  
I will enter into my inmost being,  
exclude everything except him and myself,  
and before him I will pour out my soul and all that is in me.  
I will stir up my mind to grieve,  
and with grieving love  
I will spread out my hardship before him  
and perhaps his great goodness may move him.  
But my sins are without bounds or limits,  
my prayer will not be heard,  
all this is not enough without an intercessor.  
I will pray to one of the great friends of God ("familiaribus dei")  
and perhaps God will hear him on my behalf.  
I will call upon Nicholas, that great confessor.

(*Prayer* 14.9–28:184–85)]

Anselm attempts a mystical experience with God by himself but fails miserably. He floods his *Prayer* with potential mystical language, speaking of rising above himself and his sins ("Levabo super me animam meam"), meeting God where He is in His holiness, and entering into his mind and excluding everything in the world except himself and God ("Intrabo intra me ipsum, excludam omnia præter illum et me ipsum"). Engaging in negative, or apophatic, mysticism, Anselm hopes to approach God by transcending the world.<sup>75</sup> He echoes the *Proslogion*: "Intra in cubiculum mentis tuæ, exclude omnia præter deum et quæ te iuvent ad quærendum eum" (*Pros.* 1:1.97) ("Enter into the inner chamber of your mind, and leave behind all things except for God and those things that help you seek him"). But, as we see, while mystical experience in the *Prayer* includes only God and Anselm, the one in the *Proslogion* includes others; only if Anselm converts to positive mysticism and brings those who aid him in seeking God can he succeed.

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<sup>75</sup> "Negative mysticism" is understood to be union with God produced by negating everything outside of one's own soul and God. "Positive mysticism," on the other hand, uses the things of the world to understand and achieve union with God.

Finally, the saint-friend offers an opportunity for self-examination, which hinges on the potential purification of the sinner for the kingdom of heaven. For Anselm, fruitful self-exploration involves meditating not on one's current state—indeed, as we have seen, this leads only to confusion and dread—but on what one can be via the saint. Anselm prays to John the Baptist, “quem gratia fecit tam amicum dei” (*Prayer* 8.27:127; “whom grace has made such a friend of God,” *Or.* 8.13–14:26):

Vere, domine, fateor: iniquitas mea me fecit talem, sed te talem non tu, sed gratia dei tecum. Memento ergo, domine, ut sicut gratia dei te sic sublimavit, sic misericordia tu erigat quem culpa sua sic humiliavit. (*Or.* 8.16–18:26)

[Truly, sir, I admit this:  
my sins have made me what I am,  
but you have not made yourself what you are,  
but the grace of God with you.  
So remember, sir,  
that as the grace of God made you so high,  
so your mercy can raise him up  
who is laid so low by his guilt.

(*Prayer* 8.33–39:128)]

Anselm understands that without mercy, his only identity is that of a sinner. And so he reminds John that God's grace (“gratia dei”) has made John who he is, not any action taken by himself. Salvation occurs not by our own works, or attempts to examine the self, or communication with God directly, but only through the aid of a friend who can speak to God and intercede on our behalf. Anselm sees himself for what he has the potential to become through John's intercession, just as John before him was transformed through grace. The true self, understood as the *imago dei*, cannot be separated from the terms of redemption and mercy, for they are the lens through which Anselm understands himself, in his potential form, becoming once again the *imago dei*. Knowledge of the self in Anselmian terms requires not an entering into the self, which Anselm never succeeds at doing, but an escape from the torpor of the self and an understanding of one's identity through relationships, with friends, particularly saints.

## The Metonymic Friend

Anselm's *Prayers to St John the Evangelist* mark the culmination of friendship in his collection. Anselm exalts John's famous friendship (“famosa familiaritas,” *Or.* 11.12:42) with Christ on earth and God in heaven, which here forms Anselm's master narrative, allowing him to request the friendship of both John, since God graciously gave His to John, and Christ, since he is John's friend. According to

Anselm's logic of friendship, neither can exclude him from friendship. Only by acknowledging the ruptures in this triangulated friendship, however, can Anselm negotiate the friendship of all three.

Here, friendship changes from metaphor to metonymy. While Anselm has understood friendship metaphorically (the other self, the shepherd and his sheep, plenitude complementing indigence, etc.), he now invokes his philosophy of the Atonement, the ability of one man to stand in for another—or all of humankind—to assume the punishment for sin. In this metonymic framework, the sinner becomes so subsumed in the identity of the saint that God cannot damn him. For such a friendship to work, however, it must first be hierarchical and non-reciprocal.

Anselm initially contemplates the apparently seamless friendship of John and Christ on earth. In their intimacy, John was the “best beloved of the apostles of God” (“dilectissime apostolorum dei”), “pre-eminent in the love of God / among so many who were eminently loved” (“praecipue dilecte deo inter tam praecipue dilectos eius”), who “reclined familiarly / on the glorious breast of the Most High” (“cui familiare fuit recumbere supra illud gloriosum pectus altissimi,” *Prayer* 11.3–5, 8–9:157; *Or.* 11.4–7:42). Anselm is the first in the Middle Ages to stress the friendship of John and Christ at the Last Supper. Earlier writers express reservations about this apostolic moment, privileging the harmony of community instead, including Cassian, Anselm's principal source on friendship.<sup>76</sup> For if Christ loved John more than the other apostles, then the apostolic community, with “cor et anima una” (Acts 4.32), exalted as the paradigm of medieval monastic life, fractures. Anselm considers friendship valuable enough to take this risk, so long as it grows out of and symbolically reflects communal unity.<sup>77</sup>

Anselm establishes the metonymy of Christ and John's friendship, only, initially, to be terrified at the implications. He reminds John that God gave him to His mother (“substituit”) as her son in place of himself (“pro se”), and so John literally took the place of Christ (*Or.* 11.8:42). But he discovers a disconcerting problem with praying to John as the friend of God:

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<sup>76</sup> On the potential ruptures that friendship could cause within the community see Southern, *Portrait*, 140, and McGuire, *Friendship and Community*, 134–79. McGuire notes that, before Anselm, Peter Damian used this moment between John and Christ to symbolize John's wisdom and purity, not friendship. Cassian argues that Christ showed affection to John because of his virginity: *Collationes*, ed. Michael Petschenig. *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, 13 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2004), 16.14.3:449. Ward, *The Prayers and Meditations*, writes, “Perhaps this is one of the earliest instances of this picture of Christ with the beloved disciple being detached from the whole setting of the Last Supper, and used as an instance of friendship,” 67.

<sup>77</sup> McGuire, *Friendship and Community*, 214–15, 219.

Ecce enim dum conor confortari per tuam apud deum familiaritatem, plus cogor per eandem deterreri propter meam contra deum pravitatem. Etenim, o dilecte dei, cum peccavi in dilectorem tuum, certus sum meruisse me odium quoque tuum. O reatus immoderatus, reatus contra deum, qui non solum ipsum offendit, sed et illos qui intercedere possunt apud eum! Verum enim est quia criminosus dei digne odiosus est amicis dei. Nec solum amicis eius, sed certe et sibimet et omni creaturae eius.

(*Or.* 11.19–27:42–43)

[For lo, when I try to find comfort  
in your friendship ("familiaritatem") with God,  
I am compelled to hold back from that very friendship  
because of my sin against God.  
Beloved of God,  
because I have sinned against your beloved,  
I am certain that I have deserved your hatred also.  
O immoderate offence, offence against God,  
that offends not only him,  
but also those who are able to intercede before him.  
Indeed an offence against God deserves to be hated  
by the friends of God ("amicis dei"),  
and not only by his friends ("amicis eius"),  
but by himself and all his creatures.

(*Prayer* 11.42–51:158)]

This is the terrifying flip side of classical platitudes on the seamless unanimity of friends. If Anselm has offended God, then, metonymically, he has also angered His like-minded friend John, and should expect no help from a will unilaterally aligned against him. If one loves God, as John does, then he must hate sin, as God does. He must shun Anselm who is completely defined by sin. Just as Anselm in his *Prayer to St Paul* blushes ("erubescere," *Or.* 10.29:34) in the face of God's creatures, because of his own sinful condition, he reenacts this moment of abjuration with John. The more Anselm thinks about sin and the human and divine relationships that it infects, the more hopeless he feels as every potential friend becomes an enemy.

Anselm's only choice, it seems, is to drive a wedge between God and John. It appears impossible for all three to be friends. Paradoxically, he needs to convince John both to put aside his friendship with God to have his own separate and merciful will and to maintain his powerful friendship with God, so that God will still listen to him as he asks him to spare Anselm for the sake of John, a friend. John must simultaneously be and not be the friend of God. But Anselm solves this problem by clarifying the distinctions of his request and employing the logic of metonymy:

Si tibi gloriosum pectus illud fuit familiare reclinatorium, rogo sit idem mihi per te salutare propitiatorium. Fateor, domine mi, dilecte dei, quia iuste tu quoque iratus es in deum dilectorem tuum peccanti, sed certe solet dominus per amicum pacari servo

supplicanti . . . Non est, dilecte dei, non est contra dei dilectionem, si subvenis reo eius, non defendendo sed per intercessionem. Non obtendo iniquitatis meae defensionem nec opto defendentem, sed prodo confessionem et quaero interventionem. Amice dei, ne deutes illum dei vel tuum esse inimicum, qui quantum potest amando credit et confitetur deum tuum esse amicum. Si credo, si confiteor, si volo amare tibi concessum tantum amorem dei. (Or. 11.55–65:44)

[If that glorious breast  
was a familiar place for you to lean upon,  
I ask that through you it may become to me  
a place of salvation.  
I confess, sir, beloved of God, that you are right to be angry  
with one who has sinned against your beloved God,  
but it is certain that the Lord will spare a suppliant servant  
for the sake of his friend (“per amicum”) . . .  
Beloved of God, it is not contrary to the love of God  
if you help one of his accused,  
not by defending him, but by interceding for him.  
I do not ask you to defend my iniquity,  
nor do I want it defended,  
but I make confession of it and seek for intervention.  
Friend of God (“Amice dei”)  
do not count him God’s enemy or yours  
who, with as much love as he can, confesses and believes  
God to be your friend (“tuum amicum”). (Prayer 11.108–25:160–61)]

In good monastic form, Anselm meditates on the glorious breast upon which John reclined at the Last Supper, but imagines himself taking John’s place. He metonymically inserts himself into the redemption narrative, turning John’s “familiar place for reclining” (“familiare reclinatorium”) into the intimate contact point for himself to share in God’s love. Though John, like God, may be obliged to turn his favorable eye from Anselm, Anselm boldly reminds John that Anselm’s friendship with God via John can itself activate God’s mercy. As Anselm emphasizes the interchangeability of humans, it is as though Anselm has become John, assuming his personhood, and should thus be forgiven by God because of this merging of identities. God will forgive not because Anselm *qua* Anselm is a friend of God, but because Anselm *qua* John is. Briefly, John’s agency is minimized; he must merely let Anselm love him and be his friend, with no reciprocity, so that John can stay on good terms with God who despises sin. Once Anselm has non-reciprocally become friends with John, he metonymically becomes friends with God. And any friend of God will be a true friend of John, completing the triangulation.

Anselm believes in God not because He is omnipotent, merciful, or even real, but because He is a friend. The chiasmus of the Latin (“Amice dei . . . credit et

confitetur deum tuum esse amicum") suggests that Anselm's belief in friendship as a means to salvation is grammatically embedded in his thought: he addresses John through a speech act as the "amicus dei" precisely to tell him that he believes that John is the "amicus dei." The transformational role of Christ's atonement fundamentally structures this friendship: Anselm believes that every person whom Christ befriended on earth was metonymically made recipient and dispenser of His power and love. Anselm sanctifies all friendships by creating the conditions by which the friend transforms our relationship with God.

But even after Anselm has logically argued his way into this friendship of three, he must continue to assert its existence and efficacy. He once again invokes the metonymic chain at work:

Domine, pro cuius nomine misereris peccatoris tui, si damnas orantem per nomen dilecti tui? Domine, sub quo tegmine protegitur, si sub nomine dilecti tui percutitur? Ubi est refugium, si sub dilecto tuo est periculum? Non sentiat, domine, non sentiat odium tuum qui fugit ad dilectum tuum. (Or. 11.76–80:44)

[Lord, by what name will you have mercy upon sinners  
if you condemn someone who prays  
by the name of your beloved?

Lord, under what cover is there protection,  
if under the name of your beloved there is punishment?  
Where is there refuge if with your beloved there is peril?  
Lord, do not feel hatred for him who flees to your beloved.

(Prayer 11.153–59:161)]

Piling up prepositions ("per, sub, ad") to express his metonymic relationship to God's beloved or to merely the name of John, Anselm secures God's mercy *through* John. Because of Anselm's pervasive belief in the ability of one man to stand in for another, he cleverly notes that God's damning him would be like damning John who, following the metonymic chain, was a stand-in for Christ after the Crucifixion, as Anselm has earlier reminded John. That is ontologically impossible, for God would be damning himself. John's very name and identity provide protection to anyone invoking him as a friend.

In the many letters in which Anselm offers intercession on behalf of a friend, one especially demonstrates belief in the power of metonymy. As abbot of Bec, Anselm writes to Prior Henry and the monks at Canterbury on behalf of one Moses, an embezzling monk who deserted Canterbury, fleeing to Bec. He sends the letter to Canterbury with Moses, who, the letter insists, is "from the soles of his feet to the crown of his head . . . all over clad in the skin of your servant, brother Anselm" ("[A] planta pedis usque ad verticem in circuitu pelle servi vestri fratris Anselmi indutum") (Ep.140.32–33):

Si quis ergo vestrum est, in quem aliquando sponte peccavi, primus in illo pro praedicta culpa pellem meam percutiat, et os meum a cibo prohibeat. Post hanc vero culpam pellem meam fratri Moysi studiosissime commendo, sicut suam diligit, ad custodiendum, vobis autem non adeo ad parcendum. Nam si eius culpa pellis mea laesa aut gravius excussa fuerit, ab illo exigam; si quis autem ei pepercerit, illi gratias agam.  
(Ep. 140.34–39:3.286–87)

[If, therefore, there is anyone among you against whom I wilfully sinned at any time, let him first hit my skin in his place for that afore-mentioned sin, and keep my mouth from food. After this sin, I commend my skin most diligently to brother Moses to be taken care of and loved as his own, and to you, however, not exactly to be spared. If, however, because of his sin, my skin is hurt or gravely beaten I shall demand it of him; but if anyone spares it I shall thank him.  
(Letter 140:1.323)]

Clothed in Anselm's skin, Moses assumes the punishment not for his actions, but for Anselm, if he has committed any sin. This must have given any monk pause in punishing Moses, knowing that he was actually harming Anselm, his beloved brother. Similarly, in his *Prayer to John*, Anselm aims to persuade God and John that the damnation of one who prays in the name of God's beloved is effectively a damnation of John himself. On the human and divine level, Anselm, buttressed by his Atonement theology, demonstrates that in the unity of God's creation one person can stand in for another, and that he can use this interchangeability as a bargaining chip to gain the goodwill of God and other friends alike. Love and friendship initially lack the reciprocity lauded by classical authors (in the case of Anselm who must first befriend John without John's befriending him, and Moses who receives Anselm's skin as a gift), but both have no limits, as the benefactors and beneficiaries of love and friendship endlessly deflect them onto others, eternally triangulating friendship as a sign of unity.

## The Loving Friend

Despite the human friend's physical and psychological distance, or, perhaps, because of them, Anselm still finds value in friendship for reasons similar to those of Aristotle, Cicero, Seneca, and Cassian. One may never be able to know the friend clearly, to know oneself through the friend, or to engage in reciprocity, but, as Anselm discovers in his *Oratio pro amicis* (*Prayer for Friends*), the act of loving friends activates virtue within oneself that pleases God. While Anselm beseeches God to show mercy to all people ("omnibus"), he admits that he prays especially for close friends because God's love has impressed them upon his heart ("sicut specialiter et familiarius cordi meo impressit amor tuus") (*Or.* 18.25–26:72). In Anselm's mind, metonymy allows one to love the entire community through friends, as he writes letters to several friends directing them to pass on the

message to other friends, because he writes to all of them in addressing one. The addressee must simply exchange names on the letter.<sup>78</sup>

Anselm initially hesitates to pray for friends for the same reason that he felt disconnected from them in the first place. Although he wants to intercede and pray for friends, he fears that his own sin must be forgiven and mentally resolved before he can be an efficacious intercessor for friends:

Vult, vult, pie domine, vult servus tuus orare te pro amicis suis, sed revocatur reus tuus a delictis suis. Qui enim mihi veniam exorare non sufficio: qua fronte gratiam tuam aliis rogare praesumo? Et qui anxius intercessores quaero: qua fiducia pro aliis intercedo?  
(*Or.* 18.28–32:72)

[My good Lord,  
as your servant I long to pray to you for my friends (“amicis”),  
but as your debtor I am held back by my sins.  
For I am not able to pray for my own pardon,  
how then can I dare to ask openly  
for your grace for others?  
I anxiously seek intercessors on my own behalf,  
how then shall I be so bold as to intercede for others? (*Prayer* 18.48–55:213)]

In his clearest statement that intercession is friendly activity, Anselm tells God that he wants to be to his friends what all of the saints have been to him, but discovers the limits of this analogy. Anselm emphatically desires (“vult, vult . . . vult”) to pray for friends but fears that he is unworthy to intercede for those who would only distract him from the solicitude (“sollicitus”) he should feel for his own sins.

But Anselm does not succumb to his paralysis:

Dimittam ergo quod iubes, quia feci quod prohibes? Immo quia praesumpsi prohibita, amplectar imperata, si forte oboedientia sanet praesumptionem, si forte “caritas” operiat “multitudinem peccatorum” meorum. (*Or.* 18.34–36:72)

[Shall I then leave off from doing what you command  
because I have done what you have forbidden?

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<sup>78</sup>

Anselm ends his letter to Gundulf by writing “Domno Henrico misi alteram epistolam; sed commutatis vestris nominibus per omnia, et tua sit sua et sua sit tua,” Ep. 4.41–42:105 (“I sent another letter to Dom Henry, but only exchange your names in everything I have said, and yours may be his and his may be yours”), Letter 4:1.82; and writes to Henry the monk, “Litteras quas domno Gondulfo misi, mutato nomine tuas, et tuas illius puta. Quidquid enim dilectio nostra aut sese intimando aut aliquid rogando scribit aut tibi aut illi, hoc ipsum dicit et tibi et illi,” Ep. 5.28–30:107 (“Consider as your own the letter I sent to Dom Gundulf, by changing his name to yours and yours to his. For anything our love, whether revealing itself or requesting something, writes either to you or to him, it says the very same both to you and to him”), Letter 5:1.84. On the remarkable multiplicity of recipients of identical letters from Anselm, Southern, *Portrait*, writes, “We must . . . envisage a system in which the particular is generalized, but loses nothing of its particularity in the process,” 158.



No, rather since I have presumed so greatly  
in what is forbidden,  
all the more will I embrace what is commanded.

So perhaps obedience may heal presumption,  
and charity may cover the multitude of my sins (Cf. 1 Pet. 4.8).

(*Prayer* 18.62–68:214)]

Praying for and loving friends *is* the way to take care of oneself by earning merit through charity, which fulfills God's commandment. Anselm submits that self-healing involves looking not inward, but outward to others with love. Authorizing himself as an intercessor, Anselm suggests that if sin makes his *Prayer* unworthy to be heard, it should be heard, nonetheless, because it is the commandment of God. This may be the only instance in all of Anselm's works in which he suggests that we might be able to win favor in God's eyes through works. Pinning God into a corner, Anselm has found his narrative hook to persuade Him. God should not only accept his prayers but magnify them beyond Anselm's meek ability to love, so that love again becomes endlessly absorbed. With God as the intercessor for human friendships, friendship is now properly articulated only through God. If friendship has been the problem for Anselm, he finds that, insofar as one loves, it is also the solution.

## Conclusion

In expressing ideals of friendship, Anselm works roughly within the parameters of traditional medieval genres. His *Prayers* follow the basic structure that he inherited, with the address to the saint and the petition for mercy based on an event in the saint's life, inclining him toward mercy. And, in a monastic mode, Anselm meditates on human friendship, considering its value and sweetness, though keeping it strangely impervious to temporal and spatial changes as though it were an illusion, while pondering the splendor of saint-friends who rescue him from the hideousness of sin that burdens him.

And yet, in invoking the saints as friends in his *Prayers*, Anselm revolutionizes both friendship and prayer. Going so far as to use the saints to bypass the painful self-examination of contrition and conversion, by performing linguistic tricks to effect mercy, Anselm, a logician as well as a monk, cannot feel secure with just one traditional path to redemption, and so explores every logical route. He analyzes every aspect of friendship and stretches its redemptive and loving possibilities well beyond the limits that he inherited, viewing every friendship as transformed by and transformative through the love of God and the Redemption. Indeed, Christ died for friends He made on Earth who would later go on to become the

saints to whom Anselm prays. Self-awareness occurs in the vision of a potential self, transformed through grace, as Anselm manipulates the principles of friendship in order to secure psychologically his salvation and intercede for and love others. Here, as everywhere with Anselm, the answer lies within the self, but it is only a self that comes into being through an awareness of others.

## Chapter 7

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### Monastic Friendship in Theory and in Action in the Twelfth Century

Friendship and love are recurrent motifs in the literature of the twelfth century. Courtly love gives the poetry of the age its characteristic voice. New ideas of sublime, divine love inspired a growing literature of affective spirituality and also transformed the theology of the Christian West. Defining and laying claim to *caritas*, that form of love rendered so uncomfortably in modern idiom as “charity,” became the battleground of a religious revolution driven by the new monastic orders with their emphasis on a personal relationship to a loving God. The ties of friendship, which had long bound rulers and followers, patrons and clients, communities and corporations in networks of allegiance and mutual support found new theorists and new formulations and came to be articulated as one of the organizing principles of political thought.

Celebration and analysis of the closest of human bonds was one of the unifying themes of the literate culture of what has become known as the twelfth-century Renaissance. In a society whose intellectual endeavors were driven increasingly by reason and the systematic organization of knowledge, the intellectual heritage of Aristotelian and Ciceronian friendship was refashioned by new attempts to give definitive formulation to concepts of friendship and love and to understand human society through them.<sup>1</sup> This rediscovery of friendship not only coincided

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<sup>1</sup> There is a very extensive literature on these aspects of the culture of the eleventh to thirteenth centuries; recent studies dealing specifically with friendship include Huguette Legros, *L'Amitié dans les chansons de geste à l'époque romane* (Provence: Publications de l'Université de Provence, 2001); Martha G. Newman, *The Boundaries of Charity: Cistercian Culture and Ecclesiastical Reform 1098–1180* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1995); Bénédicte Sère, *Penser l'amitié au Moyen Âge: Étude historique des commentaires sur les livres VIII et IX de l'Éthique à Nicomaque (XIIIè–XVè siècle)*. Bibliothèque d'histoire culturelle du Moyen Âge (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007);

with but was in part engendered by an extraordinary resurgence of letter-writing. The twelfth century was one of those periods in European history when the arts of epistolary composition and the compilation for posterity of collections of letters were regarded as the highest of literary accomplishments.<sup>2</sup> Letters were both vehicles for the erudite expression of ideal love and the medium of friendly exchange, connecting both intellectuals and ideas in a culture where mutual professions of love and friendship became the standard currency of civilized discourse.

Monastic writers made important contributions to this culture of love and friendship.<sup>3</sup> The Cistercians' *Carta Caritatis* ("Charter of Love"), the document which set out the organizational structure of the order, expressed a new vision of monastic communities united, wherever they were, by permanent ties of love.<sup>4</sup> Love was thus accorded a place even in administrative dispositions. The Cistercians proclaimed themselves restorers of the original purity of the *Rule of Saint Benedict*, but their articulation of an ascetic piety given form by love within the community is profoundly different from the tone of impersonal equality, withdrawal, and self-abnegation of the *Rule*.<sup>5</sup> St Anselm, the Benedictine abbot of Bec and later archbishop of Canterbury, and one of the few medieval monastic thinkers generally accorded a central place in the development of Western philosophical thought, made friendship integral to his theology and his monastic philosophy, developing, in a series of letters to his monks, a new ideal of spiritual friendship in which human relationships were transcended and became part of the

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Claudia Garnier, *Amicus Amicis Inimicus Inimicis: Politische Freundschaft und fürstliche Netzwerke im 13. Jahrhundert*. Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 2000); see also the papers collected in *Friendship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Julian Haseldine, (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1999), and the bibliography in progress at [www.univie.ac.at/amicitia](http://www.univie.ac.at/amicitia) (last accessed on Aug. 1, 2010) in association with the British Academy-sponsored *Medieval Friendship Networks* project. The classic work on reason is Alexander Murray, *Reason and Society in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), and now Richard W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*, 2 vols. (Oxford and Cambridge MA: Blackwell, 1995, 2001); see also the overview of the wider literature in Robert N. Swanson, *The Twelfth-Century Renaissance* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1999).

<sup>2</sup> See Giles Constable, *Letters and Letter-Collections*. Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental, 17 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1976); Julian Haseldine, "Epistolography," *Medieval Latin: An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide*, ed. Frank A. C. Mantello and Arthur G. Rigg (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1996), 650–58.

<sup>3</sup> The two most influential contributions to the study of this aspect of monastic culture have been Jean Leclercq, *Monks and Love in Twelfth-Century France* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), and Brian Patrick McGuire, *Friendship and Community: The Monastic Experience 350–1250*. Cistercian Studies Series, 95 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1988).

<sup>4</sup> For the *Carta Caritatis*, see *Les Plus anciens textes de Cîteaux*, ed. Jean de la Croix Bouton and Jean-Baptiste Van Damme (Achel: Abbaye Cistercienne, 1974), 132–42 (cf. 107–25 for the earlier recensions and related documents).

<sup>5</sup> See Newman, *The Boundaries of Charity*, 42–66 (see note 1).

ascent to God.<sup>6</sup> Around the middle of the twelfth century, the English Cistercian abbot Aelred of Rievaulx, in two treatises, gave definitive articulation to the monastic ideal of love and friendship.<sup>7</sup> If *caritas* was now at the heart of the religious vocation, Aelred's *De Speculo Caritatis* (*The Mirror of Charity*) set friendship in turn at the heart of monastic *caritas*.<sup>8</sup> In doing so, he overturned the *Rule*'s prohibition on special personal relationships and suspicion of friendship.<sup>9</sup>

Around two decades later, in a treatise often regarded as one of the great early contributions to European humanistic literature, *De Spirituali Amicitia* (*On Spiritual Friendship*), he raised friendship to a new level of spiritual and theological importance. In the prologue to this treatise Aelred related how in his youth as a courtier he had been both inspired and troubled by his reading of Cicero's treatise *De Amicitia* (*On Friendship*), and now wished to formulate a Christian expression of this attractive yet dangerous pagan ideal.<sup>10</sup> Central to Aelred's solution was again his formulation of the critical relationship between Christian *caritas* and the friendship to which he was so attracted:

Non enim amicos solum, sed et inimicos sinu dilectionis excipere, caritatis lege compellimur. Amicos autem eos solos dicimus, quibus cor nostrum, et quidquid in illo est, committere non formidamus;<sup>11</sup>

[For we are compelled by the law of charity to receive in the embrace of love not only our friends but also our enemies [cf. Matt. 5:44; Luke 6:27]. But only those do we call friends to whom we can fearlessly entrust our heart and all its secrets.]<sup>12</sup>

<sup>6</sup> See Richard W. Southern, *Saint Anselm and his Biographer: A Study of Monastic Life and Thought 1059–c.1130* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), 67–76, id., *Saint Anselm: A Portrait in a Landscape* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 138–65.

<sup>7</sup> The two treatises, *De Speculo Caritatis* and *De Spirituali Amicitia*, are both ed. in *Aelredi Rievallensis Opera Omnia* 1., *opera ascetica*, ed. A. Hoste and C. H. Talbot. Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalis, 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1971), 2–161, 279–350; English translations: Elizabeth Connor, *Aelred of Rievaulx: The Mirror of Charity*. Cistercian Fathers Series, 17 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1990); Mary E. Laker, *Aelred of Rievaulx: Spiritual Friendship*. Cistercian Fathers Series, 5 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1977).

<sup>8</sup> The treatise has three parts: the first takes as its starting point the relationship between self-love and the love of God (the traditional starting point for spiritual ascent literature, deriving ultimately from the *Rule of Saint Benedict*'s steps of humility), the second with the physical works and discipline of monastic life, and the third, culminating, part with the role of human relationships in the pursuit of monastic ideals.

<sup>9</sup> The *Rule* does not explicitly forbid *amicitia*, but it places restrictions on different aspects of personal relationships (especially in chapters 2, 54, 63, 69, and 71) and gives friendship no place in monastic life (cf. McGuire, *Friendship and Community*, xiv [see note 3]). See also the Introduction to this volume by Albrecht Classen

<sup>10</sup> *Aelredi Rievallensis Opera Omnia* 1, 287–88; see also Philippe Delhaye, “Deux adaptations du *De Amicitia* de Cicéron au xii<sup>e</sup> siècle,” *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale* 15 (1948): 304–31.

<sup>11</sup> *De Spirituali Amicitia* I. 32: *Aelredi Rievallensis Opera Omnia* 1, 294.

<sup>12</sup> Laker, *Spiritual Friendship*, 58 (see note 7).

For Aelred, *caritas*, the universal love enjoined as a duty on all Christians, was required in the fallen state of humanity, but *amicitia* (friendship) was the original bond which Adam and Eve had enjoyed with God and which the angels continued to enjoy; and it is to this pure and original friendship which all who are saved will ultimately return “cum haec amicitia ad quam hic paucos admittimus, transfundetur in omnes, et ab omnibus refundetur in Deum, cum Deus fuerit omnia in omnibus [cf. 1 Cor. 15: 28]” (“when this friendship, to which here we admit but few, will be outpoured upon all, and by all outpoured upon God, and God shall be all in all”).<sup>13</sup> In these two works Aelred thus resolved the contradictions between the human need for friendship and the *Rule*’s prohibition of special personal ties, and between Ciceronian *amicitia* and Christian *caritas*, while also tackling the practical problems of friendship within the community, of abbatial authority, favoritism, and the danger of cliques, which were the original concerns behind the *Rule*’s prohibitions. Friendship now had an ethically respectable and theologically justified place in monastic philosophy.

But Aelred’s work does not conclude the question of monastic love and friendship. He purportedly composed his first treatise on the subject, sometime around 1142, in response to a letter from his “most loving and beloved friend,” the famous Abbot Bernard of Clairvaux, who had asked his “beloved brother” Aelred to compose a work on love to answer the complaints of some recent converts struggling with the demands of the Cistercian life.<sup>14</sup> This, however, was not a real request; it was a conventional contrivance to offer a dedicatory letter, and so a public seal of approval, for a work which Bernard knew was well advanced. The letter was to stand at the head of the treatise, before Aelred’s preface. We do not know what the personal relationship was between the young Aelred and the greatest Cistercian leader then at the height of his influence and international

<sup>13</sup> *De Spirituali Amicitia* III. 134; trans. Laker, *Spiritual Friendship*, 132 (see note 7); see Julian Haseldine, “Friendship, Equality and Universal Harmony: The Universal and the Particular in Aelred of Rievaulx’s *De Spirituali Amicitia*,” *Friendship East and West: Philosophical Perspectives*, ed. Oliver Leaman (Richmond, UK: Curzon, 1996), 192–214.

<sup>14</sup> “Rogavi fraternitatem tuam . . . ut mihi pauca quaedam scriberes, inter quae etiam quorundam querimoniis, qui de remissioribus ad artiora nituntur, obviares” (“I asked you, my brother, . . . to write a little something for me in reply to the complaints of certain [monks] who are struggling from more remiss to stricter ways”). The letter prefaces the *De Speculo Caritatis* (*Aelredi Rievallensis Opera Omnia* 1, 3–4) and is also no. 523 in the modern edn. of the letters of St Bernard: *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, ed. Jean Leclercq, Henri Rochais, Charles H. Talbot, 8 vols. (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1957–1977) [hereafter *SBO*], vols. 7–8; here 8, 486–89. Bernard signs off “Vale in Christo, dilecte frater” (“Farewell in Christ, dear brother”), and Aelred addresses Bernard as “mi amantissime et desideratissime” (“my most loving and beloved friend”) in the treatise itself (*De Speculo Caritatis* I.26.76: *Aelredi Rievallensis Opera Omnia* 1, 45); translations Connor, *The Mirror of Charity*, 69, 72, 131.

prestige, but they had only recently met for the first time when Aelred passed by Clairvaux on his way to Rome on his abbot's business.<sup>15</sup>

Bernard also had other concerns than struggling converts: he was keen to deflect criticisms of the excessive austerity of the Cistercians. This was part of a wider series of debates and disputes between the new orders, particularly the Cistercians, and traditional monks over the nature of the monastic life and the true interpretation of the *Rule of Saint Benedict*. These disputes were very often formulated in terms of *caritas*, each side claiming that its life best embodied the ideals of monastic charity. They were also fuelled by the Cistercians' accepting of monks from other orders. *Transitus*, or transfer, was only permitted if a monk wished to change to a stricter observance; by accepting such transfers, the Cistercians were laying claim to a stricter, and so implicitly a superior, life, and were often accused in return of excessive austerity which, in the demands it placed on monks, exceeded true *caritas*.<sup>16</sup> Bernard regularly called upon his friends and correspondents to contribute writings and to collaborate with him in the propagation of Cistercian ideals, and Aelred's work was part of his weaponry. We know also that Bernard, like all monastic letter writers, frequently called friends those to whom he could not, in Aelred's words, "fearlessly entrust [his] heart and all its secrets," often addressing strangers and even opponents in apparently intimate terms.<sup>17</sup>

Friendship was never restricted to expressions of spiritual union, but was routinely invoked in appeals, petitions and disputes; both Anselm and Aelred had themselves to engage constantly with the political realities of cultivating the friendships of the allies and patrons of their institutions.<sup>18</sup> A range of political relationships, allegiances, and mutual understandings coexisted with the personal and the spiritual under the name of friendship. What then was the relationship between the "dear brother" Aelred and his "most loving and beloved friend"

<sup>15</sup> The (first) abbot of Rievaulx at the time, William, was Bernard's former secretary; Aelred was part of a delegation to the *curia* during the dispute over the election to the see of York in which the English Cistercians had a strong interest and were supported by Bernard (on the case and Bernard's involvement see *SBO* 8, 491, note to l. 3; the dispute lasted from 1140 to 1147); Aelred himself became abbot of Revesby in 1143 and of Rievaulx in 1147: *The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales, 1. 940–1216*, ed. David Knowles, Christopher N. L. Brooke and Vera C. M. London. 2nd ed. (1972; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 140.

<sup>16</sup> This is the context for Bernard's, therefore rather pointed, use of the terms "*remissioribus*" and "*artiora*" in his letter to Aelred (see above note 14); on the disputes, see David Knowles, *Cistercians and Cluniacs: the Controversy between St Bernard and Peter the Venerable* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955); A. H. Bredero, *Cluny et Cîteaux au douzième siècle* (Amsterdam: APA-Holland University Press, 1985).

<sup>17</sup> For further discussions, see below.

<sup>18</sup> On Anselm and political friendship, see below; Aelred's letter collection has not survived, but on his political activities see Paul Dalton, "Churchmen and the Promotion of Peace in King Stephen's Reign," *Viator* 31 (2000): 79–119.

Bernard which lay behind the production of the greatest theoretical expression of monastic friendship, and what does it tell us about the wider world of friendship in which it was received?

Aelred's concerns in the *De Spirituali Amicitia* were primarily internal: the treatise deals with the inner life of the monastic community. They were also internal in another, more personal sense too, as he strove to resolve his youthful attractions to Cicero and to human friendship with his monastic vocation. Bernard's concerns were external, with the order, its image, its appeal, and its relations with other monastic houses and orders. The circumstances of his letter to Aelred open up different vistas on friendship allowing us to see something of the mechanics behind the transmission of ideas, something perhaps of a propaganda network, but also of the wider context in which ideas of friendship could be relevant. That Aelred began to circulate his ideas under Bernard's auspices shows that they had a wider resonance; nor were these internal and external concerns antipathetic or simply separate.

The Cistercians had rejected child oblation, the practice of accepting young children to be brought up as members of the community, and relied for their survival and growth on adult converts; more fundamentally, they believed in their vision of monasticism as a necessary revival of the highest Christian vocation. Promoting the ideals of the order and defending its image was not a cynical act of partisan rivalry.<sup>19</sup> At the same time, the idea of spiritual friendship drew its power from the fact that it was not a remote theological abstraction but a highly idealized version of what was a real and pervasive social bond and thus drew on notions of society and human relations to which most people would have been able to relate, and which were part of the shared world-view and social experience of monks entering the cloister. We know a lot about the theory and ideals of spiritual friendship from the rich literature which has survived but less about the social reality to which it was partly a response.<sup>20</sup>

Letters are the key to understanding the relationship between the monastic theory of friendship and the social practices that gave it birth and meaning. They were the medium of literate friendly exchange, often themselves treated as tokens of friendship, while at the same time they could be the vehicles for the erudite expression of ideas about friendship. Letters could also be highly conventional in their forms and expressions, and almost all of those that survive do so in letter

<sup>19</sup> For a re-appraisal of Cistercian ideals, including a re-assessment of the traditional picture of success bringing moral decline, see Newman, *The Boundaries of Charity* (see note 1).

<sup>20</sup> Gerd Althoff, *Verwandte, Freunde und Getreue: Zum politischen Stellenwert der Gruppenbindungen im früheren Mittelalter* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1990) was the first modern study to move beyond traditional notions of the *Personenverbandsstaat* and to examine friendship as an integral aspect of more complex political structures; for later work relating specifically to monastic politics, see below (note 157).



collections, highly selective compilations preserved, and often edited, to present a carefully controlled image of the author for posterity. They are not spontaneous outpourings of emotion and were normally intended for a wider audience than the recipient alone.<sup>21</sup> When considering the individual relationships for which letters provide evidence, and the expressions of love and friendship they contain, it is necessary to consider carefully the balance which they necessarily embody between convention and affection. Letters also offer another perspective on the formulation of the relationship between traditional monastic *caritas* and the more selective love and friendship with their wider lay context and pre-Christian history, particularly where external relations, with other communities and with the non-monastic world, are concerned.<sup>22</sup>

Letter collections were produced in unprecedented numbers in the twelfth century. These were mostly by monastic and ecclesiastical authors, but very substantial collections of papal and royal correspondence survive and there is also evidence of wider lay participation in epistolary culture.<sup>23</sup> The contents of these collections ranged from erudite discourses on love and friendship and lengthy spiritual exhortations or meditations to theological disputes, political propaganda, legal business, and appeals and petitions. In what follows, I will look at the culture of friendship as reflected in three of the greatest monastic letter collections produced at the height of the twelfth-century renaissance in the generations after Anselm and broadly contemporaneous with Aelfred of Rievaulx, those of Bernard of Clairvaux, Peter the Venerable, and Peter of Celle.<sup>24</sup>

Bernard of Clairvaux was the dominant figure of the new monasticism; his political influence across Europe became proverbial and his name synonymous with the greatest period of Cistercian expansion. Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, Bernard's contemporary, correspondent, and opponent in the famous

<sup>21</sup> See Constable, *Letters and Letter Collections*; Julian Haseldine, "The Creation of a Literary Memorial: The Letter Collection of Peter of Celle," *Sacris Erudiri* 37 (1997): 333–79.

<sup>22</sup> See below pp.

<sup>23</sup> See Constable, *Letters and Letter Collections*, 31–38; on lay participation in epistolary culture, see David Crouch, "Between Three Realms: The Acts of Waleran II, Count of Meulan and Worcester," *Records, Administration and Aristocratic Society in the Anglo-Norman Realm*, ed. David Crook and Nicholas Vincent (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell, 2009), 75–90.

<sup>24</sup> The letters of Bernard of Clairvaux are ed. in *SBO* 7–8; most are trans. in Bruno Scott James, *The Letters of St Bernard of Clairvaux*, 2nd ed. introduction [and with additional material] by Beverly M. Kienzle (Stroud: Sutton, 1998) [hereafter *BSJ*]; additional and updated annotation is provided in *Opere di San Bernardo VI 1/2 (Lettere)*, ed. Ferruccio Gastaldelli (Milan: Scriptorium Claravallense, Fondazione di Studi Cisterciensi, 1986–1987). For the letters of Peter the Venerable, see *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, ed. Giles Constable, 2 vols. Harvard Historical Studies, 78 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967) [hereafter *LPV*] (there is currently no complete English trans.); and for the letters of Peter of Celle, *The Letters of Peter of Celle*, ed. Julian Haseldine. Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) [hereafter *LPC*] (with facing-page trans.). Orthography of quotations follows these editions; translations not acknowledged are my own.

Cistercian-Cluniac disputes, but also his professed friend, was the head of Europe's largest monastic congregation and the leading figure of traditional monasticism, and perhaps the only monastic figure of a comparable stature and influence to Bernard. Peter of Celle, Benedictine abbot successively of Montier-la-Celle and Saint-Rémi, Reims, in the next generation, and a correspondent in his early years of both older men, was famous for his cultivation of relations with different monastic orders and his promotion of the ideals of monastic harmony; his letters exemplify more than any others the erudite and enlightened pursuit of love and friendship.<sup>25</sup> These collections are directly comparable in a number of ways: they are each sender's collections, containing mostly letters by the author with very few replies or letters received; they were all compiled during or shortly after the authors' lifetimes by their own closest followers, and all are highly selective, showing a clear bias towards religious correspondents.<sup>26</sup>

Such collections offer the most important evidence for the monastic culture of friendship beyond that of the treatises, with their concern for the inner life of the monastic community. This, however, is emphatically not evidence simply of real relationships to be set against ideal or theoretical formulations; letters, as we have seen, were always to some degree literary and public in their origins and conception. Rather letter collections offer evidence, firstly, for the profession of friendship in the stylized and public exchanges in which monastic leaders routinely participated, secondly for the active cultivation and maintenance of formal friendship bonds, and thirdly for the practical consequences or uses of such bonds in diplomacy, politics, patronage, allegiance, or dispute resolution, and in the promotion of wider institutional interests.

## The Profession of Friendship

St. Anselm's original letters of spiritual friendship, composed mostly in the later years of the eleventh century, were characterized by Richard W. Southern, their most acute and rigorous modern commentator, as ecstatic evocations of inexpressible feeling.<sup>27</sup> They were addressed to his former monks, both those who

<sup>25</sup> Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux 1115–1153; Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny 1122–1156 (*LPV* 2, 258–69); Peter of Celle, abbot of Montier-la-Celle 1145–1162, abbot of Saint-Rémi, Reims 1162–1181, bishop of Chartres 1181–1203 (*LPC*, xxxi).

<sup>26</sup> See *SBO* 7, ix–xxiv, and 8, 233–38, 451–52; Jean Leclercq, "Lettres de S. Bernard: Histoire ou littérature?" id., *Recueil d'études sur saint Bernard et ses écrits*, 4 vols. (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e letteratura, 1962–1987), 4, 125–225; *LPV* 1, 45–80; Giles Constable, "On Editing the Letters of Peter the Venerable," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 54 (1974): 483–508; *LPC* xxxiv–liii; Haseldine, "The Creation of a Literary Memorial" (see note 21).

<sup>27</sup> Southern, *Saint Anselm and his Biographer*, 67–76 (see note 6); id., *Saint Anselm: A Portrait in a Landscape* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 138–65.

had left to take up positions elsewhere and later those whom he himself left behind when he became archbishop of Canterbury, and mostly took as their starting point the pain of separation. An extract from a letter to one such former monk, Gilbert Crispin, then abbot of Westminster, illustrates the tone and the intense physical imagery of these letters:

Si velim scribere mutuae nostrae dilectionis affectum, timeo ne aut videar ab ignorantibus veritatem excedere, aut necesse sit aliquid veritati subtrahere. Qui affectus quantus et quam verus sit cum multum cognoscerem, quando sese oculo ad oculum, osculo ad osculum, amplexus ad amplexum ostenderet: nunc multo magis experior, cum abesse illum irrecuperabiliter, in quo tanta iucunditate delectabar, intueor . . . . Quoniam ergo nec scribi sufficienter potest quid nobis invicem sit, nec ignoranti loquor, his interim omissis oro vobiscum, ut aliquando nos invicem videntes oculo ad oculum, osculo ad osculum, amplexu ad amplexum non oblitum amorem recolamus.<sup>28</sup>

[If I wished to write about the affection of our mutual love I would be afraid either of appearing to those ignorant of it to overstep the truth, or of being forced to detract something from truth. I often perceived how great and how true this affection was when it displayed itself face to face, lip to lip, embrace to embrace: now when I contemplate how he in whom I delighted with such joy is irretrievably lost, I realize it more . . . . Since, therefore, it is not possible to express adequately in writing what we mean to each other, and since I am not speaking to someone who is ignorant of this, leaving all this aside for the moment, I pray with you that when we see each other again we should once more revive, face to face, lip to lip, embrace to embrace, our unforgotten love.]<sup>29</sup>

The disconcerting problem when trying to understand the sentiments expressed in these letters, however, as Southern noted, was that Anselm directed exactly the same sort of language to other recipients whom he knew far less well personally, including those he had never met, and also on occasion to the entire community. For Anselm this ecstatic love was an intellectual concept articulating the universal divine love which ultimately transcended the individual human relationships of the monastic community and was realized in the ascent to God; it was not an expression of a particular or unique love for any one person.<sup>30</sup> Anselm's letters of spiritual friendship, like Aelred's treatises, were also concerned with internal problems; these were letters to his former companions in religion which sought to resolve the tensions between personal human feelings, life in a community, and the ideals of the monastic vocation. They are different from most of the letters

<sup>28</sup> St Anselm, letter 130, *S. Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi Opera Omnia*, 6 vols., ed. Franciscus S. Schmitt (Edinburgh: Nelson, 1946–1961); here 3, 272–73.

<sup>29</sup> *The Letters of Saint Anselm of Canterbury*, 3 vols., trans. Walter Fröhlich. Cistercian Studies Series, 96, 97, 142, (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1990–1994), 1, 305.

<sup>30</sup> Southern, *Saint Anselm: A Portrait in a Landscape* (see note 6), 143–47, 161–65.

found in other collections, and are indeed in the minority in his own collection.<sup>31</sup> But the implication of Southern's observations and conclusions, that emotional-sounding language cannot on its own be taken as evidence of strong personal feelings, applies to all types of letters of friendship.

Later monastic letter collections contain relatively few passages of the sustained emotional intensity of Anselm's spiritual letters, even in letters of love and friendship to absent friends, but they do contain very many declarations of friendship often couched in terms that seem extravagant and sentimental to modern tastes, and these are likewise addressed to many different types of acquaintance. Their typical expressions of love and friendship are less charged, more measured reassurances of continued friendship. In one letter to an anonymous friend who had evidently feared estrangement, Bernard of Clairvaux wrote:

Cum omni fiducia amicum meum non reposco utique, sed teneo, nec recipio, quia non amisi. Stringo brachiis medullis infixum cordis et non est qui de sinu meo possit eruere [cf. Deut. 32:39]. Novum ex antiquo amplector amicum, quia verae amicitiae non veterascunt, aut verae non fuerunt. Tenebam eum nec dimittam, donec introducam illum in domum matris meae et in cubiculum genitricis meae [Cant. 3: 4]. . . . vester sum et ero quamdiu ero.<sup>32</sup>

[I do not ask for my friend back, because I am confident that I hold him; I do not receive him back because I have never lost him. I cling to him, and there is no one who can take him from me. I embrace again as of old my friend because true friendships never grow old, else they were not true friendships. I shall hold on to him and "I shall not suffer him to go until I bring him into my mother's house and into the chamber of her that bore me." . . . I am yours and shall be yours as long as I live.]<sup>33</sup>

The bond holding them together is true friendship (*vera amicitia*), which never grows old. The concept of true friendship as an eternal, unchanging bond goes back to ancient theory, where it was seen as an aspect of natural virtue, a phenomenon external to the individual and understood in terms of the natural forces of universal harmony, and which at the human level united the virtuous to the public good. This was well-known in the Middle Ages from Cicero's portrayal of disinterested friendship which benefitted the *res publica*, and was appropriated by Christian writers as an extension of divine grace. It was natural virtue or divine grace which distinguished true from false friendship, not private inner feelings or strong emotions, which could be the mark of either.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>31</sup> On Anselm's attitude to political or pragmatic friendships, see below.

<sup>32</sup> Letter 506: *SBO* 8, 464.

<sup>33</sup> Trans. adapted from BSJ (no. 89), 128.

<sup>34</sup> For medieval adaptations of classical ideas of friendship see e.g. James McEvoy, "The Theory of Friendship in the Latin Middle Ages: Hermeneutics, Contextualization and the Transmission and Reception of Ancient Texts and Ideas, from c. AD 350 to c. 1500," *Friendship in Medieval Europe*,

True friendship operated for the general good, false friendship for private gain, and true friendship was subject to laws, one of which was, as Bernard repeats here, that it could never fail, or if it did the failure revealed that the friendship had never been true. This analytical, almost technical reassurance contrasts sharply with Anselm's evocation of an inexpressible emotion and his appeal to shared experience where language falls short. When Bernard goes on to talk of bringing his friend into the bedchamber of his mother he is quoting from the *Song of Songs*, the book to which he devoted the cycle of eighty-six sermons which was one of the great labors of his life.<sup>35</sup> He himself interpreted this passage in terms of universal, shared, unselfish love: the words are those of the Church, who holds and is held by Christ in love; the mother is the Synagogue, or the Jews, to whose house the Church will lead Christ, thereby extending to them salvation; but she will lead Christ not just to the house but to the bedchamber, which denotes special grace, thus sharing universally not just salvation but the love of Christ, sharing her Bridegroom with those now outside the Church.<sup>36</sup> Thus while the vocabulary of these letters resembles the modern lexicon of intimacy, privacy, and torrid emotion, the terms of reference are those of cool reassurance, shared love, and universal divine grace.

It has been suggested that this letter might have been addressed to William of Saint-Thierry, one of Bernard's most ardent admirers, a frequent visitor to Clairvaux and eventually one of his biographers.<sup>37</sup> Other letters certainly addressed to William further illustrate the tone of epistolary exchanges between close friends. In one such letter Bernard is evidently replying to William's accusation (William's letter does not survive) that Bernard loves him less than he loves Bernard and does not reply to his letters. Such complaints about the failures of friends to write or visit recur again and again in letter collections of this period

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ed. Haseldine, 3–44; Jan M. Ziolkowski, "Twelfth-Century Understandings and Adaptations of Ancient Friendship," *Mediaeval Antiquity*, ed. Werner Verbeke, Herman Braet and Andries Welkenhuysen. *Medievalia Lovaniensia*, ser. 1, stud. 24 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1995), 59–81; the foundational study of classical *amicitia* remains Peter A. Brunt, "Amicitia in the Late Roman Republic," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*, n.s. 2, 191 (1965): 1–20.

<sup>35</sup> *Sermones super Cantica Cantecorum*, SBO vols. 1–2.

<sup>36</sup> *Serm. super Cant.* 79: 4–7; the bedroom also represents the mystery of divine contemplation in *Serm.* 23:3.

<sup>37</sup> On the identification of this recipient, see Gastaldelli, *Opere di San Bernardo*, VI/2, 668, n. 1, and the discussion in Julian Haseldine, "Friends, Friendship and Networks in the Letters of Bernard of Clairvaux," *Cîteaux: Commentarii Cistercienses* 57 (2006): 243–80; here 271, n. 151. William of Saint-Thierry was a committed reformer and pro-Cistercian who wanted to leave his abbacy and enter Clairvaux after his first meeting with Bernard ca. 1120, a move which Bernard opposed; he finally joined the order 15 years later; he was the author, among many other works, of the first part of the *Vita Prima* of Bernard; see Jean-Marie Déchanet, *Guillaume de Saint-Thierry: l'Homme et son oeuvre*. *Bibliothèque médiévale, spirituels prescolastiques*, 1, (Bruges: Charles Beyaert, 1942).

and were part of a language of joking and banter which was far more common than expressions of emotional intensity.<sup>38</sup>

Bernard's reply begins with a series of legal metaphors, questioning William's grounds for his charge and asking for proof. Such clever conceits are again very common in letters of friendship.<sup>39</sup> Bernard then makes a key change to a more serious spiritual tone, but again articulates his love not in terms of powerful personal emotions but of rational analysis of its divine basis, addressing to God not William his doubts about whether he loves William enough—only God can enlighten him on this point; his own feelings are no guide. Bernard's ultimate profession of love combines careful scholastic reasoning and conventional monastic humility:

Vae etenim mihi, si, quod valde vereor, aut ego plus ab illo quam merui, aut ille a me minus quam dignus sit diligatur. Verumtamen si meliores magis diligendi sunt—sunt autem meliores qui magis diligunt—quid aliud dixerim quam illum plus me diligere, quem meliorem esse non dubito, me vero minus illum quam debeo, quia minus valeo? Sed quanto in te—tibi, pater, dico—maior est caritas, tanto minus contemnenda est a te nostra possibilitas, quia etsi plus diligis, quoniam plus vales, non tamen plus diligis quam vales. Nos autem, etsi minus diligimus quam debemus, diligimus tamen quantum valemus; tantum autem valemus, quantum accepimus.<sup>40</sup>

[Woe is me, if (as I greatly fear) I am either loved by this man more than I deserve or love him less than he deserves. If the better a man is the more he should be loved, but they are the better who love the more, what else can I say than that I must love him more than myself, because I have no doubt that he is better than myself, but less than I should, because I am capable of less? But (it is you I now address, my father [i.e. William]) that your charity is greater than mine is all the more reason why you should not despise my smaller capacity, because although you love more than I do, you do not love more than you are able. And I too, although I love you less than I should, yet I love you as much as I can according to the power that has been given me.]<sup>41</sup>

William was also one of Bernard's literary collaborators; he effectively commissioned Bernard's great defence of the Cistercian life, the *Apologia ad Guillelmum abbatem*, and evidently read drafts of the work in preparation.<sup>42</sup> Bernard frequently addressed expressions of love and friendship to those with

<sup>38</sup> See Ronald E. Pepin, "Amicitia iocosa: Peter of Celle and John of Salisbury," *Florilegium* 5 (1983): 140–56; Christopher Brooke also characterized some of Gilbert Foliot's letters as "a pastiche of elaborate and allusive banter [which] the rules [of letter writing] made fashionable . . . and which was appropriate between old or close friends": *Gilbert Foliot and his Letters*, ed. Adrian Morey and Christopher N. L. Brooke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), 13.

<sup>39</sup> See below.

<sup>40</sup> Letter 85, *SBO* 7, 222.

<sup>41</sup> *BSJ* (no. 87), 126–27.

<sup>42</sup> *Apologia ad Guillelmum abbatem* (*An Apologia for Abbot William*), *SBO* 3, 61–108; on William's involvement, see letters 84bis, 85, 88–89 (*SBO* 7, 219–23, 232–27).

whom he collaborated in this way or exchanged texts. Not all of these were as close to him personally as William, for whom, Bernard told another correspondent, he would “gladly lay bare [his] whole soul.”<sup>43</sup> For example, as we have seen, he knew Aelred of Rievaulx only fleetingly. He also corresponded and exchanged books with another friend, Peter, cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Via Lata, before they had met in person. In these letters Bernard developed the same themes, from a slightly different perspective, of due balance in reciprocal love and love in proportion to merit:

Cum totum me dedero vobis, parum est ut digne mihi videar recompensasse vel dimidium benevolentiae, quam erga nostram humilitatem habere vos aiunt . . . . Probate, si placet, et aestimate, quatenus amor vel favor vester et iustus, et eo sit amplius amico gratus, quo pro meritis moderatus . . .<sup>44</sup>

[Even were I able to give myself wholly to you, it would seem to me a little enough return for even a small part of the favor with which, I am told, you regard me . . . . Judge for yourself, I beg you, and consider how far your love and favor are deserved. I assure you that they will be more pleasing to me, your friend, if they are in proportion to my merits . . . .]<sup>45</sup>

For letters written to a close acquaintance and to a complete stranger the tone is remarkably similar, and many of Bernard’s letters to his other literary contacts develop the same themes.<sup>46</sup> The common factor here behind these expressions of friendship was evidently not personal closeness but literary collaboration.

Bernard’s letters to former monks now separated from him seem also rather cool. When the monk Rainald was sent from Clairvaux to be the first abbot of Foigny, he evidently wrote back a number of letters to Bernard grieving at their separation and telling his troubles. Bernard’s first reply consists of a lengthy refutation of the honorable titles and praise which Rainald has addressed to him followed by the rather terse postscript:

Iam vero ut ad reliqua epistolae tuae respondeam, eamdem, quam tu de mei, possem et ego vicissim de tui absentia non immerito facere querimoniam: nisi quia nostris, quod ipse non negas, et affectibus et profectibus Dei est praeponenda voluntas.

<sup>43</sup> “. . . abbas de Sancto Theoderoco . . . cui . . . animus quoque meus totum, si posset, expanderet . . .”: letter 88 (SBO 7, 234), to Oger of Mont-Saint-Éloi; trans. BSJ (no. 91), 136.

<sup>44</sup> Letter 18, SBO 7, 66, 68; the letters to Peter are nos. 16–19.

<sup>45</sup> BSJ (no. 19), 52, 54.

<sup>46</sup> Cf., e.g., letter 90 to Oger of Mont-Saint-Éloi, to whom Bernard also sent a draft of his *Apologia*; on Bernard’s exceptionally consistent use of friendly language to his literary collaborators, and on the evidence for his relations with Peter, cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Via Lata (1126–1127/1128), and later cardinal priest of S. Anastasia (1127/1128–1131), see Haseldine, “Friends, Friendship and Networks,” 266, 271–72 (see note 37); see also letters 84bis, 87–90, 153–54, 398.

Alioquin quando ego te comitem mihi carissimum valdeque necessarium . . . paterer longe fieri a me, si non esset Christus in causa?<sup>47</sup>

[To answer the rest of your letter. I could make just as well the same complaint about your absence as you do about mine, unless (which you yourself will not deny) the will of God must be preferred to our own feelings and need. How, were it not for Christ's sake, could I suffer you to be so far away from me, you who are my dearest and most necessary companion . . . ?]<sup>48</sup>

It is not that Bernard does not acknowledge the friendship and pain, here and in his other letters to Rainald, but he seems to do little more and the real emphasis is on the duty which has drawn them apart; his last preserved letter to Rainald ends with a curt request that he return a book.<sup>49</sup> Where Bernard does write with apparent emotional intensity is in letters to noble ladies. Here, however, in such prominent inclusions in the official collection, there can be no question of intimate personal relations; rather Bernard was presenting himself as a spiritual advisor.<sup>50</sup> The first of his letters to Ermengarde, the former countess of Brittany who had entered religious life, echoes something of the ecstatic language of Anselm while also making clear that they had never met

Utinam sicut chartam nunc praesentem, ita et meam tibi mentem expandere possem! O si legere posses in corde meo, quod ibi de amore tuo suo digito Deus scribere dignatus est! Certe agnosceres quam nulla lingua vel penna sufficiat exprimere, quod in intimis mihi medullis Dei spiritus imprimere potuit. Et nunc quidem praesens sum spiritu, licet corpore absens; sed nec mihi, nec tibi est unde appaream. Est tamen penes te, unde possis de me utcumque conicere, esti nondum cognoscere, quod dico. Intra ergo cor tuum et inspicere meum, et vel tantum mihi tribue amoris erga te, quantum tibi erga me inesse sentis, ne si nos quidem minus, te vero amplius amare praesumpseris, eo te nobis praeferre puteris, quo et vincere nos caritate putaveris.<sup>51</sup>

[I wish I could find words to express what I feel towards you! If you could but read in my heart how great an affection for you the finger of God has there inscribed, then you would surely see how no tongue could express and no pen describe what the spirit of God has been able to inscribe there. Absent from you in body, I am always present to you in spirit and, although neither of us can come to the other, yet you have it within your power, not yet indeed to know me, but at any rate to guess something of what I feel. Do not ever suppose that your affection for me is greater than mine for you, and so believe yourself superior to me inasmuch as you think your love surpasses mine.

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<sup>47</sup> Letter 72 (*SBO* 7, 178).

<sup>48</sup> *BSJ* (no. 75), 106.

<sup>49</sup> Letter 74 (*SBO* 7, 181); cf. also the letters to former monks nos. 201 to Baldwin of Rieti, 324 to Robert of Dunes, and 505 to Baldwin, archbishop of Pisa.

<sup>50</sup> St Jerome provided the best-known Patristic model of a male religious figure writing to pious women as a spiritual advisor or director.

<sup>51</sup> Letter 116: *SBO* 7, 296; the other letter to Ermengarde is no. 117.



Search your heart and you will find mine there too and ascribe to me at least as great an affection for you as you find there for me.]<sup>52</sup>

Bernard is able to express such warmth, it seems, when the epistolary context and social situation preclude any intimation of strong personal feelings.<sup>53</sup>

Most of the professions of love in Peter the Venerable's correspondence are likewise emotionally rather cool, mainly again reassurances of continuing love mixed with the ubiquitous mock complaints over failures to write or visit. In some cases they seem distinctly impersonal. When Peter wrote to express his grief at the imminent departure for the Holy Land of the Cluniac cardinal Alberic of Ostia, a man he described as "... tam intimo fratre et amico"<sup>54</sup> ("... so intimate a brother and friend"), he lamented, in terms that hardly suggest a uniquely intimate relationship with Alberic, that the loss would leave Cluny practically friendless in the curia—personal and corporate friendship are barely distinguished:

... dolemus tamen, quod eum [Alberic] quem solum ordinis et cordis nostri solatium post illum magnae et piaae memoriae Matheum episcopum in Romano palatio habebamus, quasi amisimus.<sup>55</sup>

[... yet we grieve that we have as it were lost him [Alberic], who was, after bishop Matthew [of Albano] of great and pious memory, the only solace of our order and of our heart in the Roman curia.]

A letter to the former Cluniac, and a personal acquaintance of long standing, Basil, prior of La Grande Chartreuse, is similarly hardly expressive of a uniquely intimate relationship; Peter says that he wishes to take up with Basil,

... antiquas illas et sanctas felicitis memoriae domini Guigonis praedecessoris tui mecum sepe habitas collationes, quibus ... omnium pene humanarum rerum [cf. Cicero, *de Amicitia*, vi. 20] oblivisci cogebar.<sup>56</sup>

[... those former and blessed discussions which I was accustomed to have with your predecessor of happy memory lord Guigo, by which ... I was induced to forget almost all human cares.]

<sup>52</sup> BSJ (no. 119), 181.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. also letter 118 to Beatrice of Ville-sous-La-Ferté, a local noblewoman and benefactor.

<sup>54</sup> Letter 84, *LPV* 1, 221.

<sup>55</sup> *LPV* 1, 221. Matthew of Albano died in 1135; Alberic was in the Holy Land May 1140–Sept. 1141; when this letter was written, only one other Cluniac cardinal, Adenulf of Farfa, remained; on the Cluniac cardinals during Peter's abbacy, see *LPV* 2, 293–95. This is not the only occasion where Peter refers to friends of the order; on corporate and collective friendships, see below.

<sup>56</sup> Letter 186; *LPV* 1, 435 (citation of Cicero my own.) On *collationes*, M. Teeuwen, *The Vocabulary of Intellectual Life in the Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 232–34. See also letters 186–87 (*LPV* 1, 434–36), and on Basil (prior 1151–1173/1174), *ibid.* 2, 221.

A notable exception however is his correspondence with Bishop Hato of Troyes. A large number of letters to Hato are preserved along, unusually, with three replies. Most of these are expressions of friendly sentiments with very few references to business and in most there are lengthy passages devoted explicitly to the discussion of friendship; together they represent one of the richest examples of a purely friendly correspondence in a letter collection of this period.<sup>57</sup> While the premise of the opening letter is the conventional one of Hato's failure to write and maintain friendship, this leads on to some more than conventionally emotional evocations of grief and love. In place of the cool reassurances and scholastic conceits of many other letters, there is here something close to Anselm's intense, rhythmical, repetitive language, and crescendos of imagery evocative of inexpressible feelings. In the first preserved letter, Peter laments:

Rerum natura mutata est; oriens in occasum conversus est; ignis praevalidus subito extinctus est; funis argenteus ruptus est [cf. Eccles. 12:6]; amicus ab amico disiunctus est. O amicitia, res inter mortales admodum preciosa, sed quanto carior, tanto rarior, quo abisti? . . . [after a series of images of unnatural separation and discord, he asks rhetorically what his complaints refer to:] Sed quorsum ista? Te, te inquam respiciunt olim unanimis amice, aliquando karissime, et iuxta Flaccum non quidem nunc, sed quondam "amimae dimidium meae" [Horace, *Carmina*, I, iii, 8].<sup>58</sup>

[The nature of things has been changed; the rising sun has fallen from the sky; the strong flame is suddenly extinguished; "the silver chain has been broken;" a friend has been separated from a friend. O friendship, you who are so very precious among mortals, but the more precious the rarer you are, where have you gone? . . . But where is this leading? It concerns you, you I say, once a single-souled friend, once most dear, and, in the words of Horace, not indeed now but once, "the half of my soul".]<sup>59</sup>

But again this language has a wider context. We do not know how Hato and Peter became acquainted, how frequently they met, or indeed how well they knew one another; as so often we have only the inconclusive guide of the language itself.<sup>60</sup> But these letters do tell a story. Hato eventually retired to Cluny, and so, whatever the personal relationship behind them, they may well have been chosen for inclusion in the collection as memorials of a Cluniac triumph, the recruitment to the order of a famously pious bishop. Indeed Knight has interpreted this entire exchange as an exemplary and extended form of recruitment or conversion correspondence.<sup>61</sup> This was a recognized and relatively common type of letter

<sup>57</sup> Letters 5–7, 18, 22, 69, 70, 81, 86, 95, 121; replies 71, 85 & 96.

<sup>58</sup> Letter 5 (*LPV* 1, 9–10).

<sup>59</sup> Translation based in part on Gillian R. Knight, "Uses and Abuses of *amicitia*: the Correspondence Between Peter the Venerable and Hato of Troyes," *Reading Medieval Studies* 33 (1997): 35–67; here 39–41, where the imagery and allusions are discussed in detail.

<sup>60</sup> Hato was not a former Cluniac monk as was once believed; on his life and relations with Cluny, see *LPV* 2, 97–98.

<sup>61</sup> Knight, "Uses and Abuses" (see note 59).

found in many monastic collections, written to persuade potential converts to enter an order or to hold them to earlier promises to do so.<sup>62</sup>

Furthermore, in Peter the Venerable's collection such letters are almost always associated with friendly language, in the same way that in Bernard's case most literary collaborators, whatever their degree of personal acquaintance to him, are called friends.<sup>63</sup> Recruitment letters are not included in letter collections by chance, any more than any other type of letter; beyond the message to the recipient, they are also a vehicle for the promotion of the ideals of the order. The friendly language which both Bernard and Peter used in these different contexts, then, seems not to point to private attachments but to serve to advertise common adherence to shared ideals or cooperation in promoting those ideals. Whatever communications were originally exchanged between Peter and Hato, and why, Knight's arguments offer a credible explanation for the inclusion of the letters to him in the official collection, and thus for their survival and for their final form and content. Even if one did not accept her specific argument, an equivalent explanation would still be needed to account, not necessarily for the original composition of these letters, but for their selection and survival and so for their wider function.<sup>64</sup>

Peter of Celle was much more prolific in his invocations of *amicitia*, and his collection includes many more exchanges with those whom we know to have been his close personal friends over many years. But these exchanges are still characterized not by emotionally intense language but by clever conceits, witty banter, and elaborate metaphors, and develop many of the same themes which we have seen in the earlier collections—the laws of friendship, the balances and just limits in reciprocal friendship, assurances of friendship enduring in absence, and, as ever, the familiar mock rebukes for failing in the duties of friendship.<sup>65</sup> This is well illustrated in a long series of preserved letters to Bishop John of Saint-Malo.<sup>66</sup> The last in this sequence is a typical example of erudite, allusive wit, and even

<sup>62</sup> See Jean Leclercq, "Lettres de vocation à la Vie Monastique," *Studia Anselmiana* 37 (1955): 169–97; *LPV* 2, 169.

<sup>63</sup> Five out of the other six such letters in Peter's collection call the recipients friends (nos. 19, 51, 105, 139, 140); recruitment letters also account for about a tenth of the uses of friendship in the collection.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Bernard of Clairvaux's letters of advice to Bruno de Berg before and immediately after his election to the see of Cologne, ostensibly private friendly letters whose purpose must similarly be understood in terms of their position in the collection: Haseldine, "Friends, Friendship and Networks," 273–74 (see note 37).

<sup>65</sup> Cf. e.g. laws of friendship in letters 18 (to John of Saint-Malo) and 74 (recipient anon.); comparisons of degrees of reciprocal love in letter 45 (to various recipients at Clairvaux); debt is also used as a metaphor for the obligations of friendship in letter 28 (to Hardouin of Larrivour).

<sup>66</sup> Letters 14–19; cf. also the long sequence of letters to Berneredus of Saint-Crépin, nos. 128–35.

includes a reference to current events that might be taken to be in somewhat questionable taste:

Caritas patiens, quod mirum dictu est, pene ad impatientiam me impellit. Vidi nuntium uestrum litteris uacuum. Quid hoc est? Estne tanta penes uos cartarum raritas an sic uestra abbreviata est caritas? Que tam importuni silentii causa? Que ratio tam mute et silentis dilectionis? Estne, inquam, in Brittania consecutium ut ubi sterilitas panis, sequatur et defectio cordis? Et panis quidem inopiam audiebam, sed famam ex hoc uirtutum succedere non credideram.

[Patient love [cf. 1 Cor. 13:4], amazing as it is to say it, is driving me almost to impatience. I saw your messenger without a letter. What is this? Is there so great a scarcity of writing materials in your part of the world, or is your love so abridged? [Cf. Micah 2:7] What is the cause of so uncivil a silence? What is the explanation for such mute and silent love? Does it follow in Brittany, I ask you, that when there is a shortage of bread there then follows a failing of the heart? For I have indeed been hearing about a scarcity of bread yet I had not believed that a famine of the virtues would follow from this.]<sup>67</sup>

The language and word-play here are run through with scholastic imagery, of formal arguments and of logical consequences. This is a particular feature of Peter of Celle's writing, reflecting the fact that many of his most frequent correspondents were old friends from his student days at the Paris schools; indeed this deliberate evocation of the schools provides the only clue to the origin of his acquaintance with John of Saint-Malo.<sup>68</sup> Another student friend was John of Salisbury; this is an exceptionally well-documented relationship as John left his own letter collection.<sup>69</sup> The two were closely involved in one another's affairs throughout their lives: Peter provided critical support for John at the outset of his career in the 1140s and again for him and his fellow-exiles in France during the Becket affair (1163–70), and was still involved in his affairs up until his friend's death, as bishop of Chartres, in 1181; John conducted business for Peter at the papal *curia*, which he visited frequently as the representative of Archbishop Theobald of Canterbury, and was frequently involved in overseeing Peter's interests in England.<sup>70</sup> These letters

<sup>67</sup> Letter 19, *LPC*, 52–53.

<sup>68</sup> The collection also includes a number of treatise-length letters on theological or logical points, either in response to questions (nos. 54, 115) or as part of debates with recipients, which, even when the disagreements were evidently heated (nos. 49–51) or conducted with strangers (nos. 158–60), were couched in terms of warm friendship.

<sup>69</sup> *The Letters of John of Salisbury*, vol. 1 *The Early Letters (1153–1161)*, ed. William J. Millor, Harold E. Butler and Christopher N. L. Brooke. Nelson's Medieval Texts (Edinburgh: Nelson, 1955), re-issued, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986); vol. 2, *The Later Letters (1163–1180)*, ed. Millor and Brooke. Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979).

<sup>70</sup> *Letters of John of Salisbury* 1, xii–xxiv; *LPC*, 712–18; Peter may have been behind John's obtaining from Bernard of Clairvaux a letter of recommendation to the archbishop of Canterbury; Saint-Rémi had dependencies in England.

include more news, requests, and business matters than those to John of Saint-Malo; where they take on a more intimate tone it is through the evocation of laughter and joy, as Peter's response to receiving one letter from John illustrates:

Vt uidi litteras tuas cor meum iubilo, os meum impletum est risu. Miscuisti siquidem iocos seriis, sed temperatos et sine detrimento dignationis et uerecundie. Sales tui sine dente sunt, ioci non uilitate. Sic decurrit oratio tua tanquam illa que aliquando nubes capite tangit aliquando uultum in terra demittit. Inuenit hoc gratiam in oculis meis, mecum manebit et apud me tota nocte erit.

[When I saw your letter my heart was filled with rejoicing, my mouth with laughter. You have indeed mixed jokes with serious matters, but moderate ones and without detriment to dignity and modesty. Your witticisms are not fanged, your jokes not cheap. Your speech runs along like that which one minute touches the clouds with its head, the next lowers its face to the earth. This finds favor in my eyes, it will stay with me and will be by me the whole night.]<sup>71</sup>

This clearly meant much to Peter, and years later, in the aftermath of the dangers of the Becket affair, he recalled with fond nostalgia earlier days when they could joke about Becket: "Si bene recolo iocos prioris seculi dum simul essemus et ad inuicem plura iocando sereremus . . ." ("If I recall rightly the jokes of an earlier time when we were together and we took it in turns to weave many topics in our joking . . .").<sup>72</sup> Some examples of John's joking survive in his letters to Peter, letters occasionally so wrapped up in allusions and in-jokes as to be scarcely comprehensible now, and which Christopher Brooke described as "the sort of nonsense which 'the lunatic, the lover and the poet' have poured forth in every age, but has only rarely been used as a normal mode of expression between intimate friends."<sup>73</sup>

But jesting could be used in other contexts too. In their famous correspondence, which continued on and off for many years and which has perhaps been studied more exhaustively than any other single epistolary relationship, Bernard of Clairvaux and Peter the Venerable frequently indulged in elaborate exchanges of wit, banter, and mock reproach.<sup>74</sup> A notable example comes at the end of 1143, or early in 1144, when their correspondence was renewed, after a particularly bitter dispute five years earlier, with an exchange of letters of reconciliation and

<sup>71</sup> Letter 63, *LPC*, 300–01.

<sup>72</sup> Letter 174, *LPC*, 668–69; the particular joke he recalls had apparently been that were Becket to perish they would never find a shrine big enough to hold him.

<sup>73</sup> *Letters of John of Salisbury*, 1, xlvii, with particular reference to John's letter 112.

<sup>74</sup> A total of 22 letters are preserved between the two collections; the chronological order is reconstructed most conveniently in Gillian Knight, *The Correspondence between Peter the Venerable and Bernard of Clairvaux: A Semantic and Structural Analysis*. Church, Faith and Culture in the Medieval West (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), x–xi; for studies of this correspondence, see below notes 187–88.

friendship.<sup>75</sup> These are set in a deliberately jocular tone with repeated references to joking throughout; in particular they spar over who can truly claim to be the wounded friend, whose friendly overtures have been ignored.

Bernard professes ungrudging gracious humility: "Gaudeo quod recaluistis priscae amicitiae recordari, et vel laesum revocare amicum" ("I rejoice that you have grown warm again to remember a former friendship, and to recall a friend, albeit wounded").<sup>76</sup> Peter retorts: "... et lesum quod de vobis dixistis amicum me vocare potuissem ..." ("... and I could have called myself the wounded friend, as you did yourself ...").<sup>77</sup> This joking clearly serves to ease the tension of the situation and to avoid what might otherwise have been an exchange of sharp reproaches—a particularly erudite and refined version of what is a recognizable and common strategy in any period or context.<sup>78</sup>

The expressions of friendship in letters, then, raise problems beyond those which Southern noted concerning the connection between language and emotion. It is not just that such expressions are directed to many different types of acquaintance but that there are other contexts which can affect the use of the language, such as, as we have seen, literary collaboration, monastic recruitment, or dispute resolution. Thus the function of the letter rather than the degree of personal feeling between the correspondents can explain the use of apparently personal language, whether emotionally intense or familiar and jocular. This is also bound up with the key question of why letters were chosen for inclusion in collections, and thus what they were intended to demonstrate about the author. Whatever concerns may have motivated the composition of the original letters which were sent, they owe their survival and possibly their final form to wider functions which they served, demonstrating for example not who the author happened to like but with whom he was prepared to be publicly associated.<sup>79</sup>

Bredero sparked a controversy by demonstrating that the letter which the dying Bernard of Clairvaux purportedly dictated from his deathbed to Arnold of Bonneval was a later Cistercian forgery intended to create evidence for a friendship in order to add credibility to Arnold's role in the composition of the official *Life* of Bernard.<sup>80</sup> Although this proved controversial, it in fact touches on

<sup>75</sup> Bernard's letter 228 and Peter's no. 111; on the dispute, over the election to the see of Langres, see Giles Constable, "The Disputed Election at Langres in 1138," *Traditio* 13 (1957): 119–52.

<sup>76</sup> Letter 228, *SBO* 8, 99; trans. Knight, *The Correspondence*, 107; this is, on internal evidence, a reply to a lost letter of Peter's.

<sup>77</sup> Letter 111, *LPV* 1, 276; trans. Knight, *The Correspondence*, 119, n. 148.

<sup>78</sup> In the context of these exchanges, Knight re-interpreted Pepin's *amicitia jocosa* (see above note 38) as a rhetorical means to broach difficult matters: Knight, *The Correspondence*, 16–23.

<sup>79</sup> Almost all letters from this period survive only in collections, not as original missives: Constable, *Letters and Letter Collections*, 56–62.

<sup>80</sup> Letter 310, *SBO* 8, 230; Adriaan Bredero, *Bernard of Clairvaux: Between Cult and History* (Edinburgh:

something which applies in some degree to all surviving letters. Even where there was a genuinely emotional bond, this alone is not enough to explain why that relationship should be preserved in an official letter collection. As we shall see, corresponding with lower- status but pious individuals could demonstrate an author's humility, concern for virtue above worldly status, or laudable desire to escape worldly cares and embrace spiritual discourse—all respectable monastic virtues. What gives coherence to all of these professions of friendship is not the degree of personal acquaintance between the writers, which was different in the many different cases, but the inclusion of them all in openly acknowledged bonds of love and friendship which were understood not as private bonds in contrast to public relationships but rather as strong and particular public bonds in contrast to the universal ties of monastic *caritas*.<sup>81</sup> Most research on medieval letters has focused on uncovering the human relationships which lay behind these exchanges and paid less attention to the wider purposes which might explain their expression in epistolary form.

### Forming, Maintaining and Breaking Friendships

If professions of friendship in letters were always to some degree public statements, then the evidence which they often provide about the formation of bonds of friendship, about the behavior expected of friends and the maintenance of friendly relations, and, in very rare cases, about the termination of friendships, must also be seen in this light. One of the features of letter collections often commented on is the declaration of friendship to strangers. In fact, although there are many instances where we have no conclusive evidence for degrees of personal acquaintance, there are only very few cases where the recipient is explicitly declared to be both a friend and a stranger.<sup>82</sup> Bernard of Clairvaux's letter 103, addressed to the brother of one of his own monks, urging conversion to the religious life, is one of the better known; it opens:

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T & T Clark, 1996), 98; for the subsequent debate, see the discussion and references in *Opere di San Bernardo* VI/2, 310–15, n. 1.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. also Knight, *The Correspondence*, 121, 155–200, where it is argued that in the correspondence between Bernard of Clairvaux and Peter the Venerable certain letters show a clear division between the openings, which make “private” appeals to *amicitia*, in the sense not of expressions of deep personal emotions but of diplomatic overtures preparing the way for, and mediating, the disputes or grievances to be raised, and the subsequent passages which are “public” disputes and cast in terms of *caritas*.

<sup>82</sup> Anselm asked recipients to share his friendly sentiments with others whom he did not know (see Southern, *Saint Anselm: A Portrait in a Landscape*, 143–47 [see note 6]), but did not directly address strangers as friends.

Etsi facie ignotus, etsi corpore remotus a nobis, amicus tamen es, et amicitia notum iam nobis, et praesentem te facit. Hanc tibi, te nesciente, comparavit non caro et sanguis, sed spiritus Dei, qui Willelmum fratrem tuum aeterna nobis societate et spirituale caritate devinxit, ac per eum te quoque, si dignum iudicas.<sup>83</sup>

[Although I have not met you and although, as regards the body, you live a long way from me, yet you are a friend, and my friendship for you renders you present and well known to me. This friendship has been given you without your knowledge: a gift not of flesh and blood, but of the spirit of God which has united your brother William to me in the bonds of spiritual love and everlasting friendship, and you through him to me, if you think it worth your while.]<sup>84</sup>

This is a declaration of spiritual friendship but it is also another example of a recruitment letter, a type, as we have seen, commonly associated with friendship.<sup>85</sup> Nor is the contact a random one. The presence of the man's brother in Clairvaux was not mere chance; he was part of the connection of Henry Murdac, the Yorkshireman and one-time monk of Clairvaux who had returned and been elected abbot of Fountains in 1144. Murdac was one of the most influential English Cistercians and one of Bernard's chief contacts there.<sup>86</sup> In another case Bernard wrote to rebuke a layman for his attempts to dissuade a potential convert from his vocation, opening with the almost identical formulation, "Etsi ignotus nobis facie, sed non fama" ("Although I have not met you, I have heard of you"). He concludes a bitter and reproachful letter with the hope that the recipient will himself convert, and so become a friend: "... non adiciam ultra, ne fiam onerosus, cui de cetero volo esse amicus, et adiutor, si volueris, ad salutem" ("... I will refrain from adding anything more. I do not wish to become burdensome to one with whom I hope to be on friendly terms in future, and whom I would gladly help to salvation if he would permit me").<sup>87</sup> The friendship here again is clearly equated with conversion.

Bernard's other professions of friendship to strangers were made mostly in the context of disputes. In one of the many clashes over *transitus* in which he was involved he used it as part of a technical defence of his position. The *Rule* forbade abbots from accepting monks from monasteries known to them without their own abbot's permission, and in this case Bernard claimed that although he might have heard of them he did not personally know the community in question. At the same

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<sup>83</sup> SBO 7, 259.

<sup>84</sup> BSJ (no. 104), 151.

<sup>85</sup> See above note 15.

<sup>86</sup> See SBO 7, 259, n. 2; Bernard originally sent Murdac, who was the abbot of Vauclair, back to Yorkshire to support the English Cistercians in the York election dispute; he was elected abbot of Fountains on Richard of Fountains' death and was later elected archbishop of York: on the York dispute, see above.

<sup>87</sup> Letter 292, SBO 8, 209–10; trans. BSJ (no. 357), 433–34.



time, and seemingly unfairly, he held them bound by the more general duty to act towards all fellow monks as brothers and even friends, expressing shock:

. . . ut nos, etsi vobis ignotos, fratres tamen vestros et, si placet, amicos, quos necdum vel praesentes verbo conveneratis, vel absentes scripto praemonueratis, hac prima vice tam subito, tam acriter argueretis.<sup>88</sup>

[. . . that you would have reproached us so bitterly without knowing anything about us although, indeed, we are your brothers and could be, if you wished it, your friends; or without ever having met us or held any communication with us either by letter or word of mouth.]<sup>89</sup>

His own actions did not contravene the *Rule* and so were permissible in respect of strangers; their reaction, however, did contravene the rules of friendly behavior which were not dependent on acquaintance.<sup>90</sup> In only one case does Bernard of Clairvaux simply profess love for a stranger known only by reputation:

Etsi facie ignotus es mihi, sed non fama, nec parum aut vile quid tui gratulor me tenere munere illius. Nam talis fateor per eam insinuatus es meo pectori, ut, licet in multis occupatum, ipsa tamen serenissima recordatio tui, mi dulcissime frater, facile me plerumque ex omnibus vindicet sibi, ita ut in ea libenter immorer et suaviter requiescam.<sup>91</sup>

[Although I have never met you, I have heard of you; and even from this I derive no small or insignificant pleasure. By means of it you have stolen my heart so that, amidst my many occupations, I am easily carried away by the peace-giving thought of you, and very willingly dwell upon it and refresh myself with it.]<sup>92</sup>

Again this letter raises the question of why it was included in the collection. It develops one of the most common of epistolary topoi, the desire for retreat from the world to quiet leisure and spiritual contemplation, and for the companionship of the pious. Authority and high office were conventionally presented in monastic literature as duties to be borne not honors to be coveted, and such letters could demonstrate an author's unworldly character and spiritual priorities. These declarations of friendship to strangers, then, can be explained in terms of

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<sup>88</sup> Letter 67, *SBO* 7, 163.

<sup>89</sup> BSJ (no. 70), 95.

<sup>90</sup> See also Marie-Anselme Dimier, "Saint Bernard et le droit en matière de 'transitus,'" *Revue Mabillon* 43 (1953): 48–82; here 51–54; Giles Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 103–04. Slightly differently, in letter 253 to the abbot of Prémontré (see also below), Bernard deflected his opponent's charges by arguing that it was not his technical breaches of an agreement which were at fault but their complaints, which contravened love and friendship: see Newman, *Boundaries of Charity*, 132 (see note 1).

<sup>91</sup> Letter 204, *SBO* 8, 63, to Abbot Robert of Saint-Aubin, Angers; he also expressed love to the monks of Tre Fontane (letter 345), but this was on account of their abbot, Bernard Paganelli, the later Pope Eugenius III, whom he did know.

<sup>92</sup> BSJ (no. 270), 344.

recognizable epistolary conventions and situations or of the specific arguments being made.

More common than simple declarations of friendship to strangers, but often associated with the development of similar themes, are statements of love having preceded personal acquaintance. One of the clearest such statements is that of Nicholas of Clairvaux to Peter of Celle: "Antequam vos viderem, dilexi vos, et fuit principium dilectionis testimonium religionis, quod a religiosis de vobis audieram" ("Before I set eyes upon you, I loved you, and the basis of the love was the testimony to your piety which I heard of from religious men").<sup>93</sup> Peter of Celle himself made a similar declaration to a priest of Provins whom he barely knew.<sup>94</sup> A reputation for piety was not the only occasion for such love. Peter also wrote to Nicholas of St Albans, an English writer whom he never met and with whom he disagreed bitterly in an epistolary dispute on the Conception of the Virgin: "Equidem de numero amicorum nostrorum ex eo habere te censui ex quo scripta tua legi" ("I reckoned you among the number of our friends from the moment that I read your works").<sup>95</sup> But perhaps the most celebrated reference to love preceding acquaintance comes in Peter the Venerable's first letter to Bernard of Clairvaux, no. 65, declaring that his love for Bernard, formerly based on his reputation, has been enhanced and transformed by meeting him in person:

Quantum reverentiae, quantum amoris tibi anima mea in penetralibus suis conservet, novit ille quem in te veneror et amplector. Feci hoc, etiam dum adhuc absentia tua vultum corporis tui mihi invidens abscondebat, quia iam fama velocior corpore beatae animae tuae faciem oculis mentis meae modo quo poterat inferebat. At ubi quod diu negatum fuerat tandem sum assecutus, et phantasmata somniorum veritate succedente evanuerunt, adhaesit anima mea tibi, nec ab amore tuo ultra divelli potuit.<sup>96</sup>

<sup>93</sup> Nicholas of Clairvaux letter 62 (*Patrologia Latina* 202, col. 490); on Nicholas (also known as Nicholas of Montiéramey), one-time secretary to St Bernard and friend also of Peter the Venerable, see *LPV* 2, 316–30.

<sup>94</sup> Letter 61: "... quem vel rarissima visione cognosco ..." ["... whom I only know from the most fleeting sight ..."], *LPC*, 292–93; again the context partly explains this: Montier-la-Celle had two dependent priories and other interests in Provins so Peter would have had many acquaintances and connections there.

<sup>95</sup> Letter 157, *LPC*, 574–75; sometimes a reputation for piety was cited as the reason for friendship without it being made clear whether the friends were also personally acquainted or not, e.g., Bernard of Clairvaux letter 54 appealing to the papal chancellor on behalf of Abbot Vivian of Hautecombe: "... mihi ob suam religiositatem admodum familiaris amicus" ["... with whom I am on terms of intimate friendship because of his piety"]: *SBO* 7, 146, trans. BSJ (no. 57), 85. This was a year after the house's affiliation to Clairvaux, which may have accounted in part for his piety in Bernard's eyes.

<sup>96</sup> Letter 65, *LPV*, 194. Letter 28 (1127), addressed to Bernard in defense of the Cluniacs almost certainly predates their personal acquaintance; see below note 188.

[How much reverence, how much love for you my soul maintains in its inner chambers, is known to Him whom I venerate and embrace in you. I did this, even while your absence still grudgingly hid from me your corporeal face, because reputation, swifter than the body, already brought in the way it could to the eyes of my mind the face of your blessed soul. But when I at last attained what had long been denied, and the phantasms of dreams vanished as truth took their place, my soul adhered to you, nor could it be torn thereafter from loving you.]<sup>97</sup>

Later in the letter Peter complained that while Bernard had sent him messages indicating that he had not forgotten his friend, he had not sent him “more certain proofs in a letter” (“... certiora per litteras indicia . . .”).<sup>98</sup> Nevertheless, he went on to entrust his business with the pope to Bernard’s proven friendship: “. . . nuntios meos quos domino papae dirigo, expertae amicitiae tuae secure comitto . . .” (“I entrust without fear my messengers, whom I am directing to the lord Pope, to your tried friendship”).<sup>99</sup> The friendship was new and there had been little personal contact between the two men so the sense in which Peter means “tried” is not what we might expect. His appeal was to the formal bond of friendship with its scant basis in prior acquaintance, not to past actions or personal loyalty.<sup>100</sup>

Letter collections also contain evidence of direct applications for friendship. In one of many letters to the papal chancellor Haimeric, one of his chief allies at the curia, Bernard of Clairvaux recalled how Haimeric had initially solicited the friendship of Bernard and of his fellow Cistercian abbot Hugh of Pontigny with gifts: “. . . vestra munera, quibus apud nostram humilitatem dignanter satis amicitiarum fores anticipare curastis” (“... the gifts by which you were the first kindly to solicit our friendship”).<sup>101</sup> Another formally requested friendship which was to have important political implications appears at first sight to have got off to a less successful start. Peter of Celle’s response to the approach of Thomas Becket, at the time royal chancellor, was described by Beryl Smalley as a “polite and cruel snub.”<sup>102</sup> Peter protested humility:

Rogastis de familiaritate et amicitia. Quod rogastis si admitteretis admirationi procul dubio habendum esset pro inequali rogantis et rogati fortuna. Que enim proportionalitatis habitudo inter abbatem Cellensem et cancellarium regis Anglie? . . . Nullo igitur modo ad ingressum amicitie manum porrigo, sed si uel de grege accidentalium amicorum fuero, bene mecum fecisse dignationem uestram estimabo.

<sup>97</sup> Trans. Knight, *The Correspondence*, 57–58.

<sup>98</sup> Letter 65, *LPV* 1, 194–95; trans. Knight, *The Correspondence*, 58.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid.

<sup>100</sup> Another example of a letter referring to friendship reinforced by meeting is Peter the Venerable’s no. 109 to Suger of Saint-Denis: *LPV* 1, 271–72.

<sup>101</sup> Letter 311, *SBO* 8, 241; trans. BSJ (no. 374), 447; Bernard’s letter 368 recalls another request for friendship from a cardinal associated with a gift. On gift exchange, see also below.

<sup>102</sup> Beryl Smalley, *The Becket Conflict and the Schools* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), 113.

[You have asked about intimacy and friendship. If you were to allow that which you have asked for, this would beyond doubt be a cause for astonishment owing to the unequal fortune of the petitioner and the petitioned. For what semblance of parity is there between the abbot of Montier-la-Celle and the chancellor of the king of England? . . . Therefore in no way am I extending my hand to enter into friendship, but if I shall be even among the flock of your casual friends I shall reckon that your worthiness has treated me well.]<sup>103</sup>

Yet this and a later letter to Thomas not included in the *Patrologia Latina* edition and unknown to Smalley were addressed “Domino et amico suo karissimo” (“To his dearest lord and friend”). Thomas is again called a friend later in this second letter, and in both Peter refers to works being copied and sent to him at his request, as well as to Thomas’ generosity. In later years Peter became an active supporter of Becket in his dispute with Henry II and a key ally of the exiles; after Becket’s murder he declared himself to have been his friend, even sticking his neck out and declaring him to be a martyr before the official canonization. This was not a casual or trivial connection. As we have seen, inclusion in circles of literary exchange was closely associated with friendship; Peter’s later political stance, even for a churchman based in Champagne, was not without political risk and certainly involved the commitment of resources. The most likely point of contact between the two was Peter’s old friend John of Salisbury, who had become one of Becket’s clerks. Rather than a snub, the evidence points to a recognized type of friendship relationship formally cultivated through literary exchanges and leading to political support and cooperation, which came about not through personal acquaintance or affection but through a trusted intermediary.<sup>104</sup>

Bernard of Clairvaux also on one occasion professed humbly to decline an offer of friendship from a layman, Rorgo of Abbeville. Bernard had been told that Rorgo wanted to meet him on account of his pious reputation, and said that he would like to oblige,

Sed licet hoc in nos humanae pietatis bonum laudabile sit, non tamen perfectum. Nam haec corporalis quidem est visio, et brevis, et nobis cum ceteris animantibus

<sup>103</sup> Letter 72, *LPC*, 328–29.

<sup>104</sup> The letters concerned are nos. 73 (to Becket), 109, 141 & 143 (*LPC* pp. 330–33, 434–35, 520–21, 524–29; the previous ed. is in *Patrologia Latina* 202); on Peter of Celle’s involvement in the Becket affair, see Julian Haseldine, “Thomas Becket: Martyr, Saint—and Friend?” *Belief and Culture in the Middle Ages: Studies presented to Henry Mayr-Harting*, ed. Richard Gameson and Henrietta Leyser (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 305–17. Letter collections occasionally include references to intermediaries through whom contacts and friendships were made: e.g. Bernard letter 11, Peter the Venerable letter 31, Peter of Celle letters 91, 117.

communis. Magis ergo ad illam aeternae societatis iucundissimam visionem suspirare debemus et bonis operibus insistere, ut ad illum perveniamus.<sup>105</sup>

[But although this human affection in us is something good and praiseworthy, it is not perfect. For what we desire is merely the sight of each other, a fleeting bodily thing which we possess in common with the animals. We would do better to sigh for that most joyful sight of an everlasting fellowship, and strive by good works to arrive at it.]<sup>106</sup>

This however did not stop Bernard from asking for a substantial favor, a grant of land for another abbot, in the very next line. Bernard of Clairvaux was an effective political operator who is unlikely to have made gauche or embarrassing diplomatic blunders in formal communications.<sup>107</sup> What might initially seem like a personal rebuff was, once again, clearly not. What Bernard had done was to include Rorgo in the discourse of spiritual friendship, as an absent friend united by spiritual endeavor, while at the same time perhaps maintaining a proper degree of remove from a layman in a letter. What Rorgo has, and presumably valued, was this inclusion and recognition, rather than a cosy chat with Bernard about spiritual matters by the fireside. Professing to decline friendship is clearly in no sense declining to enter a formal, openly avowed relationship with material consequences; it is rather part of the complex language of the cultivation of such relationships.<sup>108</sup>

Peter of Celle's collection also preserves evidence of attempts to continue friendship with the successors in office of friends who had died or moved on. Peter was heavily involved in promoting the expansion of the new orders, particularly the Carthusians, in Denmark, and had found in Archbishop Eskil of Lund, a noted proponent of reform and close ally of Clairvaux, a key ally. When Eskil retired to Clairvaux certain of his relatives and allies had evidently become involved in a failed rebellion in Denmark; Peter wrote to Eskil's successor Absalon to apply to continue the friendship he had had with Eskil and so to align himself with the new regime and secure his own contacts and interests in the region:

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<sup>105</sup> Letter 409, *SBO* 8, 390.

<sup>106</sup> *BSJ* (no. 441), 507–08.

<sup>107</sup> Although in one, frequently-quoted letter (no. 387) he blamed his scribes, who he claimed would add to his dictated text, for an offence which a previous (now lost) letter had caused Peter the Venerable, this was clearly part of a very different and calculated epistolary strategy.

<sup>108</sup> Cf. Bernard's "declining" of Hildebert of Lavardin's offer of friendship (letters 122–23) followed by a request for support (letter 124). With ecclesiastical correspondents responses to approaches, either direct or via intermediaries, were often more straightforwardly positive; see, e.g., Bernard letter 175, Peter the Venerable letter 31.

Pro his que aguntur in partibus uestris erga nepotes et amicos predecessoris uestri, utinam ea michi esset apud uos gratia et amicitia que apud illum est, et sicut illi honore sic dilectione succedatis.

[Regarding those things which are being done in your lands in respect of the nephews and friends of your predecessor, I would that you extend to me the same grace and friendship as he [Eskil] does, and as you are his successor in honor so may you be in love.]<sup>109</sup>

Indeed, one of Peter of Celle's favorite epistolary techniques was to send greetings to newly elected abbots or bishops offering spiritual advice and exhortation and very often professing friendship. This was often associated with the protection of his successive abbey's interests in the regions concerned. One of the longest and most sustained reflections on *amicitia* in his collection is addressed to the newly elected Abbot Villain of Molesme. Almost half of the letter consists of a richly metaphorical and allusive discussion of friendship, with some twenty references to friends or friendship and concluding with the offer of a "*pactum coagulande societatis*" ("pact of joint friendship").<sup>110</sup> Peter then anticipates Villain's acceptance, continuing: "*Iam ergo amico loquar ut amico*" ("Now therefore let me speak to a friend as a friend"), and immediately beginning the second half of the letter: "*Amice karissime*" ("Dearest friend").<sup>111</sup> The rest of the letter comprises an exhortation on the theme of being a good abbot. No personal correspondence survives with Villain's predecessor, Stephen, but he knew Peter and is associated with him in surviving charters. Peter also maintained relations with Molesme after Villain's time.<sup>112</sup> Such communications were clearly intended to maintain regional allegiances and support networks.

Conversely, when Peter himself was elected bishop of Chartres in 1181, he wrote to the Cistercian General Chapter asking for the continuation of the love and friendship which he had hitherto enjoyed with them: "*Vester fui, vester sum, vester semper ero . . . Cellensem enutristis, Remensem amastis, Carnotensem proicietis?*" ("I was yours, I am yours and I shall always be yours . . . You nourished the man of Celle, you loved the man of Reims, will you cast out the man of Chartres?")<sup>113</sup> He stressed in particular his relationship to Bernard, now dead for nearly two decades, calling himself "one of Bernard's disciples" ("*unum . . . de alumniis beatissimi Bernardi*"),<sup>114</sup> but his contacts with Clairvaux were, once again, more complex and longer-lasting: he corresponded and maintained friendships

<sup>109</sup> Letter 104, *LPC*, 424–25; on the political details, see *ibid.*, 424, n. 8.

<sup>110</sup> Letter 30, *LPC*, 108–09.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>112</sup> On Peter and Stephen, see *LPC*, 106, n. 1; on his other relations with Molesme, see letters 37, 138–39, 156.

<sup>113</sup> Letter 147, *LPC*, 540–41.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*

with a number of members of the community, had evidently received crucial support from them at the beginning of his first abbacy when facing challenges to his authority, and later acted as an intermediary for Bernard in *transitus* disputes and other matters.<sup>115</sup> Friendships were clearly considered to extend beyond the individuals concerned and could be inherited through institutional contacts. Peter of Celle also maintained, for example, a close involvement in the affairs of the abbey of Saint-Crépin, Soissons, after the departure for Rome of his old friend and correspondent Abbot Berneredus.<sup>116</sup>

Indeed many friendships could be regarded as collective or institutional rather than individual, contracted either between individuals and communities or between two communities. Peter the Venerable in particular calls a number of his correspondents and allies friends of the order.<sup>117</sup> Bernard of Clairvaux once referred to the archbishop of Canterbury as a friend of the Cistercian brethren in an appeal on his behalf to the pope,<sup>118</sup> and also addressed whole urban communities as friends.<sup>119</sup> Spiritual friendships could also be cultivated collectively. All three of the authors considered here had established relations with Carthusian communities which they regularly visited for spiritual retreats and to whom they addressed letters praising the peace and spiritual superiority of the Carthusians. These letters were addressed collectively, to priors and communities, often without giving the names of the priors even when the priors concerned had written or replied individually in their own names.<sup>120</sup>

The presence of such similar types of letter in each collection again raises the question of the reasons for their selection and inclusion. The Carthusians were the

<sup>115</sup> See G. Wellstein, "Die freundschaftlichen Beziehungen des Benediktiners Petrus Cellensis zu den Cisterziensern," *Cistercienser Chronik* 38 (1926): 213–18; Julian Haseldine, "Friendship and Rivalry: The Role of *Amicitia* in Twelfth-Century Monastic Relations," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 44 (1993): 390–414; here. 404.

<sup>116</sup> See letters 135 (on Peter's role in the appointment of Berneredus' successor) and 145 (on his attempts to resolve a dispute in which the community was involved). Letters of greeting to the newly elected are not so prominent a feature of the other letter collections being considered (although that does not mean they were not written), but it is notable that the only occasion when Bernard called a woman a friend was in a letter to the great patron of monastic orders in the east, Queen Melisende of Jerusalem, in a letter of advice and consolation when she became regent on her husband's death (letter 354).

<sup>117</sup> See e.g. letters 31, 56, 79, 84, 88, 106. See also the contribution to this volume by Marc Saurette.

<sup>118</sup> Letter 239.

<sup>119</sup> Letter 242 to the people of Toulouse, against heresy; letter 243 to the Romans when they rebelled against the Cistercian pope, Eugenius III.

<sup>120</sup> Bernard of Clairvaux letters 11 and 12 to Prior Guy and the community of La Grande Chartreuse; Peter the Venerable letters 24 and 48 to the same, and 132 to an unnamed successor (identified as Anthelm, *LPV* 2, 186) and the community, and 169–70, an exchange with the Carthusians of Meyriat; Peter of Celle letters 52–60 to the Carthusians of Mont-Dieu (only the last two name the prior [Simon]).

most reclusive and austere of the new orders and their harsh life attracted relatively few converts. Cultivating and proclaiming special relationships with these unimpeachably pious yet institutionally unthreatening monks may have been regarded as an effective way to establish the pious credentials of the writers, all of whom were involved to some degree in conflicts with other orders over the nature of the monastic vocation or had levelled criticisms at other communities.<sup>121</sup>

Where the formation or maintenance of bonds of friendship is mentioned in letters, the imagery used to describe it is often that of allegiance, privilege, law, debt, or obligation. Peter of Celle wrote to the papal legate Peter of Pavia, for example: "Placuit dignationi uestre me annumerare in amicorum uestrorum collegio" ("It pleased your worthiness to number me among the college of your friends"),<sup>122</sup> and with Mathilda of Fontevault he spoke of entering a "confederationem mutui amoris" ("an alliance of mutual love") and gaining her "familiaritatem",<sup>123</sup> while with Hugh of Cluny he entered the "uestibulum familiaritatis tue" ("forecourt of your familiarity"), a phrase evocative of the approach of a humble supplicant to whom his lord's inner court is not accessible.<sup>124</sup>

Betrayed by Abbot Theobald of Molesme over a financial matter, Peter appealed to the "privilegium amicitie" ("privilege of friendship") which he reminded Theobald that he himself had proclaimed in an earlier letter.<sup>125</sup> Legal metaphors were also very common. These mostly amounted to little more than conventional references to the "laws of friendship,"<sup>126</sup> but were occasionally more elaborate, as in Peter of Celle's declaration to Henry of France that he was: ". . . non contra legem me liberum in seruitutem distrahendo sed seruum amicitie tue in libertatem vindicando" ("... not distraining myself, a free man, into servitude contrary to the law but vindicating myself, a slave, into the freedom of your friendship").<sup>127</sup> And Peter's letter to the Cistercian abbot Hardouin of Larrivour is one of the finest examples of the exchange of friendly messages being expressed in the imagery of credit and debt; it opens:

De statu suo amico scribere soluere est debitum, et creditor si a debitore debitum receperit debitor liberabitur. Si amplius donum est iam datoris non creditoris debitum. Debet itaque pro beneficio huiusmodi gratiarum actionem non pro solutione debiti liberationem. Non dispari forma debitorem quidem me uestrum fateor, pro amicitia que circa amici statum semper sollicita est, quomodo me habeam uobis insinuare.

<sup>121</sup> See Haseldine, "Friends, Friendship and Networks," 260 (see note 37).

<sup>122</sup> Letter 89, *LPC*, 378–79.

<sup>123</sup> Letter 27, *LPC*, 86–87 (which suggests they may not have met); cf., e.g., "compacti amoris" ["compact of love"] in letter 163 to Richard of Salisbury (*ibid.*, 636–37).

<sup>124</sup> Letter 31, *LPC*, 116–17.

<sup>125</sup> Letter 138, *LPC*, 512–13.

<sup>126</sup> E.g., Peter of Celle letters 18, 65, 66; Peter the Venerable letter 12.

<sup>127</sup> Letter 21, *LPC*, 58–59.



[To write to a friend about one's own condition is to pay a debt, and if the creditor receives the debt from the debtor the debtor shall be freed. If more, it is now a gift from the giver, not the creditor's due. He ought therefore to offer thanks for a kindness of this sort rather than an acquittal for the payment of a debt. In a similar way it is as your debtor that I, for the sake of friendship which is always concerned for the condition of a friend, confess that I am confiding to you how I am.]<sup>128</sup>

While letters display this rich metaphorical language of reciprocation and obligation, evidence of more material means for the maintenance of friendly relations, such as the exchange of gifts, is far rarer. This is not surprising as letters were concerned to present an idealized, spiritual view of these relationships, and, as we have seen, to underline their authors' freedom from material or worldly concerns. Indeed, by far the most common commodity requested and promised in reciprocal exchanges is prayer.<sup>129</sup> Nevertheless, there are enough references to gifts to show that gift exchange was practiced to some extent. Peter of Celle offers the most direct affirmation of this, declaring: "*Res siquidem est familiaris amicitia, cotidianis refricanda salutationibus, immo irriganda mutuis colloctionibus, et forte renouanda munerum compensationibus*" ("For friendship is indeed a familiar thing, to be refreshed by daily greetings, nay watered by mutual conversation, and perhaps to be renewed with reciprocation of gifts").<sup>130</sup> We have already seen how the papal chancellor Haimeric cultivated the friendship of the Cistercians with gifts,<sup>131</sup> and there are a number of references to gifts given or received, often at the end of letters or in postscripts,<sup>132</sup> sometimes stressing that the gift is worth less than the affection which motivates it.<sup>133</sup>

An aspect of friendly relations about which letter collections are even less forthcoming is the termination of friendships.<sup>134</sup> Again this is not surprising since

<sup>128</sup> Letter 28, *LPC*, 92–95.

<sup>129</sup> This could be in the context of confraternity pacts, although very few of the references explicitly make that connection and the links between confraternity pacts and epistolary friendship are notoriously hard to make (see Julian Haseldine, "Understanding the Language of *amicitia*: The Friendship Circle of Peter of Celle (c.1115–1183)," *Journal of Medieval History* 20 (1994): 237–60; here 259 and n. 49. In Bernard of Clairvaux's collection there are 112 references to prayers requested or offered and only 6 specifically to confraternities; for Peter the Venerable the figures are 25 and 2, and for Peter of Celle 51 and 5.

<sup>130</sup> Letter 89, *LPC*, 378–79.

<sup>131</sup> For further discussions, see above.

<sup>132</sup> Bernard letters 100, 119, 120, 175, 310, 311, 341, 368, 389, 409; Peter the Venerable nos. 54, 60, 66, 89, 111, 115; Peter of Celle nos. 16, 21, 69, 74, 89, 115, 135, 163, 174, 183; there is also one example of a gift rejected and returned by Bernard of Clairvaux, on behalf of the community, to an unworthy (unnamed) donor: Bernard letter 540.

<sup>133</sup> E.g. Peter of Celle letter 16.

<sup>134</sup> There is ample evidence of breaches and crises in friendships, often in letters of reconciliation (see below), but not of their final ending.

true friendship, as we have seen, was held ideally to be eternal and unchanging and what letter collections present is not unmediated evidence of social or political relations but pictures of selected bonds refracted through the lens of idealized friendship. Bernard of Clairvaux's collection provides us with the only direct evidence of a threat to break off a friendship. The letter is evidently to a potential convert who had gone back on his word to come to Clairvaux, and so again the friendship is integrally bound up with religious vocation, loyalty and institutional bonds. Bernard begs him in the name of love and of the friendship of the community to come, adding: "*Alioquin ex hoc iam noveris te a nostrae fraternitatis familiaritate prorsus expositum, nec poteris ultra, nisi frustra, blandiri de societate bonorum . . .*"<sup>135</sup> ("Otherwise know you that from now on you are cut off from the fellowship of our brotherhood, and will never be able, except in vain, to flatter yourself on your friendship with good men . . .").<sup>136</sup>

But a threat to a potential convert in a common enough genre of letter, the recruitment letter, is not the same as evidence of the breaking off of established or important relationships. Perhaps more typical of real situations is Peter of Celle's apparently breaking off relations with Hugh of Cluny after Hugh had taken the imperial side in the papal schism of 1159: the letters simply stop. This was a real betrayal. Peter had, in another context, called Hugh "*amic[us] nost[er], ueritatis immo amic[us]*" ("our friend, nay the friend of truth").<sup>137</sup> This coupling, evoking the Ciceronian idea that true friendship was contingent not on personal affections but on adherence to shared values, was commonplace; Hugh's stance on the papal schism thus excluded him from both.<sup>138</sup>

## Friendships in Action

While the erudite and allusive professions of spiritual or true friendship in these letters can be complex and difficult to interpret, and while the evidence they provide for the origins and maintenance of relationships, intimate or formal, can be elusive and indirect, letter collections all offer copious evidence for the practical uses to which bonds of friendship were put. Monastic writers did not live in isolation from the wider world of political- or allegiance- friendship around them. Anselm himself had been quite clear about the importance of this sort of friendship, writing to his former community of Bec in 1093:

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<sup>135</sup> Letter 415, *SBO* 8, 399.

<sup>136</sup> *BSJ* (no. 446), 511.

<sup>137</sup> Letter 34, *LPC*, 130–31.

<sup>138</sup> On the phrase itself, cf. Cicero, *De officiis*, i. 19. 63; on Peter of Celle's relations with Hugh of Cluny, see *LPC*, 128, n. 1.

Memores etiam estote qua ratione semper ecclesiae Beccensi amicos acquirere consuevi; et hoc exemplo amicos vobis undecumque acquirere festinate, hospitalitatis bonum sectando, benignitatem omnibus impendendo, et, ubi facultas operis defuerit, affabilis sermonis gratiam porrigendo. Nec umquam satis vos habere amicos credatis, sed sive divites sive pauperes, omnes vobis in amore fraternitatis conglutinate, quatenus hoc et ad vestrae ecclesiae utilitatem proficere et ad eorum quos diligitis salutem valeat pertingere.<sup>139</sup>

[Remember . . . how I always used to gain friends for the church of Bec: following this example, hasten to gain friends for yourselves from all sides by exercising the good deed of hospitality, dispensing generosity to all men, and when you do not have the opportunity of doing good works, by according at least the gift of a kind word. Never consider that you have enough friends, but whether rich or poor, let them all be bound to you by brotherly love. This will be to the advantage of your church and promote the welfare of those you love.]<sup>140</sup>

Bernard of Clairvaux pointed out the dangers of friendlessness in a letter to an unidentified bishop, asking: "Placeat vobis quod pauper ecclesia Sancti Martini collatum sibi a Deo paupertatis levamen magis fortasse amicorum quam iustitiae inopia perdit?" ("Are you satisfied that the poor church of Saint-Martin, more for lack of friends than for want of justice, should lose the relief of her poverty which has been granted to her by God's mercy?")<sup>141</sup> He also once complained about his opponents being "amici Cluniacenses" ("friends of Cluny").<sup>142</sup> On another occasion he advised Odo of Marmoutier to stop complaining about the outcome of a case because the arbitrators were men "de quorum satis non solum probata aequitate, sed et privata, ut bene novimus, familiaritate confiditis" (" . . . not only in whose proven justice but also in whose private friendship you could, as we well know, have every confidence").<sup>143</sup>

Indeed, as we have already seen, far from treating friendship as potentially corrupting of justice, letters often declared friends to be at the same time the friends of truth, of God, of the Church, or of Christ. Peter of Celle, again, for example, writing to the pope in support of a request for preferment introduced those bringing the case as "Amici nostri, immo ueritatis et honestatis" ("Our friends, nay the friends of truth and honesty").<sup>144</sup>

<sup>139</sup> Letter 165, *S. Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi* 4, 39; cf. letter 185.

<sup>140</sup> Fröhlich, *The Letters of Saint Anselm*, 58–59 (see note 29).

<sup>141</sup> Letter 423, *SBO* 8., 407; trans. BSJ (no. 454), 515; cf. letter 429 on having friends.

<sup>142</sup> Letter 166, *SBO* 7, 377; trans. BSJ (no. 181), 253 (more literally "Cluniac friends" — those named in the letter were not Cluniacs but the phrasing perhaps suggests a tighter relationship, that they are not just separately or individually friends of Cluny but united in a joint bond which embraces them all); cf. also letter 205. See also the contribution to this volume by Marc Saurette.

<sup>143</sup> Letter 397, *SBO* 8, 375; trans. adapted from BSJ (no. 429), 500.

<sup>144</sup> Letter 4, *LPC*, 10–11; cf. also above, and letters 34, 44, but such phrases are commonplace in all collections.

Friendship is in fact commonly associated with political allegiance.<sup>145</sup> At the height of the bitter dispute over the episcopal election at Langres in 1138, Peter the Venerable, writing to Bernard of Clairvaux, linked *amicitia* directly to loyalty and to political relations between the orders, appealing to Bernard's relations with the Cluniacs and accusing Bernard of failing to heed and trust his friends: "Credite magis domesticis quam extraneis, notis quam ignotis, amicis veridicis quam inimicis maledicis"<sup>146</sup> ("Trust members of your household more than outsiders, acquaintances more than strangers, friends speaking truth more than slandering enemies"). Peter also accused his brother Pontius, abbot of Vézelay, of failing to help him broker a peace between their two other brothers, Heraclius and Eustace, who had now sworn friendship:

Dormienti itaque fratri, nec pro fratre nec pro fratribus a somno diutino evigilare volenti indico, tantam tamque diuturnam fratrum guerram, meo meo inquam studio, mea cura, mea inquietudine, praevia et adiutrice dei gratia consopitam, Eracliumque et Eustachium germanos, sacramentis inviolabilibus in perpetuam foedus amicitiamque iuratos.<sup>147</sup>

[And so I proclaim to a sleeping brother, one willing to stir himself from a long sleep neither for one brother nor for all, that so great and protracted a fraternal conflict has been settled by my, my I say, efforts, through my trouble, my concern, with the help of God's providential grace, and that the brothers Heraclius and Eustace have sworn a perpetual pact and friendship with inviolable oaths.]

A letter of Bernard of Clairvaux to Stephen of Palestrina concerning the conflict between Louis VII and Theobald of Champagne, one of Clairvaux's greatest patrons and supporters, makes clear Bernard's direct involvement in the negotiation of a pact of friendship<sup>148</sup>:

Praeterea Rex, nobis quidem non parum laborantibus, pacem cum comite Theobalde fecerat, firmae, ut putavimus, amicitiae foedus inierat; et ecce occasiones quaerit quomodo recedat ab amico [cf. Prov. 18: 1].<sup>149</sup>

<sup>145</sup> See the contribution to this volume by John A. Dempsey.

<sup>146</sup> Letter 29, *LPV* 1, 102–03; on the dispute, see Constable, "The Disputed Election at Langres"; cf. also letter 66 to Cardinal Gilo of Tusculum similarly linking *amicitia* to political allegiance in the papal schism.

<sup>147</sup> Letter 91, *LPV* 1, 232–33 (1138/56); on the brothers and their conflict see *ibid.* 2, 241–42; cf. also letter 116.

<sup>148</sup> See also letters 45, recording a pact of friendship between the king and the Cistercians, and 466, on Clairvaux's friendship with the king.

<sup>149</sup> Letter 224, *SBO* 8, 92; Theobald was also a *confrater* (letter 517); see also Newman, *Boundaries of Charity*, 147, 173 (see note 1); letter 222, in defence of Theobald, also refers to the king's "homines . . . et amici" ("vassals . . . and friends"), *SBO* 8, 87; *BSJ* (no. 298), 367.

[The king, when we had taken some little trouble in the matter, made peace with Count Theobald and what we believed to be a firm pact of friendship. But he is now seeking excuses to be rid of his friend.]<sup>150</sup>

There are also a number of instances in these collections where we can get an insight into the possible consequences of publicly avowed friendships. When Hugh, the abbot of Trois-Fontaines, Clairvaux's first daughter house, was made a cardinal in 1150 he became involved in a bitter dispute with Bernard of Clairvaux over the election of a successor, during the course of which Bernard warned him that any slur he might make against Bernard would reflect back on himself because of their known friendship:

Si ita de me sentitis, videte ne vestram quoque excellentiam pariter involvat hoc nubilum. Quippe qui cum eiusmodi tam notam omnibus familiaritatem atque amicitiam semel initam, tanto studio hucusque fovistis.<sup>151</sup>

[If you do believe this of me [i.e. that Bernard would support a dishonorable cause], have a care that the slur does not fasten itself on you too, for it is well known that you have been my intimate friend and that up till now you have valued our friendship.]<sup>152</sup>

More commonly there is evidence of complainants appealing to known friends of their opponents or of their judges to bring their influence to bear even where they had no official jurisdiction. Bernard, for example, told Abbot Odo of Beaulieu that a poor man had brought to him his case against Odo "propter familiarem specialemque amicitiam quam inter me et vos esse audivit" ("because he had heard of the special and intimate friendship between us . . ."); and Bernard, "de qua etiam ipse praesumens" ("presuming on that very friendship . . ."), was taking up the man's case.<sup>153</sup> When John of Salisbury became bishop of Chartres, Peter of Celle found dissatisfied plaintiffs coming to him, as he told John, ". . . propter antiquam nostram amicitiam . . ." (" . . . on account of our long-standing friendship . . ."), and asking him to act " . . . quasi magistrum et iudicem . . ." (" . . . as if master and judge . . .").<sup>154</sup> The obligations of friendship were not always welcome; in a letter to two recipients, described as a relative and a friend, Bernard complains:

Feci quod voluistis et quod ad me omnino non pertinebat, nisi quia vos voluistis. . . . Deinde etiam hominem illum, pro quo me precantes, ducissam me precari compulstis,

<sup>150</sup> BSJ (no. 300), 370.

<sup>151</sup> Letter 306, *SBO* 8, 223.

<sup>152</sup> BSJ (no. 373) 444.

<sup>153</sup> Letter 407, *SBO* 8, 388; trans. adapted from BSJ (no. 439), 507.

<sup>154</sup> Letter 176, *LPC*, 674–77; cf. also letters 177–78 and 151.

ita semper cognovimus a iuventute sua malis fuisse intentum et ab omni bono elongatum . . . .<sup>155</sup>

[I have done what you wanted. It was no concern of mine except that it was your wish that I should do it. . . . I have always known that this man, on behalf of whom you persuaded me to intercede with the duke's lady, has been intent on evil and far removed from good . . . .]<sup>156</sup>

These occasional details are illuminating but more striking is the extent to which all of these letter collections abound with appeals, petitions, interventions in disputes, and recommendations for support or patronage, many of which invoke love or friendship. Appeals and petitions alone account for about 40 per cent of the surviving letters of Bernard of Clairvaux and of Peter the Venerable, and 30 per cent of Peter of Celle's, and while Bernard invokes love or friendship in just under half of these, the others do so in over 80 per cent of their appeals. This feature of letter collections has given rise to a second major strand in the historiography of friendship which has moved the focus away from the concern to identify and explore the individual personal relationships underlying epistolary professions of friendship and towards the tracing of circles or networks of friends. This approach was based originally on the concept of instrumental friendships, a range of ties and obligations which were contracted beyond the sphere of close emotional ties (which were now termed affective friendships) and were the basis for the formation of extensive networks of mutual support and cooperation operating at a range of levels from local disputes over land or money to major political affairs. More recently the sharp distinction between affective and instrumental relationships has been nuanced and historians have also begun to look to the newer models of trust building and social capital to describe networks which incorporate, as we have seen above, a range of different relationships and degrees of acquaintance under a common language of friendship.<sup>157</sup> This is currently a

<sup>155</sup> Letter 443, SBO 7, 421; cf. also letter 274.

<sup>156</sup> BSJ (no. 462), 518.

<sup>157</sup> See for example Ian S. Robinson, "The Friendship Network of Gregory VII," *History* 63 (1978): 1–22; Helmut Feld, "Die europäische Politik Gerberts von Aurillac: Freundschaft und Treue als politische Tugenden," *Gerberto, scienza, storia e mito*, ed. Michele Tosi. Archivum Bobiense, Studia II (Bobbio/Piacenza: Ed. degli A.S.B., 1985), 695–731; John McLoughlin, "Amicitia in Practice: John of Salisbury (c.1120–1180) and his Circle," *England in the Twelfth Century, Proceedings of the 1988 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Daniel Williams (Woodbridge, Suffolk, and Wolfeboro, NH: Boydell Press, 1990), 165–81; Julian Haseldine, "Understanding the Language of *amicitia*. The Friendship Circle of Peter of Celle (c.1115–1183)," *Journal of Medieval History* 20 (1994): 237–60; Margaret E. Mullett, *Theophylact of Ochrid: Reading the Letters of a Byzantine Archbishop* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997); and Walter Ysebaert, "Ami, client et intermédiaire: Étienne de Tournai et ses réseaux de relations (1167–1192)," *Sacris Erudiri* 40 (2001): 415–67; on this "new agenda" in Friendship Studies, see Margaret E. Mullett, "Power, Relations and Networks in Medieval Europe: Introduction," *Revue Belge de philologie et d'histoire* 83 (2005): 255–59; here 257.

rapidly developing area of research with a number of research groups and projects active in the field.<sup>158</sup>

At the same time, while historians, as we have already seen, have examined the distinctions between monastic *caritas* on the one hand and love and friendship on the other, less attention has been paid to the distinctions in usage between love and friendship themselves, when, for example, writers used terms like *amor* or *dilectio*, which describe feelings or states, and when *amicitia* (friendship), which describes a relationship. This is an area which merits further study, but as we move from elaborate and idealized professions of affection to more pragmatic invocations of obligations and reciprocal bonds a greater concentration on *amicitia* itself can be observed in some contexts.<sup>159</sup> Over two thirds of the letters in which Bernard expresses love or friendship are appeals, petitions, disputes of some sort, or recommendations, but over three quarters of the letters in which he specifically calls the recipients friends fall into these categories. In the cases of both Peter the Venerable and Peter of Celle, however, while again about two thirds of the letters which express love or friendship are likewise appeals, petitions, disputes, or recommendations, only something over half of those where the recipients are called friends fall into these categories.<sup>160</sup> The picture becomes more complex if we look at these different types of letters separately. Taking appeals first, Peter of Celle explicitly invokes *amicitia* or addresses the recipient as a friend in only about one third of instances, and Peter the Venerable in about a quarter, while Bernard does so in only 10 per cent.<sup>161</sup> Those appeals which do invoke friendship can be

<sup>158</sup> Current projects include the British Academy-sponsored *Friendship Networks* group (see above) and the Graduiertenkolleg, *Freunde, Gömmer, Getreue* at the Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg ([www.grk-freundschaft.uni-freiburg.de](http://www.grk-freundschaft.uni-freiburg.de), last accessed on August 1, 2010).

<sup>159</sup> This distinction is explored in McLoughlin, "*Amicitia* in Practice," and Haseldine, "Friends, Friendship and Networks."

<sup>160</sup> Bernard of Clairvaux calls the recipient a friend in 69 letters (13.6% of the collection); of these, 22 are appeals or petitions, 24 addressed to opponents in disputes or enemies of some sort, and 10 include recommendations (3 in letters with no other appeal); Peter the Venerable calls recipients friend in 65 letters (38.5%), of which 13 are appeals, 13 to opponents, and 4 include recommendations (2 in letters with no other appeal); Peter of Celle calls recipients friends in 92 letters (50.5%), of which 17 are appeals, 18 to opponents, and 13 recommendations (7 in letters with no other appeal). Bernard expresses love or friendship in 254 letters (50% of the collection), of which 96 are appeals, 48 to opponents, and 25 include recommendations (11 of which are recommendation only); Peter the Venerable does so in 152 letters (89.9%), of which 50 are appeals, 23 to opponents, and 12 recommendations (5 recommendation only), and Peter of Celle in 156 letters (85.7%), of which 44 are appeals, 27 to opponents, and 13 recommendations (7 recommendation only).

<sup>161</sup> Bernard's collection includes 207 appeals, 96 appealing to love or friendship, including 22 invoking friendship explicitly; Peter the Venerable has 69 appeals, 61 invoking love and friendship, including 18 invoking friendship explicitly; Peter of Celle 50 appeals, 41 love and friendship, including 17 friendship explicitly.

quite elaborate. One of the longest discussions of *amicitia* in Peter the Venerable's letters introduces an appeal to one of Cluny's staunchest allies, Geoffrey of Loreto, archbishop of Bordeaux, who had acted as overseer of Cluniac houses in Peter's absence, and who is declared to be the chief of Peter's friends and invited to act with full powers again in another matter.<sup>162</sup>

Peter of Celle also introduces a couple of his appeals with elaborate meditations on the nature of friendship.<sup>163</sup> More often, however, these communications are far simpler. In Bernard of Clairvaux's case, while some of his appeals are detailed and elaborate, most, and practically all of those which appeal directly to friendship or address the recipient as *amicus*, are brief and often quite direct and unadorned appeals to friendship, certainly not even approaching the theoretical epistolary model of *captatio*, narration, and petition.<sup>164</sup> This example, addressed to Haimeric the papal chancellor, in which the letter itself is barely twice the length of its salutation, is typical:

Non latet amicos nostros quod me familiari affectu diligitis, et tantae mihi felicitatis fructum invident, si solus habere voluero. Monachi Divionenses ob antiquam illius ecclesiae religionem mihi carissimi sunt. Sentiant, si placet, quod non sit amor otiosus, sive vester ad nos, sive noster ad illos, salva tamen in omnibus iustitia, contra quam ne amicum quidem respicere fas est.<sup>165</sup>

[Your affection for me is not hidden from our friends and, were I to keep the fruit of so great a happiness to myself, they would be envious of me. The monks of Dijon are very dear to me, because theirs is so venerable a foundation. May they learn, if it please you, that neither your love for me nor my love for them is fruitless, saving in all things justice, against which it would not be right to invoke the help even of a friend.]<sup>166</sup>

Most such appeals survive outside Bernard's official collection, in the *epistolae extra corpus*, for which we have no real equivalent in the other writers, and suggesting that what we do have in the official collections may be a small sample of what was a routine type of lobbying.<sup>167</sup> In some cases dossiers of such appeals

<sup>162</sup> Letter 106; for the details, see *LPV* 2, 169–70.

<sup>163</sup> Letters 18 and 89.

<sup>164</sup> See letters 15, 19, 66, 157, 160, 333, 338, 383, 406, 434, 439, 501, 509, 516, 518, 525, 526, 527, 532, 543, 545; appeals are occasionally appended to letters as postscripts, e.g. letter 35; some are longer, e.g. nos. 66 or 509, but most of the more detailed and elaborate appeal letters, and those dealing with major political cases, do not invoke *amicitia*.

<sup>165</sup> Letter 15, *SBO* 7, 64.

<sup>166</sup> *BSJ* (no. 16), 50.

<sup>167</sup> Letters transmitted outside official collections exist for all three of the authors considered here, but not in the same numbers: against the 190 for Bernard (*SBO* 8, 233–38, 451–52), only nine are known for Peter the Venerable, eight of which are versions of letters also in the collection (*LPV* 2, 63–80; Giles Constable, "An Unpublished Letter by Peter the Venerable to the Prior of Paray-le-Monial, Mesvres, and Luzu in 1147," *Studia Anselmiana* 85 [1982]: 207–16) and twelve for Peter of



survive for a single case. Six letters to Innocent II survive appealing for Hato of Troyes who had run into disputes over the reform of the clergy in his diocese. Only one, the first, runs to more than six lines in the modern edition, and gives some details about the case; the rest are shorter and comprise repeated direct appeals to friendships. These include appeals to Bernard's friendship for Hato – "Secure vovis utrumque cupio esse commendatum, et iustum scilicet, et amicum" ("I commend him to you with confidence on two accounts: both as a just man and as my friend")<sup>168</sup> – to Innocent's friendship for Bernard – "Augetis mihi gratiam et gloriam multiplicatis, cum, gratia mei, amici mei gratiam inveniunt in oculis vestris" ("When, for my sake, my friends find favor in your sight, you increase your favors to me and multiply my honors"),<sup>169</sup> – and to Bernard's friendship for those transacting the business – "Oportet vos esse amicum amicorum nostrorum et fratri N. assistere in causa quam portat" ("It behoves you to be a friend of my friends, and help brother N., in the cause which he brings to you").<sup>170</sup> Another letter of Bernard's illustrates the reciprocal ties and obligations which must have been common but of which we only occasionally get glimpses in the collections. It is addressed to Fulk, whose election to the see of Lyons Bernard had written to the pope to support:

Scripsimus ad dominum Papam dominus Episcopus et ego pro vobis, prout oportere putavimus, et habetis exemplar litterarum. Habemus autem in voluntate in aeternum non deficere vobis pro viribus, propter bonum quod de vobis confidimus. Vestra autem interest facere, ut non confundamur sic confidentes. De cetero si inveni gratiam in oculis vestris [cf. Gen. 18: 3, Ps. 40: 2], intelligite super egenos et pauperes illos qui sunt apud Benedictionem Dei. Quod enim uni ex illis feceritis, mihi, immo Christo, facietis. . . . Hoc praecipue obsecramus ut Saviniacenses monachos prohibeatis ab infestatione eorum . . . .<sup>171</sup>

[The lord Bishop [of Langres] and myself have both written on your behalf, as we thought we ought to do, to the lord Pope, and you have a copy of both letters. We are resolved always to stand by you as far as we can, because we hope for much good from you. It is in your interest to see that our hopes are not disappointed. If I have found any favor in your sight, I beg you to bear in mind those poor and needy monks

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Celle, five of which are versions of letters also in the collection. (See *LPC*, *xlvi*–*liii*; Julian Haseldine, "A Lost Letter of Peter of Celle," *Monastic Research Bulletin* 13 [2007]: 1–8). Such letters are by no means archival survivals of original letters, but selected, preserved, and transmitted equally deliberately but separately, and often in other collections, and must be read as such (see Haseldine, "Friends, Friendship and Networks," 248).

<sup>168</sup> Letter 438, *SBO* 8, 416, trans. BSJ (no. 268), 344; cf. letter 437.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>170</sup> Letter 434, *SBO* 8, 414, trans. BSJ (no. 266), 343; cf. letter 439; another such sequence is letters 158–63.

<sup>171</sup> Letter 173, *SBO* 7, 387.

at Bénissons-Dieu. What you do for one of these you do for me, or rather for Christ. . . I especially beg you to prevent the monks of Savigny from molesting them . . . ]<sup>172</sup>

The letter even concludes with a recommendation. Recommendations of third parties, either for those involved in particular disputes or for patronage more generally, are another context where we see direct appeals to friendship; these occur mostly as brief postscripts but sometimes as the sole reason for a letter. Often those commended are the bearers of the letters; sometimes they are commended not on their own account but as reliable and confidential messengers.<sup>173</sup> These letters again occasionally give evidence of wider support networks. In a letter to Gilduin of Saint-Victor, Bernard explained that his friend the bishop of Lucca had recommended Peter Lombard to him, whom he is now in turn recommending to Gilduin as he (Peter) travels to Paris. This little vignette from the early career of the great scholastic also casts in a different light the traditional picture of Bernard the champion of monastic spirituality against the schools.<sup>174</sup> John of Salisbury was another famous figure who benefitted from Bernard's recommendation at a critical juncture in his early career, in this case when he returned to England to begin his clerical career in the curia of Archbishop Theobald of Canterbury. Bernard's letter to Theobald is one of his more fulsome recommendations, but is certainly not unique in the nature of its appeal: "Unde factum est ut preésentium latorem Ioannem, amicum meum et amicum amicorum meorum, mittam ad sublimitatem vestram, ad liberalitatem vestram, ad familiaritatem vestram, quam in vobis et de vobis habere praesumo" ("And so it is that I am sending your Highness John, the bearer of this letter, a friend of mine and of my friends, prevailing upon the generosity and the friendship which I enjoy from you").<sup>175</sup>

We do not know how well John knew Bernard, and Bernard had probably only met Theobald once; the connection here, hidden behind the reference to "a friend . . . of my friends," is almost certainly Peter of Celle, who got Bernard to use his high-level political contact to benefit John.<sup>176</sup> Sometimes the request is for friendship itself, as for example when Peter the Venerable commended a Cluniac prior to Bishop Albero of Liège; commending priories or dependencies to the protection or patronage of local bishops is not unusual, and here friendship is apparently used as synonym for patronage: "Specialiter autem pro domino Gerardo priore de Bertreis et domo sibi commissa vestram amicitiam deprecamur"

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<sup>172</sup> BSJ (no. 212), 287.

<sup>173</sup> E.g., Bernard of Clairvaux letters 393, 412, 435, Peter the Venerable no. 51; occasionally additional letters addressed to the bearers themselves, asking them to carry the other letters or adding further information, survive: e.g. Bernard of Clairvaux no. 518, Peter the Venerable no. 151.

<sup>174</sup> Letter 410.

<sup>175</sup> Letter 361, *SBO* 8, 307–08; trans. adapted from BSJ (no. 389), 459.

<sup>176</sup> *Letters of John of Salisbury* 1, xvi–xxiv.

("But we particularly ask for your friendship for lord Gerard, prior of Bertrée, and the house committed to him" [cf. Reg. S. Ben. c. ii]).<sup>177</sup>

If, as we have seen, appeals and recommendations invoking friendship may be under-represented in the official collections, the stress on the bond of friendship itself is more apparent when we move from these letters to those written to opponents in disputes. In half of the letters where Bernard is addressing an opponent, rebuking a recipient, or defending himself against a charge or accusation of some sort, he invokes love or friendship, and in a quarter of the cases friendship explicitly. But with Peter the Venerable and Peter of Celle practically every such letter invokes love or friendship, and more than half friendship specifically.<sup>178</sup> These letters were rarely written in the course of disputes or clashes with strangers or confirmed enemies; most were addressed to allies or acquaintances of some sort.<sup>179</sup> Sometime around 1150 Bernard launched a blistering attack on the Premonstratensians, a community with which he had been closely involved for many years, after a number of smaller disputes had evidently escalated into an exchange of mutual accusations and recriminations. The bitterness of the exchange reflects the years of cooperation and accord which had preceded it, many instances of which the letter details, and the eventual rift lasted until Bernard's death, but the letter ends with an extraordinary declaration of friendship:

Ego autem, fratres, quidquid vos faciatis, decrevi semper diligere vos, etiam non dilectus. Occasiones quaerat, qui vult recedere ab amico [cf. Prov. 18: 1]; mihi studii est, et erit, nec cuiquam amicorum iustam in me discessionis causam dare, nec scrutari in alio: quod hoc quidem fictae, illud vero neglectae amicitiae sit. . . . Adhaerebo vobis, etsi nolitis; adhaerebo, etsi nolim ipse.<sup>180</sup>

[For my part, brothers, I am determined to love you whatever you do, even if you do not return my love. He who wants to part with a friend searches for pretexts. It is my concern and wish never to give any friend of mine a pretext for parting with me nor to search for it in another, for the first is the mark of a false friendship and the second

<sup>177</sup> Letter 89, *LPV* 1, 230; cf. Peter of Celle letter 143; Peter of Celle's recommendations of a young scholar to Peter of Pavia also requested that friendship be conferred (letters 89–90).

<sup>178</sup> Bernard's collection includes 96 such letters, 48 invoking love or friendship, including 24 invoking friendship specifically; Peter the Venerable's includes 24, 23 invoking love or friendship including 13 friendship specifically; Peter of Celle's 28, 27 invoking love or friendship including 18 friendship specifically.

<sup>179</sup> E.g., Bernard of Clairvaux letters 4, 32, 35, 48, 67, 75, 127, 228, 250, 271, 306, 381, 382, 387, 395, 399, 407, 505; some unidentified: 292, 443; some more distant or evidently to strangers: 197, 253, 45 (to the king in the name of the whole order), and 319 (to the Roman people).

<sup>180</sup> Letter 253, *SBO* 8, 155; cf. also letter 68.

of a neglected one . . . I shall cling to you, even against your will; I shall cling to you, even against my own will.]<sup>181</sup>

While this might seem at first sight to illustrate a psychologically curious attitude to personal relationships, it is in fact a perfectly conventional, if strongly expressed, appeal to the ideal of eternal unchanging true friendship through which alliances and accords were normally articulated. Indeed it was quite normal to appeal to friendship in disputes or clashes; more importantly, however—and this is one of the more striking features of all of these collections—those recipients we know to have been closest to the writers, either as long-standing allies or personal acquaintances, intimates or confidants, are explicitly called friends almost exclusively in the contexts of clashes or disputes. In many cases relatively extensive correspondences are preserved with such acquaintances, and while these are full of expressions of love and affection, friendship itself is usually only invoked at moments of crisis. In the relatively large number of letters in Peter of Celle's collection to two of his closest friends and most frequent correspondents, Berneredus of Saint-Crépin and John of Salisbury, for example, *amicitia* is invoked most urgently and directly in letters of rebuke or warning.<sup>182</sup>

Another example comes in Peter the Venerable's correspondence with Henry of Blois.<sup>183</sup> Henry had been brought up and educated at Cluny until 1126, and so for some time under Peter's abbacy, and remained one of his closest allies and a frequent visitor.<sup>184</sup> Nine letters to him are included in the collection, but he is only addressed personally as a friend three times. The most elaborate invocation of friendship comes in a letter accusing him of deceiving Peter and betraying Cluny's interests in a dispute; it twice invokes "the faith of a true friend" and makes repeated and stressed reference to friendship.<sup>185</sup>

Elsewhere in this long and mostly amicable correspondence Henry is only twice more addressed as a friend, once, again, in a less critical but still potentially

<sup>181</sup> Trans. adapted from BSJ (no. 328), 407–08.

<sup>182</sup> Letters 132 and 176–77; other letters in disputes or rebukes invoking friendship are nos. 23, 32–33, 37–39, 111, 118–19, 138, 155; also 50–51, 158, and 160 in theological disputes (including letters to Nicholas of Clairvaux, another close friend).

<sup>183</sup> Letters 49, 55; other letters of opposition or rebuke invoking friendship are nos. 35–36, 39, 51, 66–67, 102, and 29, 111, 149, and 192 to Bernard of Clairvaux, see below note 189.

<sup>184</sup> Henry of Blois was abbot of Glastonbury (1126–1171) and bishop of Winchester (1129–1171); see Lena Voss, *Heinrich von Blois, Bischoff von Winchester*. (Berlin: Ebering, 1932); *English Episcopal Acta VIII: Winchester 1070–1204*, ed. Michael J. Franklin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), xxxv–xlix, 15–102. He may have spent some time before 1126 as prior of Montacute in Somerset (*The Heads of Religious Houses*, 121, and the corrigendum at 269), so it is uncertain for exactly what periods they might have been together at Cluny; on his relations with Cluny, see LPV 2, 130–31.

<sup>185</sup> Letter 49: "... sed veri fidem amici a me vobis servari mandastis. ... Fidem veri amici me vobis servare promisi" (LPV 1, 149) ("... but you enjoined me to keep towards you the faith of a true friend. ... I promised to keep towards you the faith of a true friend"). Letter 55, written later apparently in a spirit of reconciliation, alludes to friendship indirectly.

difficult context when Peter had to apologize for having missed his visit to Cluny.<sup>186</sup> This is even more striking in the correspondence between Bernard of Clairvaux and Peter the Venerable, those exchanges which have been pored over more exhaustively than any others for clues to the nature of the feelings and emotions the two supposedly felt for one another. The vicissitudes of their purported stormy emotional encounter have even colored the historiography of the relations between their orders and been seen as determining the course of the great Cluniac-Cistercian debates.<sup>187</sup> Yet, apart from Peter's letter 65, which was the first direct contact between them and which referred, as we have seen, to a recent first meeting at which a formal friendship was apparently entered into,<sup>188</sup> practically all subsequent invocations of friendship come in the contexts of conflicts between the two men and their orders and were attempts to ameliorate tensions or resolve disputes.<sup>189</sup> It was not that their personal relations drove the course of monastic relations, but rather, it would seem, that their invocations of *amicitia* were conventional and necessary responses to avert crises in a changing political and diplomatic situation.<sup>190</sup>

<sup>186</sup> No. 59 (1134/1135): *LPV* 1, 190; 2, 138; the other occasion is in letter 60, requesting that Henry be buried at Cluny (see *LPV* 2, 138). In letter 56 Henry is referred to as a friend and *confrater* of the order, and in letter 88 again as a friend of the order, but these are, once more, institutional not personal ties.

<sup>187</sup> See, e.g., Knowles, *Cistercians and Cluniacs* (see note 16); Bredero, *Cluny et Cîteaux* (see note 16); id., *Bernard of Clairvaux*, 227–39 (see note 80); McGuire, *Friendship and Community*, 253–70 (see note 3).

<sup>188</sup> See above xx; Peter's letter 28 (1127), his earlier epistolary treatise in defence of the Cluniacs, almost certainly predates any personal contact between the two men; it is uncertain why it was addressed to Bernard of Clairvaux and there has been extensive debate about its relation, or lack of relation, to Bernard's *Apologia* (see *LPV* 2, 270–74; Knight, *The Correspondence*, 26–27). The prevalent view that letter 65 was the beginning of a close personal friendship was first challenged by Ambrogio M. Piazzoni, "Un falso problema storiografico. Note a proposito della 'amicizia' tra Pietro il venerabile di Cluny e Bernardo di Clairvaux," *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio Muratoriano* 89 (1981): 443–87; the letter has also been read as connected to the protracted title dispute between Le Miroir and Gigny, either as a plea for mediation (Bredero, *Bernard of Clairvaux*, 232), or a veiled reproach (Knight, *The Correspondence*, 86).

<sup>189</sup> Peter only calls Bernard a friend five more times, all in the context of disputes (letters 29, 111, 149, 181, and 192); Bernard only calls Peter a friend four times, twice in the course of disputes (letters 228 and 387), once in a collective context of the sort we have seen before, referring to Peter as a friend and *confrater* of the Cistercians (letter 389, although this too is juxtaposed with a report of the resolution of a dispute between Cluny and Clairvaux), and once more publicly, requesting Peter's attendance at the council of Compiègne (letter 521).

<sup>190</sup> See Haseldine, "Friends, Friendship and Networks," 261–63.

## Conclusions

The study of friendship in monastic letters has been guided mainly by two concerns. The first has been to identify and examine the nature of the individual personal relationships which lay behind the often elaborate professions of love and friendship found in some letters. This approach has sought to recover evidence of those human experiences from often highly self-conscious and rhetorically crafted sources, and also to trace developments in cultural values in areas such as individualism, which are seen as implicit in the ways in which the articulation of personal relations changed.<sup>191</sup> The second approach has been concerned to trace wider patterns of cooperation, allegiance, and network formation expressed as friendships. Here historians have looked to concepts such as instrumental friendship, or more recently trust building, to explain the cultivation of amicable or pseudo-friendly relations beyond a supposed inner core of close affectionate personal relationships. While both of these approaches have been very fruitful, they each rest ultimately on a distinction between genuine affectionate relationships on the one hand and artificial, pragmatic, or instrumental bonds on the other which is not always supported by the evidence of the letter collections themselves.

The problem which all of these approaches encounter is, as we have seen, that the language used in letters does not embody such distinctions. However interesting it might be to know whether a given relationship was based on warm affection or on calculations of mutual interest, without corroborative evidence external to the letters (the sort of evidence which is lacking for the majority of relationships), we cannot answer this question. But this is not just a regrettable gap in the evidence; the problem reflects in part traditional assumptions about the nature of the evidence of epistolary friendship. The difficulties of interpreting friendly language in these letters arise not from their indiscriminate use of that language in diverse contexts but rather from a conception of friendship which was not constructed around distinctions between affection and pragmatism.<sup>192</sup> Personal affection was evidently only one route into formal and publicly acknowledged bonds of friendship; shared ideals and mutual self-interest were others, and approaches negotiated through intermediaries were common. Once the bond was accepted the same rules, behaviors, and obligations were expected to apply.

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<sup>191</sup> Notably McGuire, *Friendship and Community* (see note 3).

<sup>192</sup> Nor does such a distinction feature in ancient or medieval theory, for while false friendship was defined as the pursuit of selfish gain or utility, true friendship was characterized not by private affection (which both true and false friendships could exhibit) but by virtue; see above p. and note 34.

Furthermore, when letters were selected and possibly edited for inclusion in collections, the relationships which they reflected came to serve another purpose again, to present the author in a particular light: thus correspondence with a recipient deemed to represent piety, for example, might reflect only those aspects of the relationship, and of any original correspondence, relevant to that aim. The relationship between Aelred of Rievaulx and Bernard of Clairvaux with which we began, had itself, as we have seen, a specific context (as a literary collaboration expressed as a friendship), a traceable intermediary (the abbot William, Bernard's former monk), and a recognizable purpose (in the propagation of Cistercian ideals). Above all, the relationships presented in letter collections were those of love or friendship understood not as private bonds in contrast to those of a public sphere, but rather as particular bonds conceived as distinct from the universal obligations of monastic *caritas* and as having a range of political, diplomatic, and institutional functions. A focus on the underlying genuineness or otherwise of relationships, or on categorisations of relationship types, are valid and interesting concerns, but these are phenomena for which letters provide evidence only incidentally and this can lead us to overlook the bonds, relationships, and ideals which were actively cultivated or promoted and for which letter collections provide direct evidence. Giving equal attention to the functions and uses of friendship bonds and their presentation in collections can shed valuable new light on the development of these important spheres of social and political interaction.





## Chapter 8

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### Ideological Friendship In The Middle Ages: Bonizo of Sutri and His *Liber Ad Amicum*

#### I. The *Liber Ad Amicum* as a Patarene Text<sup>1</sup>

In his *Liber ad amicum* of ca. 1085–1086, Bishop Bonizo of Sutri, the Patarene activist, surveys the history of papal-imperial relations from the age of Constantine to the conflict between Pope Gregory VII and Henry IV of Germany. Even though Bonizo's defense of Gregory's pontificate figures prominently in his narrative, his text is not a Gregorian one that is principally concerned with the pope and his dealings with the German emperor. Rather, Bonizo's history is fundamentally a Patarene text addressed to a Patarene friend about their movement's relationship with the controversial pontiff, the reform papacy in general, and the House of Canossa. For Bonizo, friendship was rooted in a common ideology. An *amicus* or friend was one who had shared Bonizo's ideological and spiritual formation within a Patarene community and adhered to that community's ecclesio-political agenda and spiritual norms. Evidence exists within Bonizo's text that indicates that his primary audience was his own Patarene community of his native Cremona.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Bonizo's movement, the Pataria, had its origin in the reformist preaching of the deacon Arialdo of Varese in Milan in the late 1050s. Arialdo assailed the deeply entrenched practices of simony, lay investiture, and nicolaitism (i.e., a married clergy) in the Milanese church. The often violent movement spread across Lombardy in the 1060s to other cities where these same ecclesiastical practices flourished. Bonizo likely encountered the Pataria as a young man in his native Cremona. While the Lombard ecclesiastical establishment loathed the Pataria and its confrontational tactics, the papal reformers in Rome saw the popular movement as a valuable ally in their own efforts to reform the Lombard churches.

<sup>2</sup> Walter Berschin has convincingly asserted that Bonizo came from Cremona. See Walter Berschin, *Bonizo von Sutri: Leben und Werk*. Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters, 2 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter 1972), 5–6.

There is good reason to believe that his friend was in fact a Patarene cleric with whom he had lived and studied in Cremona.<sup>3</sup>

Bonizo's circle of friends extended beyond the clergy to encompass the laity, particularly members of the knightly class who would have received a Patarene formation from the group's clerical representatives. Brian Stock noted some time ago that the Pataria brought together its clerical and lay members together in the common cause of ecclesiastical reform.<sup>4</sup> Without abolishing the notion of a clerical hierarchy and while maintaining the canonical boundaries between clergy and laity, the Pataria made its lay members full partners in its enterprise of reforming the Lombard churches. Bonizo's central assertion in the *ad amicum*, which had its origins in the Patarene experience, that a knight could meritoriously wield the sword in defense of orthodox doctrine against a heretical Christian emperor represents a milestone in medieval Christianity's attitude toward holy violence and lay spirituality. Holy violence constituted the unique contribution of Bonizo's lay *amici* to their joint effort to cleanse God's church. Holy violence was thus an act of friendship.

The dramatic high point of Bonizo's papal-imperial history does not directly involve either Gregory VII or Henry IV. Instead, it concerns a diabolical act of violence that constituted the darkest moment in Patarene history and one with which his friend was all too familiar. In Book VII of the *ad amicum*, Bonizo graphically recounts the murder in 1075 of the lay leader of the Pataria, the knight Erlembald Cotta, in Milan. He recalls the day when the Pataria's demonically inspired enemies in the city cornered an unsuspecting Erlembald in the middle of a street and killed him. Erlembald's murderers ignominiously left his naked corpse in the street for an entire day to the great shame of all of Christianity.<sup>5</sup> In a gloss

<sup>3</sup> There is an important clue in the final line of Bonizo's history that indicates that Bonizo's *amicus* was indeed a cleric. He writes here that in contrast to the soldiers of the most glorious God, who should join Matilda of Tuscany in military combat against the heresy then sowing its seed in the church, he and his friend both should pray according to the nature of their shared office that this heresy should perish most quickly from the rebuke of God's countenance. Clerics, of course, were forbidden by ecclesiastical law to bear arms. It would seem, then, that it was the duty of Bonizo and his fellow Patarene cleric to pray for the success of the armed conflict of their lay Patarene *amici*. Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VIII 620: "Nos autem secundum officii nostri tenorem oremus, ut, incensa igni et suffossa ab increpatione vultus tui, citissime pereat" (This and all subsequent translations are my own original translations: However, as is according to the nature of our office, let us pray that it (the vine of God) having been set ablaze by fire and uprooted that it (heresy) might perish most quickly from the rebuke of Your (i.e., God's) countenance.).

<sup>4</sup> Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 226.

<sup>5</sup> Bonizo of Sutri, *Liber ad amicum*, ed. Ernst Dummler, MGH Libelli de Lite, I (Hanover: Hahn 1891), VII, 605 (page references are to reprint edition): "eumque ignominiose nudatum, oblitus generis eius et dignitatis, ad ignominiam totius christianitatis per totem diem relinquunt inhumatum" (and that man most ignominiously naked, they were forgetful of his humanity and dignity, to the ignominy of all Christianity for the whole day they left him unburied).

of 1 *Maccabees* 9:21, Bonizo recollects that upon Erlembald's death all Catholics from Rome to the British sea were saddened and cried out: "How our champion has fallen, who used to fight the war of the Lord."<sup>6</sup>

Bonizo vaguely alludes to the fact that Erlembald's murder triggered a conservative re-action against the popular reform movement across northern Italy. By the time of the *ad amicum's* composition, the Pataria was lingering on the fringes of Lombardy's ecclesio-political establishment, pushed there by its opponents in the social and ecclesiastical hierarchies of the region. Bonizo himself was living in exile at the court of Countess Matilda of Tuscany, the heiress of the House of Canossa. On their way to Rome in 1081 or 1082, the forces of Henry IV of Germany had earlier dislodged the Patarene bishop from his See in Sutri and these same Henrician forces subsequently captured him outside of Rome in 1082. He remained in Henry's custody until his release in the mid 1080s. Like several other exiled reformist bishops, Bonizo then made his way to the territory of Matilda of Tuscany, the papal ally.

Bonizo vigorously defends the late pope's controversial treatment of the German monarch and calls for armed resistance against the imperial party in imitation of Matilda, who was then waging a desperate military struggle against Henry and his Italian allies. Scholars have thus classified the *ad amicum* as a piece of Gregorian polemic in the war of words that erupted between the papal and imperial camps in the 1070s and 1080s. Some have gone so far as to describe the *ad amicum* as a biography of Gregory.<sup>7</sup> In categorizing Bonizo's history as a Gregorian text, however, scholars have neglected to explore fully the connection between the author's ideological background and the orientation and primary meaning of his work. Bonizo was always first and foremost a Patarene operative. When one reads the *ad amicum* with this in mind, the Patarene character and orientation of Bonizo's history come into focus. The many episodes relating to the history of the Pataria in Bonizo's text, such as the vivid recollection of Erlembald Cotta's murder, no longer appear to be of secondary importance to the author's purpose, but instead take on great significance.

Bonizo writes a good deal about Gregory VII and his clash with the emperor, but with something of an ulterior motive. His history contains an important multi-part message for his ideological friends. The message is that the cause of the Gregorian party is not only just and its war against the Henricians licit but that the conflict represents a continuation of their own earlier struggle. By joining together with the

<sup>6</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VII 605: "Ut autem auditum est de morte Erlimbaldi, non solum Rome, sed usque ad Brittannicum mare omnes catholici contristati sunt flentesque dicebant: Quomodo cecidit potens, qui pugnabat bellum Domini" (So that when about the death of Erlembald it was heard, not only in Rome but all the way to Britain's sea all Catholics are saddened and crying they used to say: How the champion is fallen, who used to fight the war of the Lord).

<sup>7</sup> I. S. Robinson, "The Friendship Network Of Gregory VII," *History* 63 (1978): 1-22; here 14.

reform papacy's great champion, Matilda of Tuscany, his *amici* can revive their own movement. They have a chance to avenge the murder of Erlembald and the other terrible events of 1075. The old cause is not yet completely lost. In justification of his bold proposal that his friends wage war against a Christian emperor, Bonizo the Patarene doctor and theological archaeologist will present them with the "ancient" Christian doctrine of holy civil war against belligerent heretics.

Bonizo weaves together in his historical narrative the individual histories of the reform papacy, the Pataria, and the House of Canossa. He informs his friends that the endeavors of all three entities on behalf of ecclesiastical renewal helped form a seamless garment of righteous activity that extended back to the apostolic era. In particular, he romanticizes the relationship between the reform papacy and the Pataria. He inaccurately portrays these allied movements as perfectly united in their purposes and objectives, exaggerating the link between Gregory VII and the Pataria. Bonizo probably had a very personal reason for closely associating Gregory with his movement. Gregory in all likelihood raised the commoner activist Bonizo to the episcopate sometime before 1078.<sup>8</sup> Bonizo portrays Gregory as the Patarene pope for his friends. His values and concerns were the same as those of the Pataria. He was a Patarene without having formally belonged to the movement. Bonizo further explains that the shared commitment of pope and Pataria to ecclesiastical reform aroused the enmity of the same agents of the devil: the Lombard aristocracy (especially the Lombard bishops) and Henry IV. It was therefore absolutely necessary for Bonizo to acquit Gregory successfully of the various charges leveled by the Henrician polemic of the day. For, if Gregory had been in the wrong in some way, how could Bonizo ask his friends to make common cause with his party? The bishop of Sutri painstakingly defends Gregory against a number of accusations and in so doing he clears the way for his comrades to join together with Matilda and the papal party that had survived the pope's death in May of 1085 in their holy war against the German crown.

## II. The Pataria: Forge Of Ideological Friendship

In *The Implications of Literacy*, Brian Stock persuasively argues that the Pataria was one of several reformist and heretical religious groups of the eleventh century whose emergence reflected the re-birth of literacy in western Europe.<sup>9</sup> Stock has described these groups as textual communities. He defines a textual community as a movement founded on a core of literate members that produced written

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<sup>8</sup> Berschin, *Bonizo*, 9 n. 28.

<sup>9</sup> Brian Stock, *Implications of Literacy*, 88.

legislation derived from literary *ressourcement* that in turn attracted a wider unlettered following united to the movement's values through oral discourse.<sup>10</sup>

Two of the best medieval sources on the history of the Pataria, Andrew of Strumi's *Vita sancti Arialldi* and Arnulf of Milan's *Gesta archiepiscoporum mediolanensium*, attest that Bonizo's movement had its origins in the theological *ressourcement* of the deacon Arialld of Varese.<sup>11</sup> Arialld's native town of Varese lay several miles outside of Milan. Like many of the founders of the new religious communities of the eleventh century, Arialld experienced cognitive dissonance when he compared the ideal ecclesiastical order, which he found in his sources (e.g., the Bible, conciliar legislation, and patristic literature), with the contemporary state of ecclesiastical affairs. He found condemned in his sources the ubiquitous contemporary practices of simony, nicolaitism (i.e., a married clergy), and lay investiture. To eliminate this dissonance, Arialld launched a protest movement against the ecclesiastical *status quo*.

At no other location were these practices more entrenched than in Milan. When Arialld came into the city from the *contado* preaching against ecclesiastical abuses, he quickly attracted both critics and followers. His most important early devotee was Landulf Cotta, a cleric from the city's upper nobility, the *capitanei*, who was the brother of the aforementioned Erlembald. Together Arialld and Landulf formed the original literate core of the Pataria, which other literate clerics soon expanded. Within their textual community, the literate Patarenes engaged in an intense exploration of the truth as it existed in their written sources. Stock believes that the establishment of a common ideological framework greatly facilitated debate within a group like the Pataria, contributed to the development of individual perspectives, and fostered personal reflection upon the common body of knowledge. The members not only developed as individuals, however they also formed strong bonds with those around them. They did not just learn the truth abstractly; they lived it with others. Their fellow members became their *amici*, their friends. The Patarenes, indeed, established a community for the practice of the *vita apostolica* known as the *Canonica*, which evolved into the spiritual headquarters of the movement in the city.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Stock, *Implications*, 238.

<sup>11</sup> Andrew of Strumi, *Vita sancti Arialldi*, ed. F. Baethgen, MGH SS, XXX Pars. II (Hanover: Anton Hiersemann, 1934; rpt. Stuttgart and New York: Kraus Reprint Corporation, 1964), ch. 4 1051. Arnulf of Milan, *Gesta archiepiscoporum Mediolanensium*, ed. L.C. Bethman and W. Wattenbach. MGH SS, VIII (Hanover: Anton Hiersemann, 1848; rpt. Stuttgart and New York: Kraus Reprint Corporation, 1963), III, ch. 10, 18–19.

<sup>12</sup> In recalling the origins of the Pataria in Cremona, Bonizo states that twelve men came together in protest of nicolaitism in the local church. The number twelve strongly suggests that these Patarenes also formed a group dedicated to the common life in imitation of Jesus's apostles. Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VI, 597.

What made the Pataria such a force was the fact that the movement's literate core reached out in dynamic fashion to the unlettered population of Milan and the other Lombard towns. Laymen thus could enter into ideological friendship with this Patarene literate clerical core. The Pataria attracted a large following among Lombardy's urban poor while still winning the support of members of the knightly class as well.<sup>13</sup> Bonizo's movement issued a universal call to holiness. All Christians were called to spiritual perfection, and the gospel was every Christian's concern. When the clerical establishment rejected its reformist program, the Patarene leadership, therefore, directed its message to the unlettered lay faithful directly. The basic Patarene message in Milan (and elsewhere) was that the clerical hierarchy upon whom the laity depended to mediate the sources of salvation (e.g., the sacraments and the Bible) was corrupt. The clerical abuses the Pataria sought to eliminate had contaminated the whole community's relationship with God, and the salvation of the entire *corpus christianorum* was consequently imperiled.<sup>14</sup> The Patarene program was thus of vital concern to the lay faithful. Again, while the Patarene leadership maintained the canonical distinctions between the clergy and the laity, it nevertheless made the laity full partners in its ideological enterprise.<sup>15</sup>

The Pataria invited the laity to sit in judgment of its clerical leaders. It summoned the unlettered, both commoners and aristocrats, to evaluate critically

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<sup>13</sup> Bonizo recalls that the poor readily embraced Arial'd's and Landulf Cotta's reformist message. He explains that out of frustration with the Patarenes' success Milan's "simoniacs" derisively labeled Arial'd, Landulf and their followers "Patarenes," that is, "pannosos" or rag wearers. Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VI, 591. There was certainly a strong element of socio-economic protest in the Pataria's popularity with the urban proletariat. Lombardy's nobility dominated the upper ranks of the various local churches and controlled the substantial economic resources of those churches. One must bear in mind, however, that the urban *turbæ* of eleventh century Italy were politically fickle. The conservative ecclesiastical establishment in Milan and beyond was capable of stirring the working classes to action on their own behalf. By the time of Erlembald Cotta's murder in 1075, Milan's urban classes had already lost a good deal of enthusiasm for the Pataria. Bonizo intimates as much in the *ad amicum*. See Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VII, 604–05. Besides Erlembald, the names of two other Patarene knights have come down to us. The knight Azzo is mentioned in Andrew's *Vita sancti Arial'di* ch. 11 and Gregory VII wrote to the knight Wilfrid in the wake of the murder of Erlembald. See Gregorii VII, *Registrum*, ed. Erich Caspar, *MGH Epistolae Selectae* (Munich: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1978), Liber III, 15, 276.

<sup>14</sup> Amy G. Remensnyder has discussed the belief of many eleventh century reformers that clerical impurity posed a universal threat to Christendom. Amy G. Remensnyder, "Pollution, Purity, and Peace: An Aspect of Social Reform between the Late Tenth Century and 1076," *The Peace of God: Social Violence and religious responses in France around the Year 1000*, ed. by Thomas Head and Richard Landes (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992), 280–307.

<sup>15</sup> Arnulf of Milan angrily denounces Landulf Cotta at one point in his history because while the cleric Landulf harshly judged Archbishop Guido and his suffragan bishops, he loved laymen like they were his brothers. Arnulf, *Gesta*, III ch. 13, 20: "furens solos saevit in clericos, arguens illos suae suorumque perditionis; laicos vero fovebat ut fratres." (raving he rages among the forsaken clergy, accusing those men of being the (cause) of Landulf's and of the clergy's damnation; but he loved the laymen like brothers).

the condition of their churches in the light of the *documenta* and *exempla* of the Bible and of ancient Christian tradition. Our sources reveal that Arialld, Landulf, and their surrogates evidently appealed to the unlettered laity of all classes through textually based sermons. Patarene preachers let their audiences know that authoritative texts lay behind their words. In Arialld's second sample sermon in the *Vita sancti Arialldi*, the Patarene founder quotes from a text attributed to Pope Gregory the Great to the effect that all Christians are to fight simony according to their station in life or else endure the same punishment as Simon Magus himself.<sup>16</sup> It was apparently a favorite Patarene passage: Bonizo cites it in the *ad amicum*.<sup>17</sup>

The Patarene preacher cited the *documenta* and *exempla* of the Bible or of the ancient fathers of the church in order to create cognitive dissonance in his audience. Cognitive dissonance was a key pedagogical tool for the Patarenes. The preacher led his audience to the realization that the contemporary situation did not mirror the divinely ordained order as contained in the *documenta* and *exempla* of Christian history. The Patarene sermon, thus, constituted a theological-historical meditation that cast the present situation in the light of the sacred past. At the end of the sermon, came the call to action to end the dissonance. There was the appeal to the audience's collective conscience to correct the abuses presented to it by the preacher, even if this meant conflict with the local ecclesiastical hierarchy, and to restore the proper order.

The Patarene summons of the lay faithful to action included, among other things, a summons to holy war. In its zeal to stamp out simony, nicolaitism, and lay investiture, the Pataria placed the material sword in the hands of its lay friends. Violence had surrounded the movement from its earliest days. On the feast of St. Nazario, 10 May 1057, Arialld and Landulf Cotta sparked a pro-Patarene riot when they appeared in Milan's old Roman marketplace with a convention for the clergy to sign in which they promised to abandon their wives and live celibately.<sup>18</sup> The rioters pillaged the homes of the nicolaite clergy for days. Andrew of Strumi relates that when the conservative Archbishop Guido of Milan imprisoned two clerics sympathetic to the Pataria, Arialld declared to a group of Patarenes that the faithful should only wield the sword in defense of the Catholic faith.<sup>19</sup> Arialld's audience then proceeded to liberate forcibly the two detained clerics.<sup>20</sup>

The Patarene figure most associated with the movement's holy war was the knight Erlembald Cotta, the brother of Landulf. Erlembald is a major figure in Bonizo's history. He is one of three contemporary martyred holy warriors that Bonizo holds up for his compatriots' emulation. Andrew of Strumi recounts that

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<sup>16</sup> Andrew, *Vita*, ch. 10, 1056.

<sup>17</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VIII, 618.

<sup>18</sup> Arnulf, *Gesta*, III ch. 12, 20.

<sup>19</sup> Andrew, *Vita*, ch. 19, 1063.

<sup>20</sup> Andrew, *Vita*, ch. 19, 1063.

upon Landulf's death (sometime in the early 1060s), Ariald had asked Erlembald to forgo entering the monastic life and to take Landulf's place to defend the Catholic faith and to oppose heretics and the enemies of Christ in Milan.<sup>21</sup> While Ariald lived, Erlembald was something of a military attaché to Ariald. When Pope Alexander II bestowed the  *vexillum sancti Petri*  on Erlembald in 1065, the reform papacy set its seal of approval on his martial activities.

Erlembald took command of the movement in Milan after Ariald's murder in 1066 and further militarized it. Some have said that he turned the Milanese Pataria into a *quasi* urban militia.<sup>22</sup> Erlembald also promoted the export of the Patarene cause to nearby Cremona and Piacenza.<sup>23</sup> It was then as a young man that Bonizo probably first met the Pataria in his native Cremona. It is no wonder then that Erlembald is one of the heroes of the *ad amicum*. Bonizo recalls in the *ad amicum* that Erlembald fought a number of engagements against Milan's aristocratic faction in the late 1060s and early 1070s. He most famously thwarted the conservative nobility's attempt to replace Archbishop Guido with a candidate of their own, the cleric Godfrey. When the Patarene leader learned that Godfrey had traveled to Germany for his episcopal investment by Henry IV, he ordered his Patarene fighters to seize all the fortifications of the Milanese church.<sup>24</sup> He then engineered the rump episcopal election of a Patarene candidate to succeed Guido in 1072. Neither candidate, however, was able to secure the See. Erlembald, nevertheless, was the *de facto* *seigneur* of Milan in the early 1070s. The city's populace eventually began to chaff under his strident leadership. He scandalized many Milanese when he smashed a vessel of holy chrism sent to the city by one of the anti-Patarene Lombard bishops for the Easter celebrations of 1074. Even Bonizo admits that on the eve of his death in a street battle in 1075 Erlembald's faction was steadily losing the support of Milan's citizens. Cotta's demise ignited a conservative re-action across Lombardy against the Patarenes.

Erlembald became in death a martyr for the Patarene remnant that survived him. This is only appropriate because besides sermons and the moral witness of its representatives, the Pataria also appealed to the unlettered for its friendship by associating itself with the local cults of the saints. The Patarenes believed very strongly in the pedagogical value of the *vita sanctorum*. Stock has drawn attention to the eighteenth chapter of the *Vita sancti Arialdi*. Andrew of Strumi recollects there that he heard the names of more saints fall from the lips of Ariald in one day

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<sup>21</sup> Andrew, *Vita*, ch. 15, 1059.

<sup>22</sup> H. E. J. Cowdrey, "The Papacy. The Patarenes, And The Church of Milan," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser. xviii (London: Printed for the Society, 1968), 25–48, 35.

<sup>23</sup> Cowdrey, "The Papacy, The Patarenes, And The Church Of Milan," 36.

<sup>24</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VI, 598–99.



than he had ever read in books.<sup>25</sup> Andrew also recounts that on a daily basis Arialld went out with his brethren to visit the tombs of various saints.<sup>26</sup>

Stock posits that such public ritual activity was a most effective non-verbal means for the Pataria to communicate its message to the unlettered. Through such activity, the Pataria associated itself with Milan's antique Christian saints whose legends formed an important part of the city's *ethos*.<sup>27</sup> The movement thus portrayed itself as standing in apostolic succession to the city's early Christian community.<sup>28</sup> Such non-verbal ritualistic activity re-enforced the example of the *vita apostolica* lived by the residents of the *Canonica* complex.

Closely related to the Pataria's association of itself with the age of the apostles and martyrs is the movement's cultivation of what can be termed a theology of heroic sacrifice. Arialld's dramatic declaration in the *Vita sancti Arialldi* that he was determined to lead the Milanese people back to the light of Christ or else die trying to do so reveals the audacious spirit with which the Pataria pursued its agenda.<sup>29</sup> Andrew remembers elsewhere that Arialld so assiduously preached to the lay folk who gathered at the *Canonica* that he often lost his voice to the point that those next to him could hardly hear what he was saying.<sup>30</sup> Arialld and Landulf Cotta displayed on numerous occasions considerable courage and an apparent disregard for their own physical safety. Bonizo calls them the "athletes of God."<sup>31</sup> Ultimately, of course, Arialld did die as a martyr to his cause.<sup>32</sup>

### III. Friends Called To Arms

When one reads the *ad amicum* through a Patarene lens, it becomes apparent that it is something more than a piece of prose historiography. It is an extended theo-historical meditation in the fashion of a Patarene sermon. Bonizo, alternately describes his work as a sermon and a history.<sup>33</sup> He employs the *documenta* and *exempla* of imperial and Christian history to create a state of cognitive dissonance

<sup>25</sup> Andrew, *Vita*, ch. 18, 1062. See Stock, *Implications*, 226.

<sup>26</sup> Andrew, *Vita*, ch.18, 1062.

<sup>27</sup> Stock, *Implications*, 231.

<sup>28</sup> Stock, *Implications*, 231.

<sup>29</sup> Andrew, *Vita*, ch. 4, 1052.

<sup>30</sup> Andrew, *Vita*, ch. 12, 1058: "Quos tam constanti assidueque doctrina vir Dei docebat, ut plerumque vocem sic amitteret, quatenus ab aliquibus iuxta se positus vix audiri posset" (Whom the man of God used to teach with such constant and continuous doctrine that he thus lost a very great part of his voice to such an extent that he could scarcely be heard by those right next to him).

<sup>31</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VI, 591.

<sup>32</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VI, 591: "Arialldus, ex equestri progenie trahens ortum, vir liberalibus studiis adprime eruditus, qui postea martirio coronatus est" (Arialld, born of the equestrian class, he was especially well versed in the liberal studies, who subsequently was crowned a martyr).

<sup>33</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, 571 and 618.

in his audience in the manner of a Patarene preacher. This dissonance is multifaceted. He wants his friends to recognize that Henry IV has egregiously contravened the divine order as laid down in the ancient sources that governs relations between the Roman pontiff and Christian emperors. Henry has attempted to supplant God himself by waging war on a legitimate pope and attempting to replace him with a candidate of his own choosing. The Henrician party is therefore guilty of the mother of all heresies.<sup>34</sup> These same malefactors, moreover, were responsible for the earlier assault on the Pataria. They opposed the holy program rooted in scripture and Christian tradition of the Pataria and of the reform popes, especially of the Patarene *amicus*, Gregory VII.

His Patarene friends' inaction in the face of these outrages committed against Christian truth is, most importantly, equally discordant with the divine order as spelled out by the ancient sources. He presents his confreres with the *documenta* and *exempla* that demand they take up the sword against the Henricians (or as Bonizo calls them, the *Guibertistas*).<sup>35</sup> He presents his friends in Book I with the supposedly ancient doctrine of holy civil war against belligerent heretics. Throughout his text, he places the *vita sanctorum* before his friends in his effort to rouse them to action. He holds up for emulation in particular three contemporary martyred holy warriors: the papal troops who fell at the Battle of Civitate against the Normans (1053), the Roman noble and Gregorian ally, Cencius Iohannis, and most significantly the Pataria's own Erlembald Cotta. Bonizo explains near the end of his peroration that his friends' inaction must be corrected by their joining together with Matilda of Tuscany. They should emulate the countess, whom Bonizo portrays as a practitioner of the Pataria's own ideal of heroic sacrifice. She has laid aside all worldly concerns and is prepared to die rather than break God's law and she fights the heresy now sowing its seed in the church in every way possible.<sup>36</sup> God wills that his fellow Patarenes wage holy civil war with her against the emperor and his Italian allies; echoing throughout his peroration is the sentiment *hoc deus vult!*.

Bonizo explains at the very start of his history that two questions of his *amicus* were responsible for the composition of his work. The first question relates to theodicy. His friend asked why God seems to ignore the cry of Mother church in the midst of this storm.<sup>37</sup> The storm to which he refers was undoubtedly the ongoing clash between papacy and empire, which on the whole seemed to be going against the reformers. The friend further asked why is Mother church

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<sup>34</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VIII, 618.

<sup>35</sup> The term *Guibertistas* was a common term for the supporters of the anti-Pope Guibert of Ravenna, who was raised up by Henry IV to oppose Gregory VII.

<sup>36</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VIII, 620.

<sup>37</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, I, 571.

oppressed rather than delivered from the danger by God?<sup>38</sup> Then he poses a loaded question: why is it that the sons of obedience and peace lay prostrate, but the sons of Baal exult with their king?<sup>39</sup> The friend of the Bishop of Sutri put his finger here on the task set before Bonizo in the *ad amicum*: to rouse the sons of obedience and peace, i.e., his fellow Patarenes out of their inaction and to challenge militarily the *Guibertistas* and their king, Henry IV.

Bonizo's *amicus* then asked him a second, most pertinent question for his task at hand: is there any warrant in the ancient lessons of the holy fathers for a Christian in the past or in the present to fight for religious truth with military arms?<sup>40</sup> The question is a classic invitation to theological *ressourcement* à la the Pataria. It is also a rhetorical question. His friend, a fellow Patarene, already knew that the answer was yes. He likely knew Arialdo's *dictum*, mentioned above, that the sword can be wielded in defense of the Catholic faith. The Patarenes, after all, had been wielding the sword in defense of their theological program for years. Bonizo alludes to the fact that his friend already knew the answer to his own question when he invites him to dwell on the question in his heart and wait for the answer to come to him.<sup>41</sup> Bonizo, however, still had the formidable task of convincing the Pataria's knights that they were permitted to fight a Christian emperor, and an emperor whose cause against the papacy may have been just. Later on in his history Bonizo will relay historical events that prove Henry had always been an adversary of true religion and that his grievances against the papacy were groundless; but in Book I he concerns himself with general principles derived from scriptural exegesis and a very important historical *exemplum*.

Bonizo first produces a scriptural justification for the allegedly ancient dogma of holy civil war. He observes that Abraham had two sons: one by his slave Hagar and another by his freeborn wife, Sarah. In an allusion to St. Paul's reasoning in *Romans* 9 that not all descendents of Abraham by birth are his true spiritual children, Bonizo writes that Hagar's son Ishmael represents all those who are descendents of Abraham by the flesh alone and Sarah's son Isaac represents the true spiritual descendents of Abraham.<sup>42</sup> According to Bonizo, whereas the freeborn son Isaac represents the Catholic peoples, the concubine's son represents

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<sup>38</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, I, 571.

<sup>39</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, I, 571: "filiique obedientie et pacis iacent postrati, filii autem Belial exultant cum rege suo" (with the sons of obedience and peace lying prostrate, the sons of Belial, however, rejoice with their king).

<sup>40</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, I, 571: "Est et aliud, unde de veteribus sanctorum patrum exemplis a me petis auctoritatem: Si licuit vel licet christiano pro dogmate armis decertare" (There is, however, another [question], you seek from me verification from the ancient lessons of the holy fathers: if it was lawful or is now lawful for a Christian to fight for doctrine with weapons).

<sup>41</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, I, 571.

<sup>42</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, I, 572.

all heretics.<sup>43</sup> In Abraham's banishment and disinheritance of Ishmael and his mother at Sarah's request in *Genesis* 21 for their taunting of little Isaac, Bonizo finds the warrant for the physical suppression of belligerent heretics.<sup>44</sup> In Isaac's subsequent patient endurance of his mistreatment at the hands of his Philistine neighbors in *Genesis* 26, he finds the justification for the passive endurance by Christians of the persecutions of non-Christians.<sup>45</sup> These two episodes demonstrate clearly to Bonizo that when persecution comes from those outside the Christian community, it must be overcome by patient endurance; but when belligerent fellow Christians ignore the evangelical scythe of preaching, they must be overcome by arms.<sup>46</sup>

After unveiling the ancient teaching of holy civil war, Bonizo turns in the final section of Book I back to the theme of suffering. His faction, as explained above, had suffered a lot leading up to the composition of his history and surely his *amici* had begun to question the sense of it all. How could God allow the corrupt Lombard establishment, which had violently rejected the Pataria's ideological agenda, and the German king to enjoy so much success? Bonizo, the Patarene pastor, explains that suffering is a sign of divine election. He connects his friends' experience of suffering to the experience of Jesus himself and of the ancient church of the apostles and martyrs. Just as Jesus suffered in the world because he was not of the world, so too must his disciples suffer.<sup>47</sup> Patient endurance of this world's persecution, however, leads to victory. The greatest example of suffering leading

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<sup>43</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, I, 572.

<sup>44</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, I, 572. Bonizo was hardly the first churchman to find a rationale for the punishment of one group of Christians by another in the antagonism between Isaac and Ishmael. In *Galatians* 4:21–5:1, Paul employs the banishment of Ishmael in *Genesis* 21 as a rationale for the Galatian Christians to cut off relations with Judaizing Christians, who insisted that portions of the Mosaic Law were obligatory for Christians. Much later in time, in his Letter 185, Augustine of Hippo found in the banishment of Ishmael and his mother a justification for the Roman state's suppression of the Donatist heretics. See Augustine *Letters* Vol. IV (163–203), trans. Wifrid Parsons S.N.D. *The Fathers of the Church: A New Translation*, ed. by Roy Joseph Deferrari Vol. 12 (New York: Fathers Of The Church Inc., 1955), 152. Since he cites a few lines from this Letter in Book VIII of the *ad amicum*, Bonizo was obviously somewhat familiar with its contents. See Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VIII 619. Anselm II of Lucca also cited portions of this Augustinian text in Book XIII of his *Collectio canonum*. Like Augustine, Anselm as well employed Sarah's banishment of Hagar as a rationale for military action against deviant Christians. See Anselm of Lucca, *Collectio canonum una cum collectione minore*, ed. Friedrich Thaner, vol. I (Innsbruck: Librariae Academiae Wagnerianae, 1906–1915).

<sup>45</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, I, 572.

<sup>46</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, I, 572: "luce clarius demonstrans: cum persecutio ab his qui foris sunt nobis infertur, tolerando devincendam, cum vero ab his qui intus sunt, evangelica falce prius succidendam et postea omnibus viribus et armis debellandam" (This proves more clearly than light: when persecution comes from those who are foreign to us, it must be overcome by enduring it, but when it comes from those like us, it must first be cut down by the scythe of preaching and thereafter it must be vanquished with all vigor and arms).

<sup>47</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, I, 572.

to victory was of course the passion, death, and resurrection of Jesus. The *ad amicum*'s author also holds up for his audience's edification, in good Patarene form, the *vita sanctorum* of ancient Christianity. He points out that the apostles and martyrs too triumphed after experiencing the most gruesome forms of suffering. The martyrs endured hanging, decapitation, cannibalism, burning and a myriad of other horrible deaths.<sup>48</sup> Their cause, nevertheless, triumphed in the end. His fellow partisans need not despair. The final verdict on their cause had yet to be rendered.

Bonizo, most significantly, further explains that the best historical example of Christian suffering leading to victory, besides the resurrection of Jesus, was the conversion of the emperor Constantine. He teaches that the pre-Constantinian church, and especially the Roman See, had fought the devil through the patient endurance of persecution and finally triumphed over *the ancient Enemy* when Constantine received baptism at Pope Sylvester's hands. With the Roman emperor's baptism, the Roman See had subjected the imperial office to its authority.<sup>49</sup> The emperor was thenceforth a member of Jesus's flock and subject to the Roman pontiff. The Roman pontiff, then, need no longer simply endure the hostility of an incorrigible heretical emperor. Such an emperor, who persecutes the Roman pontiff and the true faith, warrants correction by the Catholic faithful with the material sword as would any belligerent heretic. This is precisely how in the rest of his work Bonizo will portray the situation between Henry IV, Gregory VII, and the lay (i.e., the Patarene) faithful. Bonizo's *amici*, then, the successors of the apostles and martyrs, possessed the license to do what their forerunners could not do: punish a successor of Caesar with military arms.<sup>50</sup>

Bonizo's indictment of Henry as a wicked prince begins in earnest in Books II–V. The bishop of Sutri presents here the *documenta* and *exempla* of various "good" Christian emperors and kings from the age of Constantine up to that of Henry IV's father, Henry III. He also discusses the poor example set by different wicked

<sup>48</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, I, 572.

<sup>49</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, I, 573: "Qui a beato [Petro] apostolorum principe sumens exordium per ducentos ferme annos usque ad pii Constantini tempora continuis bellorum successibus diebus noctibusque cum antique hoste decertans, XXXIII vicibus de eodem veternoso serpente triumphans, non ante desiit tolerando certare, subiciens sibi principatus et potestates, quam ipsum Romani imperii duce christianae subiceret religioni," (Which [the Roman See] from the time of Blessed Peter the Prince of the Apostles and for nearly two hundred years up to the times of pious Constantine fought in a continuous succession of wars for days and nights with the Ancient Enemy, after thirty three successions (to the Roman See) it triumphs over that very Ancient Enemy, not before it ceased to contend through tolerating (abuse) it subjected to itself the principate and the magistrates to itself when it subjected the very leader of the Roman Empire to the Christian religion).

<sup>50</sup> Walter Berschin has argued that Bonizo only singles out the anti-pope Guibert of Ravenna for punishment in the *ad amicum* and not Henry. The evidence, however, is overwhelming that the bishop of Sutri wanted both men punished. See Berschin, *Bonizo*, 110 n. 502.

Christian princes in this same time period. There is plenty of material here for the textually based sermons of a Patavine preacher.<sup>51</sup> At certain points, he prefaces the citation of a document with an instruction such as “pay attention”<sup>52</sup> or “notice.”<sup>53</sup> It is as if he is leading his friend by the hand through this treasure trove of imperial *documenta*, pointing out the particularly important ones. Bonizo neatly summarizes for his audience the qualities of a good Christian prince: namely, deference to the advice of bishops, obedience to the Roman pontiff, protection of churches, esteem for the clergy, honoring of priests, and the governance of the *res publica* in peace.<sup>54</sup> Conversely, the persecution of the clergy, the spread of heresy, and military disasters are the chief characteristics of the reigns of Bonizo’s bad princes. It is all too clear into what column Bonizo wanted his friends to place Henry. To borrow an expression from Karl Morrison, one could say that in these books Bonizo employs both a method of association by contrast (*vis à vis* Henry and the good rulers) and by likeness (*vis-à-vis* Henry and the wicked princes).<sup>55</sup> If his audience still had any doubts about Henry’s wickedness after hearing Books II–V, then, his subsequent narrative of Henry’s reign in Books VI–IX makes it clear that the German emperor qualified as a bad Christian prince. Perhaps the most damning charge that he levels at Henry here is that he was complicit in the Lombard aristocracy’s campaign against the Pataria and the murder of Erlembald.

It should also be noted that in Book II Bonizo also advances his argument on holy violence. He cites here several episodes of ancient popular holy violence taken from Cassiodorus’ *Tripartite History*. He applauds the Catholics of Constantinople, who out of zeal for the divine law, burned to death the imperial prefect Hermogenes and his entire household when the latter attempted to expel

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<sup>51</sup> The contents of Books II–V may also reflect the influence of a piece of Henrician polemic as well. Simultaneous to the anti-pope Guibert of Ravenna’s enthronement and imperial coronation of Henry in March of 1084, a revised edition of the *Defensio Heinrici IV Regis* apparently circulated in Italy. Originally composed in the late Spring of 1080, the piece was unique in its citation of Roman imperial law to defend Henry against Gregory’s sentences of excommunication and deposition. The author employed his material to establish Henry’s hereditary right to the German crown and his divinely ordained role as the guarantor of peace and unity in both the empire and church. See I. S. Robinson, *Henry IV of Germany 1056–1106* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 197 and 229.

<sup>52</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, II 576: “Qualiter autem Constantinus, non ille primus, set alter cognomina pius imperator scripserit domno pape advertite.” (Pay attention to how, thus Constantius, not the first one, but another pious emperor of the same name wrote to the lord pope.)

<sup>53</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, II 576–77: “Quid vero alter Constantinus et Hyrene augusti ad Adrianum papam scribant, advertite.” (Notice, however, what the Augusti, the other Constantius and Irene wrote to Pope Hadrian.)

<sup>54</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, II 575.

<sup>55</sup> Karl F. Morrison, “Peter Damian on King and Pope: An Exercise in Association by Contrast,” *Kings And Kingship*, ed. Joel Rosenthal. Acta of The Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies State University of New York at Binghamton, XI (Binghamton, NY: SUNY Binghamton, 1984), 89–112, 90.

Bishop Paul of Constantinople at the behest of the wicked emperor Constantius.<sup>56</sup> He lauds the Alexandrians for fighting the Arians for St. Athanasius out of a love for the orthodox faith.<sup>57</sup> Bonizo also praises the Milanese faithful for their armed resistance against the emperor Constantius when he attempted to arrest a group of orthodox bishops who lay hidden in a church.<sup>58</sup> These ancient *exempla* serve as a bridge between the age of the ancient fathers of the church and the age of the Pataria's holy violence.

#### IV. The Papal-Patarene Romance

The papal-Patarene romance stands at the center of Bonizo's history. His argument is that a complete unity of belief, purpose, and objectives existed between the reform papacy and the Pataria. Bonizo could not have expected to succeed in his ultimate purpose of re-starting the Pataria without convincing his ideological friends of the truth of this assertion. Bonizo's narrative, however, wholly ignores the rough spots and ambiguities in the relationship between the two movements. To borrow an analogy formulated by H. E. J. Cowdrey to describe the relationship between Cluny and the so-called Gregorian Reform, the relationship between the reform papacy and the Pataria resembled that which existed between Peter Damian and Hildebrand/Gregory VII.<sup>59</sup> For just as the older contemporary, Peter Damian, and his younger associate, Hildebrand/Gregory, informed and influenced one another's perspectives, so too the slightly older papal reform movement and the younger Patarene movement informed and influenced one another's perspectives on a variety of subjects. Moreover, just as a fundamental unity of purpose co-existed with a diversion of objectives in the two churchmen's relationship, so too the reform papacy and the Pataria were in basic agreement on the issues of the Roman primacy, clerical celibacy, and the evil of simony, but they also had their own ecclesio-political agendas in Milan and in the rest of Lombardy. Bonizo's account omits this important truth.

The papal reform movement begins for Bonizo with the succession of the "most noble and upright"<sup>60</sup> Bruno of Toul to the papacy as Leo IX in 1049. Leo's pontificate marks a turning of the tide in the struggle against the vices that had allegedly infiltrated the western church after the collapse of the Carolingian order. Bonizo's narrative makes it clear that Leo's papacy embodied many of the principal religious values of his Patarene friends.

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<sup>56</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, II, 574.

<sup>57</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, II, 574.

<sup>58</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, II, 574.

<sup>59</sup> H. E. J. Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970).

<sup>60</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, v, 587.

Bonizo finds, moreover, in Leo's pontificate divine affirmation of the ancient doctrine of holy violence against heretics in the form of the military campaign that the pope launched against the Normans of southern Italy in 1053. He explains that the violence of these Normans had forced the residents of Benevento to seek physical protection from the pope; thus, they submitted themselves to the papal ban.<sup>61</sup> Bonizo assures his audience that the pope first struck the Normans with the sword of excommunication for their harassment of a Christian population, and only afterwards did he then order them struck with the material sword.<sup>62</sup> Leo had thus followed the method of proceeding against incorrigible wicked Christians that Bonizo presents in Book I. While he acknowledges that the pope's military operation against the Norman princes failed, he insists that God demonstrated his approval of the just warfare waged by Leo's fallen troops, as well as their status as saints, by the miracles that occurred at their graves. Leo's fallen troops are the first contemporary martyred holy warriors that Bonizo holds up for his friends' emulation. The signs and miracles at their tombs were intended to strengthen the resolve of future generations to fight in a similar fashion for righteousness.<sup>63</sup>

In Book VI, Bonizo begins his history of the Pataria on a decidedly Roman note. He reports at the start of the Book that after two hundred years of disobedience the Milanese church finally acknowledged its subordination to the Roman church.<sup>64</sup> As he subsequently explains, it was the upheaval generated by the Pataria's emergence that led to Milan's acceptance of Rome's jurisdictional authority. The "recovery" of the Roman church's authority in the western church constitutes the prism through which he invites his compatriots to look back upon the history of their endeavor. This characteristic of Bonizo's history of the Pataria certainly distinguishes it from Andrew of Strumi's, whose earlier account possesses far less *Romanitas*.<sup>65</sup>

Bonizo's rendition of the movement's emergence not only telescopes the course of events, but also the course of its ideological development. His account has

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<sup>61</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, V, 589.

<sup>62</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, V, 589.

<sup>63</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, V, 589: "Qui pro iusticia dimicantes bello prostrati fuerunt, hos deus signis et miraculis sibi valde placuisse demonstravit, magnam pro iusticia posteris dimicandi dans fiduciam, quando hos in numero sanctorum connumerare dignatus est" (God demonstrated through signs and miracles that those who died fighting in a righteous war pleased him greatly. When he deigned to count those soldiers among the number of the saints, God provided great assurance to future generations who fight for righteousness).

<sup>64</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VI, 590–91: "Eodem tempore Mediolanensis ecclesia, quae fere per CC annos superbiae fastu Romanae ecclesiae se subtraxerat ditione, primum se inter alias ecclesias subiectam esse cognovit" (At the same time, the church of Milan, which for nearly two hundred years had arrogantly removed itself from the authority of the Roman church, first came to recognize that it was subject like the other churches to Roman authority).

<sup>65</sup> On the papal-Patarene alliance in Andrew's *Vita*, see ch. 7, 1054 and ch. 15, 1059. Andrew wrote the *Vita* in the wake of Erlembald's murder.



Landulf and Ariald co-founding the group simultaneously and placing it from the very start under the patronage of the princes of the apostles.<sup>66</sup> Moreover, whereas Andrew indicates that Ariald first targeted nicolaitism and simony for censure in Milan, Bonizo has Ariald and Landulf from the outset preaching simultaneously against nicolaitism, simony, and disobedience to the Roman church.<sup>67</sup> Contrary to fact, Bonizo also claims that the Patarenes were the first to call upon the Roman See to intervene in Milanese affairs.<sup>68</sup> The Milanese clerical establishment ironically first asked Pope Stephen IX to help referee its initial dispute with the Patarenes.<sup>69</sup>

Bonizo's narrative in Book VI and the first half of Book VII swings back and forth between events involving the papal reformers in Rome and the Patarenes in Lombardy. He highlights episodes that re-enforce his thesis that a complete unity of purpose existed between the two groups of ecclesiastical reformers. The papal legations to Milan undertaken by Hildebrand/Gregory in 1057 and by Peter Damian in 1059 are two such episodes. Perhaps the most telling episode of the entire history, however, concerns Bonizo's presentation of Pope Alexander II's letter to Cremona's Patarenes in Book VI. The papal letter was occasioned by the violent conflict that had recently erupted between the Patarenes and their bishop, Arnulf. Bonizo prefaces the text of the letter with a curious promise not to delve into all the details of the blossoming of the Pataria in Cremona. He writes:

However, *I will not bother to describe* how twelve men for the love of God swore to expel on the advice of the lord abbot Christopher all priests and deacons who kept concubines and how the entire population of Cremona imitated them and how the bishop (i.e., Arnulf) arrested a wonderful Patarene priest on Good Friday and had him scourged and how after Easter distinguished men were sent as messengers to the pope. Nevertheless, I have decided to insert into this little work the shield that the venerable pope passed on to the Cremonese through those same messengers.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>66</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VI, 591. Bonizo actually mentions Landulf before Ariald in describing the Pataria's origins. This may reflect the fact that Bonizo came to the Pataria during the ascendancy of Landulf's brother, Erlembald. He may want to accentuate the importance of the Cottas in his movement's founding.

<sup>67</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VI, 591: "quadam die divina iuvante gratia verbum praedicationis faciunt ad populum; in qua fraudes symoniace venalitis populo propalavere, et quam turpissimum esset sacerdotes et levitas concubinos sacramenta celebrare, luce clarius demonstravere, et quia hereticum esset Romanae ecclesiae non obedire, beato Ambrosio teste declaravere.." (on a certain day with the aid of divine grace they preached the Word to the people. On that day, they divulged to the people the harms of Simony and how awful it was that concubine-keeping priests and deacons celebrated the sacraments. They demonstrated clearer than day that he who disobeyed the Roman church was a heretic, they proved it with blessed Ambrose as (their) witness.).

<sup>68</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VI, 592.

<sup>69</sup> Arnulf, *Gesta*, III, ch. 12, 20.

<sup>70</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VI, 597: "Qualiter vero XII viri zelo Dei ducti consilio domni Christofori abbatis iuravere, et quomodo universus Cremonensis populus hos imitatus est, et quomodo universos sacerdotes et levitas concubinos eiecere, et qualiter ipsum episcopum in ipso die passionis Domini sacerdotem Paterinorum comprehendere nitentem verberavere, et quomodo

Bonizo then “bothers” to reproduce the papal message over the next thirty-four lines of his history. Since this is the only extant copy of Alexander’s letter, we do not know if Bonizo has reproduced the whole letter or if he has tampered with its contents.<sup>71</sup> His possession of the letter in some form or another certainly indicates a strong connection with Cremona’s Patarenes. This is quite significant because Walter Berschin has demonstrated that Bonizo almost certainly came from Cremona.<sup>72</sup> It may well be that Bonizo’s primary audience in the *ad amicum* is his home Patarene cell. Cremona’s Patarenes, of course, would not have needed Bonizo to rehearse in full detail the story of what led up to the pope’s letter. They already knew the story. His *amicus*, then, as suggested earlier, may well have been a Patarene cleric with whom he had studied and lived in Cremona.

If these suppositions are true, then, Bonizo’s reproduction of Alexander II’s message was surely a far more powerful testament to Rome’s solidarity with his friend’s movement than say his recollections of the papal legations to Milan. The papal message was a response to the inquiries of the city’s reform faction, which had earlier dispatched a delegation to Rome. In his letter, the pope gives thanks to God for having armed the devout clergy and lay faithful of Cremona with the “weapons of His own strength” against the enemy of the human race and for bringing to light the obscenities of the Cremonese clergy so that simony and nicolaitism might be destroyed there.<sup>73</sup> He assures Cremona’s Patarenes that God himself has incited them against the modern cunning of the devil (i.e., against simony and nicolaitism).<sup>74</sup> He further urges them to guarantee the holy apostolic See’s support for their holy endeavors by observing the canonical stipulation that simoniac and nicolaite priests, deacons, and subdeacons be stripped of their offices, but that lawfully married clerics in minor orders not lose their offices or all

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post sanctum pascha honestos viros nuncios ad papam misere, dicere non curabo.”

<sup>71</sup> Berschin, *Bonizo*, 7.

<sup>72</sup> Berschin, *Bonizo*, 5–6

<sup>73</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VI, 597: “Inspiratori omnium bonorum Deo et bonae voluntatis auctori uberes referimus gratias, qui vos adversus hostem humani generis virtutum suarum telis armavit et ad destruendam symoniacam heresim ac fornicatorum spurcias clericorum ferventer accendit” (We give much thanks again to God the Inspirer of all good things and the Author of good will, who has armed you against the Enemy of the human race (with) the weapons of all his strength and he hotly illuminated the obscenities of the clergy for the purpose of destroying the heresy of Simony and fornication).

<sup>74</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VI, 597: “Plane qui serpenti dudum in paradiso damnationis aeternae iudicium intulit, ipse vos adversus modernam occulti draconis astutiam unanimiter incitavit” (Clearly, He who passed the judgment in Paradise of eternal damnation to the Serpent a little while ago, He himself has incited you unanimously against the modern cunning of the secretive Serpent).

of their income.<sup>75</sup> After inviting the Cremonese Pataria to send representatives to an upcoming Roman Easter synod for face-to-face discussions about other important business, Alexander closes his communiqué with the assurances that the Roman See hastens to the war that the Cremonese reformers have undertaken with divine fervor, that it extends an arm of protection, a shield of defense, and that it encourages them to rise not in a feeble manner against the devil's members.<sup>76</sup> He urges them in a spiritual manner to imitate Moses in *Exodus* 32:26–29, where standing at the gate of the Israelites' camp he orders the Levites to slay all those who had worshipped the golden calf, by blocking up the gates of simony and nicolaitism in their church through which the devil has entered it.<sup>77</sup>

Although the pope gives a spiritual meaning to the martial terminology and allusions in his letter above, the original effect of the papal message on its recipients led to an acceleration of their aggressive campaign against ecclesiastical abuses. Bonizo reminds his friends that Alexander's "wholesome admonitions"

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<sup>75</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VI, 597: "Quam ob rem, [ut] sanctis conatibus vestries etiam huius sanctae sedis apostolicae accedat vigor, hoc ipsum apud vos per omnia decernimus observandum, ... videlicet ut tam subdiaconi quam diaconi, sed et permaxime sacerdotes, qui mulieribus carnali commercio admiscuntur vel symoniaca sorde polluti sunt, et ecclesiasticis careant beneficiis et perceptae priventur officio dignitatis .... Ceteros autem clericos, qui videlicet inferioribus potiuntur offices, si legalibus coniugiis sunt obligati, in suis gradibus manere precipimus et [eis] compententia ecclesiastici sumptus beneficia non negamus" (Accordingly, the strength of this holy apostolic chair agrees with your holy endeavors, we decree that this tradition must be observed among you in all matters...namely that such subdeacons or deacons and in fact mostly priests, who are involved in the commerce of the flesh with women or have been polluted by the stain of Simony and are absent from their churches they are deprived of their benefices and office ...Moreover, some clerics, who evidently are stripped of inferior offices, if they have been joined to lawful spouses, we instruct that they remain in their own grades and we do not deny to those men their benefices).

<sup>76</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VI 598: "Huic enim bello quod zelo divini fervoris estis aggressi, non segniter, sed omni virtutis instantia Romana sedes accurrit, brachium porrigit, clipeum defensionis obponit et vos, ut magis ac magis contra membra diaboli non enerviter insurgere debeatis, accendit." (For to this war, which you have undertaken with the zeal of divine fervor, not lazily, but in all vehemence of strength the Roman See attends to , it holds out an arm, it presents a shield of defense and it enflames you, so that more and more you ought to rise not feebly against the members of the Devil.).

<sup>77</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VI, 598: "Igitur unusquisque vestrum divinae virtutis mucrone precinctus dicat: 'Si quis est Domini, iungatur mecum'; sicque cum Moyse quasi de porta in portam castrorum tanquam fervidus bellator in sacrilegos irruat, ut symoniace venalitatibus et clericalis adulterii ianuas, per quas diabolus in vestram fuerat ingressus ecclesiam, cedis cadaveribus claudat" (Therefore, let every single one of you having been girded with the sword of divine strength say: 'Who is on the Lord's side, come here to me'; and so thus as Moses as if a raging warrior from gate to gate of the camp attacks the sacrilegious ones, so the doors of simoniacal sale and of clerical adultery, through which the Devil had entered into your church, let each one of you close [the doors] with dismembered corpses).

inspired the Cremonese to expel simoniacs and fornicators from their church.<sup>78</sup> The Piacenzans, furthermore, in imitation of their neighbors, submitted themselves to Roman authority, abandoned their previously excommunicated bishop, Denis, and strengthened the Pataria with their oaths.<sup>79</sup> By putting Alexander's encouraging message before them again some twenty or so years later, Bonizo undoubtedly hoped that it would elicit a similar burst of activity from his friends against the new standard-bearers of heresy, Henry IV and his allies.

## V. The Priest And The Warrior

Gregory VII, the former Hildebrand, and Erlembald Cotta are the chief protagonists of the papal-Patarene romance in the *ad amicum*. They are the paradigms of the ideal priest and ideal knight respectively. Bonizo consistently bestows his most favorable sobriquets upon them. For example, prior to his papal election, Bonizo refers to Gregory seven times as "Hildebrand the lover of God."<sup>80</sup> Once pope, he becomes the venerable Gregory<sup>81</sup> and the "most blessed Gregory."<sup>82</sup> Bonizo describes Erlembald as the "one protected by God"<sup>83</sup> four times and as the "soldier of God"<sup>84</sup> three times. He compares Erlembald in three places to Judas Maccabaeus.<sup>85</sup>

It is no accident that the two chief heroes of the *ad amicum* were also the two most prominent figures in the papal-Patarene alliance in the period 1065–1075. They were likely the heroes of Bonizo's own young adulthood. As stated earlier, Hildebrand/Gregory also probably raised Bonizo to the episcopate sometime before 1078. Hildebrand/Gregory had forged close ties with the Patarene leadership long before his papal election in 1073. As early as 1057, he had accompanied the future Pope Alexander II, Bishop Anselm da Baggio of Lucca, on

<sup>78</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VI, 598: "His salutiferis ammonicionibus accensi Cremonenses placitum Dei mox incipiunt, symoniacos et fornicatores ab ecclesia sua expellunt.." (Aroused by these wholesome admonitions, the Cremonese soon begin the program of God, they expel the simoniacs and fornicators from their church.).

<sup>79</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VI, 598: "Quos imitantes Placentini Romanae se continuo subiciunt obedientiae et Dionisium eorum episcoporum a beato papa excommunicatum abiciunt et omnes Pataream per sacramenta confirmant.." (Imitating the Cremonese, the Piacenzans submit themselves immediately to the obedience of Rome and they abandon their bishop, Denis, who had been excommunicated by the blessed pope and all strengthen the Pataria through oaths.).

<sup>80</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, V, 587: "quem secutus est Deo amabilis Hildebrandus" (whom Hildebrand the lover of God followed).

<sup>81</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VII, 602.

<sup>82</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VII, 606.

<sup>83</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VI, 598.

<sup>84</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VI, 599.

<sup>85</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VI, 599 and VII, 604 and 605.

the first papal legation to Milan during the Patarene crisis. Over the years, he remained in contact with the Pataria's leadership, forging especially close ties with Erlembald Cotta. I. S. Robinson has surmised that Erlembald belonged to Hildebrand's network of friends well before the latter's papal election.<sup>86</sup> Hildebrand was a most effective advocate for the popular reformers at Alexander II's court.

Bonizo's picture of perfect agreement between the reform papacy and the Pataria came nearest to being true during Hildebrand/Gregory's pontificate. He was much more sympathetic toward Erlembald's increasingly militant posture in Milan than Alexander II had been. He was ever the faithful patron of Erlembald and of his movement. In fact, even after Erlembald's violent death in 1075, the pope remained very mindful of his most favorite knight. At his Lenten synod of 1078, the pope reported that miracles were taking place at Erlembald's tomb in Milan.<sup>87</sup> Perhaps even more so than Alexander II's letter to Cremona's Patarenes, Hildebrand/Gregory's ministry to the Pataria convinced Bonizo that a unity of purpose and objectives existed between the Roman and Lombard reformers. He was wrong. He missed the nuances even in Hildebrand/Gregory's relationship with the Pataria. Bonizo's failure or unwillingness to recognize the ambiguities in the relationship between the two groups of reformers caused him great personal pain in the last few years of his life. It directly contributed to his bitter disenchantment with Pope Urban II (1088–1099), who for strategic and personal reasons took a more moderate approach toward the reform of the Lombard churches than had Hildebrand/Gregory and the Pataria.

Regardless, in Books V–VII of the *ad amicum*, Bonizo presents a large body of evidence that establishes Hildebrand/Gregory's ideological agreement with his Patarene friends on the key issues of lay investiture, simony, and clerical marriage. The bishop of Sutri furnishes four episodes from Hildebrand/Gregory's career that demonstrate his opposition to lay investiture, the most significant of which involves the alleged manner in which Henry III's papal designee, Bruno of Toul, assumed the papacy as Leo IX. Bonizo asserts that Hildebrand met with Bruno at Vienne on the latter's way to Rome and convinced him to refrain from displaying the papal insignia until after his formal election by the Roman clergy and people.<sup>88</sup>

More specifically, Bonizo relates that when he learned from Abbot Hugh of Cluny, in whose retinue he was traveling, that they were headed to Vienne to meet with Henry III's papal designee the venerable Hildebrand urged the abbot not to meet with such an apostate, who would dare to seize the papacy at the command

<sup>86</sup> I. S. Robinson, "The Friendship Network of Gregory VII," *History* 63 (1978): 1–22; here 12–13.

<sup>87</sup> The pope's fondness for Erlembald did not prevent him from canvassing among Milan's knights for a successor to him. See Gregory VII, *Registrum*, ed. Erich Caspar, MGH Epistolae Selectae, III (Munich: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1978), 15, 276–77.

<sup>88</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, V, 587.

of an emperor.<sup>89</sup> At Vienne, Hugh related Hildebrand's statement to Bruno, who then asked to see the Roman cleric.<sup>90</sup> Bonizo explains that since God is present whenever three gather in his name (*Matthew* 18:20), Bruno heeded Hildebrand's counsel after meeting with him and Hugh and he set aside the papal insignia.<sup>91</sup> Later, Bonizo discloses to his friends that after Bruno/Leo's death in 1054, Hildebrand traveled across the Alps to meet with Henry III and explained to the emperor how wrong his previous interventions in papal elections were.<sup>92</sup> In accordance with Hildebrand's "salubrious" advice, Henry then relinquished his tyranny as Roman patrician and conceded the next papal election to the Roman clergy and people according to their ancient privileges.<sup>93</sup>

Bonizo is equally dutiful in pointing out to his fellow Patarenes Hildebrand/Gregory's longstanding opposition to simony and clerical marriage. He reveals that Hildebrand was the one who counseled Leo IX to hold the Roman synod shortly after his papal election that prohibited simony and nicolaitism.<sup>94</sup> He

<sup>89</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, V, 587: "Qui cum causas itineris a quodam narrante audisset, cepit rogare patrem, ne illo tenderet, dicens eum non apostolicum, sed apostaticum, qui issu imperatoris Romanum conaretur arripere pontificatum" (Who [Hildebrand] when he had heard the reason for his [Hugh of Cluny's] journey from a certain messenger, he began to plead with the father [Hugh] lest he should go to Vienne saying that that man who was attempting to seize the papacy on the order of an emperor was not an apostle but an apostate).

<sup>90</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, V, 587: "Vesuntium venit acceptaque occasione quantocius haec venerabili episcopo intimavit, adieciens simul et morum probitatem et integerrime eius vitae conversationem. Quid plura? Rogavit pontifex, ut eius potiretur colloquio.." (He [Hugh] proceeded to Vienne and when given the opportunity, he related what he [Hildebrand] had said as soon as possible to the venerable bishop [Bruno], adding a few words about the honesty of his [Hildebrand's] character and the tenor of his [Hildebrand's] most virtuous life. What more [can I say]? The pope asked to meet with him [Hildebrand]).

<sup>91</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, V, 587: "congregates tribus in nomine Domini secundum evangelicum verbum ibi fuit Deus in medio eorum. Nam eius consilio acquiescens papalia deposuit insignia, quae gestabat, summensque scarsellam usque ad apostolorum limina properavit" (when the three men gathered together in the Lord's name God was as the Gospel says there in their midst. Indeed, acquiescing to his [Hildebrand's] counsel, he [Bruno] laid aside the papal attire that he was wearing and assuming a cloak he hastened to the thresholds of the Apostles).

<sup>92</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, V, 589.

<sup>93</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, V, 589: "Qui eius salubri acquiescens consilio tyrannidem patriciatus deposuit cleroque Romano et populo secundum antiqua privilegia electionem summi pontificis concessit" (Who [Henry III] acquiescing to his [Hildebrand's] wholesome counsel, he relinquished his despotic rule as Patrician and he conceded the election of the supreme pontiff to the Roman clergy and people in accordance with their ancient prerogatives). Throughout Books V–VII, Bonizo repeatedly refers to Hildebrand/Gregory as a man of great counsel. No doubt, this was intended to help dispel in his readers'/listeners' minds the notion current in 1085–1086 that the pope was intemperate and lacked sound judgment.

<sup>94</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, V, 588: "Postquam papalem adeptus est dignitatem, venerabilem Hildebrandum, donatorem tam salubris consilii, quem abate (Hugh of Cluny) multis precibus vix impetraverat, ad subdiaconatus provexit honorem, quem et economum sanctae Romane ecclesiae constituit. Cuius consilio synodum mox congregavit, in qua diversarum regionum episcopi convenerunt, in qua etiam sub anathemate interdictum est non licere alicui episcopo archidiaconatus et

also relates that on Hildebrand's advice, a joint papal-imperial synod held in Florence ca. 1055 condemned simony and "priestly fornication."<sup>95</sup> Bonizo also passes on the story of how Hildebrand performed a miracle at the synod of Chalon-sur-Saone, which found its way into Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea*. Hildebrand proceeded to a council near Lyons following his mission to Milan in late 1059.<sup>96</sup> One night during the council's proceedings, the simoniac Archbishop Hugh of Ebrion bribed his accusers to withdraw their accusations against him. When, on the following day, Hugh boasted that there was no one to accuse him of wrongdoing, Hildebrand asked him to recite the *Glory Be*. When he got to the part of the prayer that required him to pronounce the name of the Holy Spirit, Hugh lost his power of speech. Then, falling on his knees, Hugh admitted that he was a simoniac, and only after his deposition from office, was he able to recite the prayer in full. Hildebrand's miracle terrified the simoniacs gathered for the council, and eight bishops promptly confessed their guilt and renounced their Sees.

Bonizo further relates how as pope Hildebrand/Gregory directly confronted corrupt clergy in Rome itself. He recounts first that at the start of his pontificate, the pope gave the Roman clergy an ultimatum: either live the canonical life according to the Rule of the saints and possess no individual property or vacate their ecclesiastical residences and live in private.<sup>97</sup> Bonizo adds that many of these clerics preferred to live in private rather than bear the yoke of the Lord.<sup>98</sup> The pope also took on the ancient and evil custom of lay custody of St. Peter's Basilica. It seems that traditionally sixty or more resident lay sextons were responsible for

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preposituras vel abbatias seu beneficia ecclesiarum vel prebendas vel ecclesiarum vel altarium commendationes vendere, et ut sacerdotes et levitae et subdiaconi cum uxoribus non coeant" (After he [Leo] obtained the papal office, he raised the venerable Hildebrand, that dispenser of such wholesome advice whom he had barely been able with many entreaties to procure from the abbot [Hugh] to the rank of subdeacon and made him the treasurer of the holy Roman church. On whose advice, he [Leo] soon convoked a synod in which bishops from diverse regions gathered. In this synod, it was forbidden under pain of anathema for any bishop to put a price on the archdiaconate or to put up for sale the abbeys or the benefices of the churches or prebends or the commendations of the churches or of the altars. It was also forbidden for priests, deacons, or subdeacons to take spouses).

<sup>95</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, V, 590: "in qua synodo consilio venerabilis Ildebrandi symonica heresis et turpissima fornicatio sacerdotum divino mucrone percussa est" (in which synod the heresy of Simony and the obscenity of fornicating priests were smitten with the spiritual sword on the advice of the venerable Hildebrand).

<sup>96</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VI, 592: "His ita gestis Deo amabilis Ildebrandus ad Lugdunensem Galliam usque pervenit ibique magno celebrato concilio symoniacam heresim et detestabilem clericorum fornicationem usque ad Pyreneos montes et ad Britannicum mare persecutus est" (With this task accomplished, Hildebrand the lover of God traveled up to Lyons. After a great council had been celebrated there, he (Hildebrand) prosecuted the heresy of Simony and the abomination of clerical fornication all the way to the Pyrenees and then to the British Sea).

<sup>97</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VII, 603.

<sup>98</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VII, 603.

maintaining the basilica.<sup>99</sup> Bonizo claims that these sextons committed all kinds of horrible acts at night and that the pope finally expelled them with great difficulty.<sup>100</sup> Gregory also ended the evil custom of overnight vigils at St. Peter's, during which many thefts and impure acts used to occur, as well as the celebration of mass on the altar of St. Peter by the "cardinals of avarice" in the pre-dawn hours.<sup>101</sup> Not unexpectedly, such measures earned the pope the enmity of the unreformed Roman clergy and their relatives, particularly the Roman *capitanei*.<sup>102</sup> Bonizo undoubtedly also hoped that the recitation of these same measures would earn the pope the admiration of the *ad amicum's* Patarene audience.

Most significantly, Bonizo apparently draws upon Patarene hagiographical traditions familiar to his friends about Ariald of Varese in constructing his picture of the pope. Andrew of Strumi describes Ariald at one point in the *Vita sancti Arialdi* as the "good disciple who imitates the holy master (i.e., Jesus)."<sup>103</sup> Bonizo twice employs very similar phrases to describe the pope. He is the "disciple of the good master"<sup>104</sup> and he is the one who imitates "the example of the good master."<sup>105</sup> Bonizo uses these phrases in connection with episodes in which Gregory shows mercy toward those who have harmed him in some way. Andrew too portrays Ariald as forgiving of his enemies.<sup>106</sup> Bonizo relates the story of the Roman noble Cencius Stephani's kidnapping of the pope from the high altar of Santa Maria Maggiore's on Christmas Eve 1075. Cencius and his co-conspirators snatched Gregory from the altar during mass and carried off the wounded pope to a tower, which was the most formidable in the city.<sup>107</sup> The Romans laid siege to

<sup>99</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VII, 603: "Erat preterea Romae antiqua et pessima consuetudo, quam beatus papa suo tempore funditus ab eadem ecclesia extirpavit. Nam in beati apostolorum principis ecclesia erant sexaginta et eo amplius mansionarii, laici coniugati et plerique concubinati, qui eandem ecclesiam per vices suas die noctuque custodiebant" (There was also at Rome an old and most evil custom, which the blessed pope in his own day utterly removed from that same church. For in the church of the blessed prince of the apostles there were sixty residents who were more like temple keepers, married lay people and many concubines, who used to have custody of that same church for their own functions day and night).

<sup>100</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VII, 603.

<sup>101</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VII, 603.

<sup>102</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VII, 603.

<sup>103</sup> Andrew, *Vita*, ch. 14, 1059: "At bonus discipulus pium imitans magistrum" (Like the good disciple who imitates the pious Master).

<sup>104</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VII: "beatissimus Gregorius, boni magistri discipulus" (the most blessed Gregory, the disciple of the good Master).

<sup>105</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VII, 607: "Venerabilis vero Gregorius secundum boni magistri exemplum" (But, the venerable Gregory according to the example of the good Master).

<sup>106</sup> Andrew, *Vita*, ch. 20, 1065.

<sup>107</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VII, 606: "Nam Deo odibilis Cencius coniuratione facta in ipsa nocte nativitatis Christi papam sacramenta celebrantem ab altare sanctae Dei genitricis Mariae, quod dicitur ad Presepe, rapuit et vulneratum ad turrin, quam Romae habebat mirae fortitudinis, violenter usque perduxit" (For Cencius, the one hateful to God, with a plot formed, on the very night of Christmas he seized the pope while he celebrated the sacraments from the altar of the church of Saint Mary



the tower and by the morning they had captured Cencius. They were intent on killing the author of this crime, but the tears and entreaties of that disciple of "the good master" (i.e., Jesus), the blessed Gregory, saved Cencius' life.<sup>108</sup> The next day, however, the Romans expelled Cencius and his cohorts from the city and destroyed their fortifications.<sup>109</sup>

Some twenty lines later in Book VII, Bonizo furnishes a second example of the pope forgiving an enemy. He recalls here the embassy of the cleric Roland to Rome on behalf of Henry IV in February of 1076. In the middle of Gregory's Lenten synod, Roland conveyed the German king's demand that Gregory step down from the papacy to make way for the election of a new pope by the Roman cardinal clergy in Germany.<sup>110</sup> Roland's interjection evidently stirred the synod fathers into a rage against him. Bonizo reports that in keeping with the example of "the good master," the venerable Gregory first saved his accuser's life, and then brought the tumultuous synod to a hasty conclusion.<sup>111</sup>

Bonizo's Gregory, like Andrew's Arialld, is not only merciful, but also willing to lay down his life for the cause of ecclesiastical reform. Recall that Andrew writes that Arialld once pledged to lead the Milanese people to the light of Christ or else die trying to do so.<sup>112</sup> Bonizo's Gregory too is willing to practice heroic self-sacrifice. The pope, "who was prepared to die for the sake of his sheep,"<sup>113</sup> did not shrink from excommunicating Henry and judging him an alien from the Kingdom of God, because he had insulted the Roman church through the aforementioned embassy of Roland. Similarly, the venerable pope "was prepared to die for the truth" when he excommunicated Henry a second time after the German king threatened to replace Gregory if he did not excommunicate his rival Rudolph of Rheinfelden.<sup>114</sup> Bonizo assures his friends that Gregory was again prepared to die

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Major and brought the wounded (pope) to the tower, which was considered of marvelous strength violently he (Cencius) led (the pope) to it).

<sup>108</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VII, 606: "ipsumque scelestum interfecissent, nisi eum beatissimus Gregorius, boni magistri discipulus, precibus et supplicationibus a morte liberasset" (and they would have killed that criminal, except Blessed Gregory, the disciple of the good Master, through his prayers and entreaties saved him [Cencius] from death). In the *Vita sancti Arialldi*, Andrew describes his subject as the good disciple of the holy master Jesus. See Andrew, *Vita*, ch. 14, 1059.

<sup>109</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VII, 606.

<sup>110</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VII, 606–07.

<sup>111</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VII, 607: "Venerabilis vero Gregorius secundum boni magistri exemplum conviciatorem suum prius a morte liberavit, dehinc, vix sedato tumultu, synodum cum alacritate celebravit" (But, the venerable Gregory according to the example of the good Master, first liberated his reviler from death, then after a tumult was barely suppressed, he celebrated the synod with haste).

<sup>112</sup> Andrew, *Vita*, ch. 4, 1052.

<sup>113</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VII, 607: "venerabilis Gregorius, qui pro ovibus suis mori paratus est" (the venerable Gregory, who was prepared to die for his sheep).

<sup>114</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VIII, 612: "qui pro veritate mori paratus est" (who was prepared to die for the truth).

for the truth when he rejected the pleas of the war-weary Romans, who had endured a three year siege of their city, to accept an unrepentant Henry's offer to receive the imperial crown from him.<sup>115</sup>

Bonizo, however, also clearly believed that he needed to allay certain doubts in the minds of his Patavine jury about how the Patavine pope had dealt with Henry IV. Because Bonizo was asking his friends to make war against him, he had to establish clearly that Henry not Gregory was in the wrong. Bonizo first finds it necessary to explain in good Patavine fashion with *documenta* and *exempla* that Gregory's excommunication and *quasi* deposition of Henry in 1076, which followed the pope's condemnation by the German bishops at the Synod of Worms (January 1076), was neither new nor reprehensible.<sup>116</sup> Bonizo further judged it necessary to explain to his colleagues how and why Gregory absolved Henry at Canossa.<sup>117</sup> He also makes it clear that the pope was not responsible for the civil war that broke out in Henry's German kingdom in 1077. Quite correctly, he does not associate the pope with the election of Rudolph of Rheinfelden as anti-king by the rebellious German princes at Forchheim. He accurately portrays Gregory as a frustrated would-be peacemaker between the two claimants to the German throne and to the imperial title that went with it. In the period 1077–1080, both sides of the German civil war were vexed by the pope's refusal to declare in favor of one of the candidates until he was absolutely certain of which claimant was the more righteously obedient to ecclesiastical authority and thus more worthy of the title of Christian prince. The acceptance of papal arbitration of the dispute constituted a necessary pre-condition for each claimant's eligibility to win papal approbation.

The bishop of Sutri also had to explain Gregory's second excommunication and deposition of Henry in 1080. This papal judgment took almost everyone by surprise as it seemingly came out of nowhere. Bonizo's presentation of this final breach between pope and king is key to his argument to his friends that they should rise up against Henry and his anti-pope, Guibert of Ravenna. Bonizo's narrative lays the blame for this breach at Henry's doorstep. He is the architect of a violent rebellion against his divinely appointed pastor. The *ad amicum*'s author explains that Henry initiated the final conflict. He writes that by "deliberate design" (*deliberato consilio*) Henry sent representatives to Gregory with an unprecedented ultimatum: if the pope excommunicated Rudolph, Henry would obey him. Otherwise Henry would acquire a pope of his own to excommunicate

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<sup>115</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VIII, 612.

<sup>116</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VII, 607. Bonizo's evidence here is not very convincing. Of the eight *exempla* of popes excommunicating and even deposing kings that he produces, five of them are fictitious. Another one concerns Ambrose's excommunication of Theodosius. Interestingly, four of Bonizo's *exempla* appear as well in Gregory VII's famous defense of his actions in his letter to Hermann of Metz.

<sup>117</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VIII, 610.

his rival.<sup>118</sup> The pope, of course, refused to excommunicate Rudolph and instead excommunicated the arrogant Henry.<sup>119</sup>

The *ad amicum*'s author concludes his *apologia* for Gregory at the end of his historical narrative in Book IX. Here, he acquits the pope of several charges being leveled by Henry's supporters. He refutes the charges that Gregory was illegally elected pope,<sup>120</sup> that he was a false prophet,<sup>121</sup> and that he excommunicated Henry uncanonically.<sup>122</sup> It is instructive that even though Gregory was a strong ally of the Pataria and that Bonizo clearly depicts Henry in his history as an enemy of the Pataria and closely aligned with the Lombard aristocracy, the bishop of Sutri still believed it necessary to convince his fellow Patarenes that this most Patarene of popes had not been seriously at fault in his relations with Henry. It is a testament to how controversial a figure Gregory became even among some of the most ardent reformers.

Bonizo, however, felt no need to compose an *apologia* for the deeds of the Patarene knight, Erlembald Cotta. As stated earlier, Erlembald is one of three contemporary martyred holy warriors whom Bonizo holds up for his audience's imitation. Of these three exemplars, the Patarene knight is by far the most important. He is the only one whom Bonizo discusses in any detail. The bishop of Sutri's Erlembald is the resolute opponent of the evil machinations of "the sellers of the churches," the Milanese *capitanei* and *vavasours*. He wields the material sword in heroic defense of the liberty of the Milanese church. Bonizo, most significantly, reveals to his friends that Erlembald's heroics and those of his fellow Patarenes earned them the enmity not only of the Milanese aristocracy, but also of the German king. Henry was a partner in the crimes of the Pataria's inveterate foes in Milan. He was a partner in the murder of Erlembald. Perhaps unbeknownst to them, Bonizo's friends had been at war with Henry years before the composition of the *ad amicum*. Bonizo was not asking anything novel of his comrades in his history. He was asking them to resume and successfully conclude a war that Henry had been waging against them by proxy. He frames this appeal to his allies in a manner quite familiar to eleventh century knights: he asks them to wage a holy vendetta against the killers of Erlembald Cotta, their martyred lord.

Bonizo recalls for his ideological friends some of the most famous episodes of their movement's military history. Erlembald bursts upon the scene in Bonizo's narrative when the body of the murdered Arialdo of Varese emerges from its watery grave on the estate of his killers, the relatives of Archbishop Guido. When

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<sup>118</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VIII, 612.

<sup>119</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VIII, 612.

<sup>120</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VIII, 615–16.

<sup>121</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VIII, 616.

<sup>122</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VIII, 617–18.

news of the location of Ariald's body reached him, Erlembald gathered together a whole multitude of Patarnes and besieged the castle of the archbishop's relatives until they handed over Ariald's remains.<sup>123</sup> Next, Erlembald leaped into action to thwart the nefarious plans of the Milanese aristocracy and their ally Henry for the Milanese See. Bonizo relates that the "sellers of the churches" (i.e., the Milanese nobility) convinced Archbishop Guido to step aside in favor of the noble cleric, Godfrey.

On the advice of simoniacs, the Milanese *capitanei* and the Lombard bishops, Godfrey then traveled across the Alps to Henry seeking investiture.<sup>124</sup> Godfrey promised the German king that if he would invest him with the Milanese See, the Pataria would be destroyed and Erlembald would be sent back across the Alps as Henry's prisoner.<sup>125</sup> After money had been exchanged, Henry invested Godfrey with the archbishopric.<sup>126</sup> Godfrey was not able to secure his See, however, because once he learned of what had transpired, Erlembald, "the one protected by God," brought together a multitude of the army of God.<sup>127</sup> The Patarnes knight had the castles of the archdiocese seized by his own men and he proceeded to besiege Godfrey at his family's fortification at Castiglione.<sup>128</sup> Godfrey eventually was able to escape the siege, but the most strong soldier of God, Erlembald Cotta, possessed a great victory.<sup>129</sup>

Because he wished to liberate the Milanese church from the servitude of simony, Erlembald arranged for the election of a new archbishop on the advice of Pope Alexander II and the "lover of God," Hildebrand.<sup>130</sup> The clergy and people of Milan elected the young noble cleric, Atto, as the new archbishop. In reality, the election was a rump election. As Bonizo's text reveals, Erlembald had to bring in clergy from Cremona to provide enough electors for the process. A further indication of the dubious nature of Atto's election came in the form of an uprising against it. A mob attacked Atto and dragged him to the altar of Saint Mary's church and made him renounce the Milanese See. The next morning "the soldier of God" counter-attacked and chased the enemies of God out of the city.<sup>131</sup>

Bonizo informs his friends that the Pataria's enemies did not give up the fight. He relates that the Milanese *capitanei* held a conference with Henry and they

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<sup>123</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VI, 597.

<sup>124</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VI, 598.

<sup>125</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VI, 598.

<sup>126</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VI, 598.

<sup>127</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VI, 598.

<sup>128</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VI, 598.

<sup>129</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VI, 599.

<sup>130</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VI, 599.

<sup>131</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VI, 599.

promised him that the Pataria was going to be destroyed and Erlembald killed.<sup>132</sup> He adds that the German king gladly listened to his guests and he promised them whatever they wanted.<sup>133</sup> The Milanese aristocratic faction made good on its promise to Henry by assassinating the Patarene chief and cracking down on his followers. Bonizo remembers that those who fled Milan after Erlembald's murder were received honorably by their brothers in Cremona.<sup>134</sup>

Bonizo clearly wanted his friends to avenge their great champion's disgraceful murder in the streets of Milan and resume the "war of the Lord" against not only the Milanese nobility but against Henry as well. Bonizo further reveals that after Henry learned of Erlembald's martyrdom, he remembered his promise to the Milanese *capitanei* and sent his excommunicated councilor Count Eberhard to Italy.<sup>135</sup> At Roncalia in Lombardy, Eberhard presided over a gathering of anti-reformers and thanked the Milanese for Erlembald's death and invited them to come over the Alps to choose an archbishop.<sup>136</sup> The count, then, declared that all Patarenes were public enemies of the king. He apparently proceeded to apprehend a number of Patarenes from Piacenza, whom he only released at the request of Countess Matilda's mother, Beatrice.<sup>137</sup> Bonizo reminds his comrades that the count did not dare attempt to harass the Cremonese because of their reputation for a strong faith and bravery.<sup>138</sup> As far as Bonizo was concerned, it was now time for his Patarene friends of Cremona to live up to their reputation and join forces with Beatrice's daughter and punish the murderers of a saintly warrior.

## VI. Bonizo's Closing Arguments

After his defense of Gregory VII's second excommunication and deposition of Henry IV in Book IX, Bonizo begins his extended peroration. He attempts here to defend his idea of holy civil war against a wicked Christian prince in a manner that would resonate with his ideological friends. He presents an armada of patristic *documenta* in good Patarene fashion and he rehearses the historical *exempla* of the ancient and contemporary righteous practitioners of holy violence (including Erlembald Cotta) mentioned earlier in other places in the *ad amicum*.

<sup>132</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VII, 602: "nam ei promittunt et Pataream destructuros et Herlimbaldum occisuros" (for they promise to him (Henry IV) that they were going to destroy the Pataria and kill Erlembald).

<sup>133</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VII, 602: "Quod rex libenter audivit, et voluntarie quicquid petierunt promisit" (Which the king gladly listened to and he promised (them) freely whatever they asked).

<sup>134</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VII, 605.

<sup>135</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VII, 605.

<sup>136</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VII, 605.

<sup>137</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VII, 605.

<sup>138</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VII, 605.

This particular task leads him to the broader task of justifying the inclusion of the warrior in the ranks of Christians. He reasons *a fortiori* that if it has been lawful for a Christian to be a soldier for any cause, it is lawful to fight against the *Guibertistas* (i.e., the Henrician party) in every possible way.<sup>139</sup> He follows this statement up with a powerful citation for any Patarene audience: Gregory the Great's injunction that every Christian fight simony and the heresy of the neophytes according to his rank or station.<sup>140</sup> If it was legitimate in the past to have fought simony with weapons as his *amici* had, how much more so was it now legitimate to fight the "mother of all heresies."<sup>141</sup> He states that we should not judge that soldiers are aliens from the Kingdom of God. Although he does not openly acknowledge the fact, this last statement comes from Augustine's *Letter* 189 to Boniface, the Roman commander. The Biblical proofs that Bonizo cites in support of this assertion also first appeared in Augustine's *Letter* 189. Like the bishop of Hippo, Bonizo cites Jesus' healing of the centurion's servant (*Matthew* 8:8–10), St. Peter's baptism of the centurion Cornelius (*Acts* 10:30–33), and John the Baptist's admonition to a group of soldiers to harass no man, and to be content with their pay (*Luke* 3:14), as evidence that one can be a soldier and a Christian.<sup>142</sup> If it was lawful to fight for an earthly king, he asks will it not be lawful to fight for a celestial one?<sup>143</sup> Similarly: if it was lawful to fight for a republic, will it not be lawful to fight for righteousness?<sup>144</sup> If it was lawful to fight against barbarians, will it not be lawful to fight against heretics?<sup>145</sup>

Bonizo next presents his armada of patristic proofs for his idea of holy civil war. He produces brief statements culled from the works of Gregory of Tours, Pope Gregory the Great, Augustine, pseudo-Augustine, Jerome, and Ambrose. While none of these snippets provide any real justification for Bonizo's proposition, his use of some of them borders on the ludicrous. An examination of the original context of some of these statements reveals that they really do not address the issue at hand at all. This creates the impression that Bonizo's array of patristic *sententiae* functions more as a garnish to his historical argument than anything else.

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<sup>139</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VIII, 618: "si licuit umquam christiano pro aliqua militare, licet contra Guibertistas, omnibus modis bellare" (if it was ever licit for a Christian to fight for some (reason), it is licit to fight against the Guibertistas in every way).

<sup>140</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VIII, 618.

<sup>141</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VIII, 618.

<sup>142</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VIII, 618.

<sup>143</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VIII, 618: "quae si licuit pro terreno rege (militasse), non licebit pro celesti?" (which if it was licit (to fight) for an earthly king, will it not be licit (to fight) for a heavenly (king)?).

<sup>144</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VIII, 618: "si licuit pro re publica, non licebit pro iusticia?" (if it was licit (to fight) for a republic, will it not be licit (to fight) for righteousness?).

<sup>145</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VIII, 618: "si licuit contra barbaros, non licebit contra hereticos?" (if it was licit (to fight) against barbarians, will it not be licit (to fight) against heretics?).

The great defender of ecclesiastical law ironically could not produce a single canon in defense of his proposal.

After his friends have heard the *documenta* of the holy fathers, he enjoins them to “pay attention” to the *exempla* of those who have fought for truth.<sup>146</sup> He presents here the examples of righteous holy violence taken from Cassiodorus’ *Tripartite History* that appear in Book II.<sup>147</sup> He also brings before his audience once more the modern *exempla*. The real proof for his proposal, of course, lay in the *exemplum* of Erlembald Cotta and his friends’ own past experience of having already fought the Pataria’s “war of the Lord” on the streets of Cremona years earlier. Onto this past experience of his friends, which he resurrects in the pages of his history, he attempts to graft the idea of fighting a Christian emperor.

## VII. A Friend To The End

Bonizo’s commitment to his *amici* and their cause was far more than just intellectual or literary. Some three or four years after the *ad amicum*’s composition, he appeared in Piacenza. He evidently had arrived there at the invitation of the city’s Patarene faction, which engineered his rump election to Piacenza’s vacant episcopal See. His election to Piacenza’s bishopric was reminiscent of the episcopal election mentioned above staged by Erlembald Cotta in Milan in 1072. We know from the correspondence of Pope Urban II contained in the *Collectio Britannica* that the “better clergy and laity” of the city had opposed his election and had sworn an oath against him.<sup>148</sup> The conservative aristocrats of Piacenza did not want a rabble rousing Patarene commoner for bishop. Bonizo’s maneuver was indeed a brazen, foolhardy gambit designed to accomplish what he calls for in the pages of the *ad amicum*: the re-emergence of the Pataria as a force in the ecclesiastical life of Lombardy. It was his personal contribution to the renewed Patarene offensive against old nemeses that he hoped his presentation of Christian history would spark. Reading the *ad amicum* as a Patarene call to arms best explains both the tapestry which he weaves there out of the histories of the papacy, the Pataria, and the House of Canossa and his subsequent behavior. Like his heroes Arialdo of Varese and Erlembald Cotta before him, Bonizo too was heroically committed to

<sup>146</sup> Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VIII, 619: “Audistis sanctorum patrum documenta, advertite et pro veritate pugnantium exempla” (You have heard the documents of the holy fathers, now pay attention to the examples of those fighting for righteousness).

<sup>147</sup> He does add one episode. He approvingly cites the stoning of the prefect Orestes by the monk Amonius. Bonizo, *ad amicum*, VIII, 619.

<sup>148</sup> Robert Somerville in collaboration with Stephan Kuttner, *Pope Urban II, the Collectio Britannica, and the Council of Melfi (1089)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 50 and 51.

the Patarene enterprise and was willing and maybe even eager to lay his life down for his friends and their cause.

Bonizo's adventure in Piacenza, however, was not welcome news to Urban II. When Bonizo sought papal confirmation of his election, the pope lent him only the most tepid support. He offered this support on the nearly impossible condition that the Patarene bishop-elect satisfy the objections of those who had opposed his election.<sup>149</sup> For both strategic and personal reasons, Urban had decided to adjust papal policy in Lombardy by reaching out to elements in the region's ecclesiastical establishment who had earlier fiercely opposed the Pataria and had initially sided with the emperor and his anti-pope against the papacy but who came to have second thoughts about the rectitude of the Henrician cause. To this end, Urban relaxed a number of Gregory VII's policies and welcomed into the papal camp clerics who had opposed his predecessor.

Bonizo's stunt risked alienating these new papal allies in Piacenza and elsewhere in Lombardy. Thus, the Pataria's strident and confrontational approach to ecclesiastical reform of the 1060s and 70s, which Bonizo's maneuver exemplified, did not suit the pope's purposes in the late 1080s. In reality, it never perfectly suited the purposes of earlier reform popes either: including those of the Patarene favorite, Gregory VII. Urban saw no benefit in avenging the decades old losses and setbacks dealt to Bonizo and his ideological friends by the Lombard establishment. On the contrary, the support of that establishment was vital in the reform papacy's life and death struggle with the Henrician party. Necessity required that pre-existing ideological disputes between old and new papal allies be put to rest. The disconnect between Bonizo and Urban makes the very important point that the ecclesiastical reform movement of the eleventh century was a heterogeneous movement. It sprang from many different independent sources and constituted a fragile multi-party coalition whose individual elements shared a basic unity of purpose but sometimes diverged in their strategic objectives.

Bonizo's enemies in Piacenza eventually made good on their pledge. They brutally assaulted him perhaps cutting off his nose and ears, blinding him and cutting out his tongue as well.<sup>150</sup> Amazingly, he survived his disastrous experience in Piacenza. In exile, once again, this time as a horribly wounded man, the *ad amicum's* author remained committed to his friends and their ideological agenda. He continued to write producing the longest of his nine known works, the

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<sup>149</sup> Somerville, *Pope Urban II*, 50.

<sup>150</sup> Rangerius *Vita metrica Anselmi Lucensis episcopi*, ed. Ernst Sackur, Gerhard Schwartz, and Bernhard Schmeidler, MGH SS, XXX, Pars II (Hanover: Anton Hiersemann, 1934; rpt. Stuttgart and New York: Kraus Reprint Corporation, 1964), 1299. Bernold of St. Blaisen, *Chronicon*, ed. G. Pertz, MGH SS, V (Hanover: Hahn, 1894), a. 1089 449.



canonical treatise the *Liber de vita christiana*.<sup>151</sup> In this tome, Bonizo presents the canonical justifications for the various elements of the Pataria's program. It constitutes a treasure chest of sorts into which the Patarene doctor places the principles of true religion as understood by him and his friends. While Bonizo undoubtedly had the assistance of another in his literary labors, such activity required heroic psychological and spiritual effort on his part. He carried on as best he could in his forced retirement in the hope that the religious vision he shared with his friends might endure and perhaps even still triumph somehow.

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<sup>151</sup> In this work, Bonizo esoterically censures Urban II at a number of points for his détente policy with erstwhile Henricians. See Paul Fournier, "Bonizo de Sutri, Urbain II et la comtesse Mathilde d'après le *Liber de vita christiana* de Bonizo," *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartres* 76 (1915): 265–98; here, 283–86.



## Chapter 9

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### Friendship in the *Heroic Epic*: Ruedegâr in the *Nibelungenlied*<sup>1</sup>

Although medieval literature knows of many friends and friendships, especially in the world of courtly literature, and then also within the monastic sphere,<sup>2</sup> friendship among heroes has not attracted too much interest on the side of modern scholarship, perhaps because the individual protagonist seems to be too isolated and self-contained to be in need of a friend. Beowulf basically dies a lonely death in his last battle against the dragon. Roland in the Old French *Chanson de Roland* and in the Middle High German *Rolandslied* is surrounded by the other paladins, but it would be inappropriate to identify them as his 'friends' in an affectionate way as we know, for instance, from how Cicero in antiquity or Aelred of Rievaulx in the twelfth century discussed friendship.

Siegfried in the Middle High German *Nibelungenlied* is murdered while drinking from a fountain, and no one, except for his wife Kriemhilt, truly laments his death since he does not have any friends. Parallel to him, though still on a different plane, the somber Hagen (also in the *Nibelungenlied*) fights mostly for and by himself, absolutely loyal to his lords, but, apart from the minstrel warrior Volker, there are no friends in his life. And we do not even know much about that homosocial bond, except that they are both very loyal fighters to the very bitter end. My Cid (El Campeador) in *The Song of the Cid* is surrounded by most loyal compatriots and warriors upon whom he can rely throughout his life, but there is

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<sup>1</sup> I would like to express my gratitude to my dear colleague Marilyn Sandidge, Westfield State University, Westfield, MA, for her critical reading of my article.

<sup>2</sup> Adele M. Fiske, *Friends and Friendship in the Monastic Tradition*. Cidoc Cuaderno, 51 (Cuernavaca, Mexico: Centro Intercultural de Documentacion, 1970). See also the contributions to the present volume by Lisa M. C. Weston, Marc Saurette, R. Jacob McDonie, and Julian P. Haseldine.

no clear reference to friends in the specific sense outlined by the famous theoreticians on friendship in antiquity, which was then adopted by philosophers, theologians, and poets throughout the centuries and subsequently enjoyed a tremendous impact on the Middle Ages and beyond.<sup>3</sup>

Of course, heroic epics regularly refer to fundamental values closely associated with friendship, but these basically imply military values, such as trust, constancy, reliability, etc., and they are more associated with vassalitic loyalty than with emotional relationships.

By contrast, the courtly world knows of many friends, whether we think of Erec and Gawain in Chrétien de Troyes's *Yvain* or of Parzival and Gawain in Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival*. The probably best known figures of friends can be found in the pan-European narrative *Amis et Amiloun*, rendered into German, for instance, by Konrad von Würzburg in his well-known *Engelhard* (ca. 1280).<sup>4</sup> Indeed, as soon as we explore the broad discourse on love and friendship, we come across a plethora of relevant texts, and we can easily confirm the great significance of the theme of friends throughout the entire Middle Ages and the Renaissance, as Reginald Hyatte and others have amply demonstrated.<sup>5</sup>

However, with regard to heroic poetry, the issue of friendship does not seem to emerge as an aspect of true significance; instead we are commonly faced with feudal relationships, bondage among men based on their mutual war experiences, and vassalage. This also applies to the anonymous Middle High German *Nibelungenlied* (ca. 1200), certainly a world classic much discussed for more than 250 years from many different perspectives.<sup>6</sup> In his recent contribution to *The Nibelungen*

<sup>3</sup> For Cicero's text, see online at: <http://www.bartleby.com/9/1/1.html>, or alternatively at: [http://books.google.com/books?id=72a91yubVuMC&dq=Cicero%27s+On+Friendship&printsec=frontcover&source=bl&ots=Qy8k7lhx7H&sig=FG3gCn9VBhnTdu31ZVizlp6o\\_RU&hl=en&ei=rmL4SYyKPJWNtGfx9JWjDw&sa=X&oi=book\\_result&ct=result&resnum=6#PPA9,M1](http://books.google.com/books?id=72a91yubVuMC&dq=Cicero%27s+On+Friendship&printsec=frontcover&source=bl&ots=Qy8k7lhx7H&sig=FG3gCn9VBhnTdu31ZVizlp6o_RU&hl=en&ei=rmL4SYyKPJWNtGfx9JWjDw&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=6#PPA9,M1) (both last accessed on Aug. 1, 2010); cf. Jan Ziolkowski, "Twelfth-Century Understandings and Adaptations of Ancient Friendship," *Mediaeval Antiquity*, ed. Andries Welkenhuysen, Herman Braet, and Werner Verbeke. Mediaevalia Lovaniensia, I, 24 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1995), 59–81; see also Albrecht Classen, "Friendship in the Middle Ages: A Ciceronian Concept in Konrad von Würzburg's *Engelhard* (ca. 1280)," *Mittelalterliches Jahrbuch* 41.2 (2006): 227–46; id., "Das Motiv des aufopfernden Freundes von der Antike über das Mittelalter bis zur Neuzeit," *Fabula* 47.1–2 (2006): 17–32.

<sup>4</sup> Katalin Horn, "Freundschaft und Feindschaft," *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, ed. Kurt Ranke. Vol. 5, 2–3 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1986), 293–315; Nicole Clifton, "The Function of Childhood in *Amis and Amiloun*," *Mediaevalia* 22.1 (1998): 35–57.

<sup>5</sup> Reginald Hyatte, *The Arts of Friendship: the Idealization of Friendship in Medieval and Early Renaissance Literature* (Leiden and New York: Brill, 1994); Huguette Legros, *L'Amitié dans les chansons de geste à l'époque romane* (Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l'Université de Provence, 2001). See also my Introduction to this volume.

<sup>6</sup> Werner Hoffmann, *Nibelungenlied*. 6th rev. and expanded ed. originally authored by Gottfried Weber and Werner Hoffmann. Sammlung Metzler, 7 (1982; Stuttgart: Metzler, 1992); Lutz Mackensen, *Die Nibelungen: Sage, Geschichte, ihr Lied und sein Dichter* (Stuttgart; Dr. Ernst

*Tradition*, Ernst Hintz reflects upon friendship in this epic, but he characterizes it as a phenomenon that “leads to disaster.” As he elaborates further, “The basic Nibelungen concept of friendship is that it always turns out badly.”<sup>7</sup> Indeed, at first sight Hintz, and so many previous scholars, seem to be right, considering the highly dubious and ambivalent form of friendship between the Burgundian King Gunther and the Netherlandish usurper Siegfried, the latter certainly a dominating figure, virtually invulnerable and simply imposing in many regards. All the references to friendship in that relationship quickly reveal themselves to be deceptive ploys for diplomatic and military purposes; hence not trustworthy in idealistic or emotional terms.<sup>8</sup>

The early development in the epic seems to indicate a growth in their personal relationship and affection for each other, and the word ‘friend’ is used increasingly after the heroic outsider has been more fully integrated into the Worms society. But this situation easily proves to be illusionary, if not treacherous, and Hagen’s final decision to plot the murder of Siegfried does not really come as a surprise considering the deep-seated hatred between them and the entire court’s fear of this seemingly indefatigable and practically invulnerable man. Revealingly, Gunther opposes this plan only meekly, and in essence is in agreement with the plan, which entirely shatters the pretense of friendship and deconstructs the Burgundians’ theater of manly companionship. In Hintz’s words, “Siegfried’s trust in Gunther’s friendship and that of the Burgundians proves to be ill-founded” (152). This, however, ultimately leads to the utter elimination of the Burgundians because Kriemhilt can only think of revenge, which results in a total Armageddon for everyone involved, including the Hunnish court and practically all of its allied forces. Even the friendship between Hagen and Rüedegêr, powerfully profiled, even if only fleetingly, in the last part of the epic poem, shortly before the gory and fulminating conclusion which no one except Dietrich and Hildebrand survives, does not live up to the expectations, as Hintz sees it: “Friendship proves no deterrent to the impending doom” (152).

Only the emotional bonds between Hagen and the minstrel warrior Volker survive until they both die in this battle or are killed afterwards as a consequence

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Hauswedell, 1984); Edward R. Haymes, *The Nibelungenlied: History and Interpretation*. Illinois Medieval Monographs, II (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986); *A Companion to the Nibelungenlied*, ed. Winder McConnell. Studies in German Literature, Linguistics, and Culture (Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1998). See also the important collection of studies dedicated to the manuscript tradition and the history of reception, *Die Nibelungen: Sage – Epos – Mythos*, ed. Joachim Heinzle, Klaus Klein, and Ute Obhof (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2003).

<sup>7</sup> Ernst Hintz, “Friendship,” *The Nibelungen Tradition: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Francis G. Gentry, Winder McConnell, Ulrich Müller, and Werner Wunderlich (New York and London: Routledge, 2002), 151–52.

<sup>8</sup> Francis G. Gentry, *Triuwe and Vriunt in the Nibelungenlied*. Amsterdamer Publikationen zur Sprache und Literatur, 19 (Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi, 1975), 45–85.

of having been taken prisoners (Gunther and Hagen). Jan-Dirk Müller, in his most recent discussion of the text, affirms the social constraints that limit Rüedegêr's behavior and determine the extent to which he can really develop emotional elements. Accordingly, Rüedegêr's conflict arises, as Müller sees it, from the aporias of the social constructs, insofar as the hero is obliged, on the one hand, to his feudal lord Etzel (Attila), then to Kriemhilt, to whom he had pledged his absolute loyalty under any circumstances as part of the wedding negotiations, and, on the other, to the Burgundians with whom he is so intimately connected through family ties.

After all, while the latter had taken a break on their journey to the Hunnish lands at Rüedegêr's court, he had offered a marriage arrangement between his own daughter and Gunther's younger brother, Giselher. When Rüedegêr is finally forced to enter the fray in the ultimate battle against the Burgundians, those attacked at first cannot believe this horrendous development, seeing their own friend attacking them as well, but they must defend their lives and that of their comrades, which ultimately leads to Rüedegêr's and Gernôt's death, both killing each other to the utmost grief of everyone still present. In other words, for Müller there is no real sense of friendship as in contemporary romances and other narratives; instead the *Nibelungen* poet operates only with vassallic relationships.<sup>9</sup>

As much as Hintz and many other scholars have perceptively discussed the issue of negatively characterized friendship in the *Nibelungenlied*, here I would like to suggest that at least in the case of Rüedegêr and Hagen we are forced to perceive a different dimension that deserves closer analysis that might contradict some of the basic features characteristic of the heroic genre itself. Studying the *Nibelungenlied* in the context of the philosophical concept of friendship might also add a component that has not yet been fully considered because the heroic world does not seem to have lent an ear to the more courtly ideal of friendship.<sup>10</sup> Our poet, however, appears to have been in tune with the broad discourse on friendship which determined the long twelfth century, and which might have had a direct impact on him as well, especially because the *Nibelungenlied* was composed at the court of Bishop Wolfger of Erla of Passau—certainly a center of highly sophisticated courtly culture.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Jan-Dirk Müller, *Das Nibelungenlied*. Klassiker Lektüren, 5. 3rd, rev. and expanded ed. (2001; Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 2009), 107–09.

<sup>10</sup> None of the contributors to *Friendship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Julian Haseldine (Thrupp, Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 1999), considers an example from the heroic tradition. See also Walter Ysebaert, "Medieval Friendship and Networks," *Handbook of Medieval Studies*, ed. Albrecht Classen (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, forthcoming). The terms "vriunt" (friend), "vriuntlîch" (friendly), and "vriuntshaft" (friendship) are used quite frequently throughout the *Nibelungenlied*; see *Konkordanz zum Nibelungenlied nach der St. Galler Handschrift*, ed. Hermann Reichert. Vol. 2: N-Z (Vienna: Fassbaender, 2006), 986–87.

<sup>11</sup> *Wolfger von Erla: Bischof von Passau (1191 - 1204) und Patriarch von Aquileja (1204 - 1218) als*

When the Burgundians arrive in Rüedegêr's land, the margrave happily welcomes them and openly expresses his deeply felt joy over seeing these highly honored guests (1656).<sup>12</sup> Hagen and Rüedegêr seem to have known each other from previous times (1657, 3), but the crucial aspect at the moment proves to be the host's extraordinary hospitality, a clear marker of a major leader of people and of a mighty ruler, as we find it similarly expressed in most other heroic epics, especially, for instance, in *The Song of the Cid*.<sup>13</sup> But soon enough the general focus rests on the extraordinary beauty of Rüedegêr's daughter (here not named), who is betrothed to Giselher, and this upon the king's closest adviser Hagen's recommendation, whom the narrator characterizes in this scene "vil harte güetlîchen" (1677, 4; very kind), a most unusual epithet for a man who is rather feared than loved, and whom the princess herself had dreaded so much that she did not even want to kiss him (1665). Not surprisingly, her parents are delighted about this prospect, especially because they regard themselves as forlorn exiles in foreign lands who cannot hope for any good match for their daughter (1676).

Subsequently, in preparation for the future wedding plans, Rüedegêr holds his guests back for a fortnight and feeds and entertains them in a splendid fashion, thus publicly displaying his own power and wealth despite his precarious existence as Etzel's vassal far away from his ancestral home.<sup>14</sup> To complement her husband's munificence, the margravine showers the guests with extraordinary gifts, some of which carry strong emotional values for her, such as the shield of a relative, perhaps her son, or perhaps that of her deceased brother (1699).<sup>15</sup> This shield, however, will be the very object Hagen will later request from Rüedegêr in the final battle leading to the latter's death.

But the departure scene clearly confirms the extent to which the entire company, host and guests, are closely attached to each other, even on an emotional level, irrespective of all the formalities of the ceremonial gestures and rituals. Otfrid

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*Kirchenfürst und Literaturmäzen*, ed. Egon Boshof and Fritz Peter Knapp. Germanische Bibliothek: Reihe 3, Untersuchungen, Neue Folge, 20 (Heidelberg: Winter, 1994).

<sup>12</sup> Here I will quote from *Das Nibelungenlied*. Nach der Ausgabe von Karl Bartsch herausgegeben von Helmut de Boor. 13th, newly ed. Deutsche Klassiker des Mittelalters (Wiesbaden: F. A. Brockhaus, 1956). If not otherwise stated, the references pertain to stanzas. See also *Das Nibelungenlied: Mittelhochdeutsch / Neuhochdeutsch*. Nach dem Text von Karl Bartsch und Helmut de Boor ins Neuhochdeutsche übersetzt und kommentiert von Siegfried Grosse. For the standard English translation, see *The Nibelungenlied. A New Translation* by A. E. Hatto (1965; Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979). However, since I need to be as precise as possible with the exact rendering of the words, I use my own translations.

<sup>13</sup> María Rosa Menocal, "Introduction," *The Song of the Cid*, ix–xxv; here xvi–xix. See also Claudette Perrus, *Libéralité et munificence dans la littérature italienne du Moyen Age* (Pisa: Pacini, 1984).

<sup>14</sup> Winder McConnell, "Rüdiger," *The Nibelungen Tradition*, 112–13.

<sup>15</sup> The poet does not make this clear enough; see the explanatory note to this stanza by Helmut de Boor, 1956, 268.

Ehrismann notes in this context that the text offers a new level of personal relationships, though the ultimate meaning might not be fully fathomable: "der Markgraf hat sich den Nibelungen eng verbunden. Die Bande sind von kaum zu definierender Qualität, anzusiedeln in der Zone zwischen Brauchtum und Recht . . ." <sup>16</sup> (The Margrave has associated himself intimately with the Nibelungs [Burgundians]. These bonds are of a quality that can hardly be defined, located somewhere between custom and law). Rüedegêr emphasizes how much he cares about the guests' well-being on their route to the Hunnish court, and we do not need to decide whether this is part of the customary ritual or whether it also carries a considerable degree of affection for his new in-laws and 'friends.' Particularly the deliberate disregard of feudal norms and vassalic conditions in this situation of extraordinary gift-giving, as Jochen Splett has observed, suggests that the affectionate relationship between the margrave and the Burgundians amounts to what we would call 'friendship,' even in the classical sense of the word. <sup>17</sup> So, when it is time to part from one another, the narrator underscores how strong these affectionate bonds have actually grown, as expressed by intense kissing (1710) that are qualified as "minneclîche" (1710, 1; loving kisses). All these ceremonies are, of course, well-known ritual gestures common in heroic society and elsewhere, but we would go too far to discard any possibility of emotional relationships expressed by kisses, at least on the level of friendship. <sup>18</sup> After all, once they depart from each other, Rüedegêr and his men, and so also their women, cannot quite withhold their feelings and shed tears, somehow anticipating the tragedy awaiting the Burgundians (1711). The narrator even resorts to the important term "ir lieben friunden" (1712, 1; your dear friends), in this context to underscore the deep sorrow they all felt because they secretly sense that they will never see their guests again (1712, 2). There is clearly, as Splett has already uncovered, a clear reference to courtly values, one of which proves to be, as we will see, friendship. <sup>19</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Otfried Ehrismann, *Nibelungenlied: Epoche – Werk – Wirkung*. Arbeitsbücher zur Literaturgeschichte (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1987), 173.

<sup>17</sup> Jochen Splett, *Rüdiger von Bechelaren: Studien zum zweiten Teil des Nibelungenlieds*. Germanische Bibliothek. 3. Reihe: Untersuchungen und Einzeldarstellungen (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1968), 65–66.

<sup>18</sup> See C. Stephen Jaeger, *Ennobling Love: In Search of a Lost Sensibility*. The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 17–24; Siegfried Grosse, ed., 889–90, sees here only the ceremonial and political act required from the perfect host. See also the study by Klaus Schreiner, "'Er küsse mich mit dem Kuß seines Mundes' (*Osculetur me osculo oris sui*, Cant 1,1): Metaphorik, kommunikative und herrschaftliche Funktionen einer symbolischen Handlung," *Höfische Repräsentation: Das Zeremoniell und die Zeichen*, ed. Hedda Ragotzky and Horst Wenzel (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1990), 89–132.

<sup>19</sup> Splett, *Rüdiger von Bechelaren*, 68–69.



From here we must make a huge leap to one of the last scenes in the *Nibelungenlied* when Rüedegêr is forced by Kriemhilt and Etzel to live up to his vassalic obligations and to join the fighting against the Burgundians, and this very much against his own wishes. As Lutz Mackensen observed some time ago, this warrior proves to be the author's most favorite figure, and he might have known of a historical person with the same name of whom he was deeply fond.<sup>20</sup> The poet Herger, whose work is contained in the *Minnesangs Frühling* and who flourished after 1173, also referred to Rüedegêr, extolling his virtues in the highest terms, though without giving us a sense of his personal character.<sup>21</sup> But there cannot be any doubt about the greatest respect that he enjoys everywhere, especially among his new in-laws, the Burgundians.

When we encounter Rüedegêr once again, the brutal and bloody battle has progressed already beyond any possible point at which negotiations still might have any chance, so the poor man views the tragic scene with deep emotions, profoundly lamenting his inability to establish peace (2136). His last attempt to solicit Dietrich's help also fails because the latter explicitly informs him that the king will no longer accept anything less than absolute revenge for the death of his own child and of scores of his men (2137). Then, however, a Hunnish soldier voices severe criticism of Rüedegêr, accusing him of having recused himself cowardly from all fighting out of a lack of concern despite having received endless munificence from King Etzel throughout his life as an exiled man (2138–2139). This insinuation incenses the hero so much that he rushes up to the accuser and kills him (2142). Only then does he emphasize that instead he would have certainly fought against the Burgundians with all his might if he had felt any hatred against them (2143, 4). That, however, is not at all the case, which underscores, once more, Rüedegêr's intimate and emotional relationship with his friends from Worms. Instead, as he also exclaims, he had been their guide and protector on their journey to the Hunnish court (2144, 2–3).

Upon Kriemhilt's reproach that he had not lived up to his own oath to her given in private just before she had finally agreed to accept King Etzel as her second husband to fight for her even to his death (2149), Rüedegêr tries to find a small crack for his defense, insisting that he had certainly sworn to help her with all his honor and even his life, yet not with his soul: "daz ich die sêle vliese, des enhan ich niht gesworn" (2150, 3; I did not swear that I would otherwise lose my soul). Significantly, with this comment he injects a reference to the deeper emotions that determine him as well, and so to the Christian ethics dominating medieval

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<sup>20</sup> Lutz Mackensen, *Die Nibelungen: Sage, Geschichte, ihr Lied und sein Dichter* (Stuttgart: Dr. Ernst Hauswedell, 1984), 164–67.

<sup>21</sup> *Des Minnesangs Frühling*, ed. Hugo Moser and Helmut Tervooren. Vol. 1: *Texte*. 38th, newly rev. ed. (Stuttgart: S. Hirzel, 1988), VII, I, 4, 4–7 (L. 26, 2–5).

thinking.<sup>22</sup> Irmgard Gephart has alerted us to the ambivalent position assumed by Rüdegêr who cannot be easily associated with one camp versus another, and hence harbors a free space in his interior, “der eine emotive Teilnahme für beide Seiten ermöglicht” (which makes possible an emotive sympathy for both sides).<sup>23</sup>

Although it would go too far to identify Rüdegêr as a Christian knight, as Bert Nagel had suggested earlier, Nagel is certainly correct in characterizing him as an individual who conforms deeply with the contemporary ideal of a courtly knight and espouses full-heartedly the values of courtly *mores*, including generosity and, as I would like to add here, friendship.<sup>24</sup>

Not surprisingly the entire ensuing discussion between Rüdegêr, on the one hand, and Etzel and Kriemhilt on the other, is determined by the key words borrowed from the courtly world, though the protagonists’ language continues to be heavily determined by the lexicon typical of heroic epics: “êre” (2150, 2; honor), “stæte” (2151, 2; constancy), “triuwen” (2153, 3; loyalty), and “zühte” (2153, 3; education).<sup>25</sup> The poor man is badly caught in an ethical aporia and bitterly laments his destiny forcing him to follow his vassalic oath and thus to destroy all his personal commitments and ideals regarding friends, in-laws, and guests.<sup>26</sup> His last-ditch effort to return all the gifts that Etzel had ever given him also fails because, as the king emphasizes, otherwise those gifts would have been meaningless (2158). Then one more time Rüdegêr voices his profound dilemma, and here he indicates how much he feels bonded to the Burgundians, whether as friends or simply as highly respected warriors: “heim ze mînem hûse ich si geladen hân, / trinken unde spîse ich in gütlichen bôt, und gap in mîne gâbe:

<sup>22</sup> Jochen Splett, *Rüdiger von Bechelaren: Studien zum zweiten Teil des Nibelungenlieds*. Germanische Bibliothek. 3. Reihe: Untersuchungen und Einzeldarstellungen (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1968), 80. Grosse, trans., 919, observes that this stanza clearly evokes the previous scene with Rüdegêr and his wife giving away to the Burgundian heroes all those valuable weapons as signs of their personal commitment as supporters and ‘friends.’

<sup>23</sup> Irmgard Gephart, *Der Zorn der Nibelungen: Rivalität und Rache im “Nibelungenlied”* (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau, 2005), 170. This study proves to be one of the most insightful ones recently published on the *Nibelungenlied*; see my review in *German Quarterly* 79.3 (2006): 386–88.

<sup>24</sup> Bert Nagel, *Das Nibelungenlied: Stoff – Form – Ethos* (Frankfurt a. M.: Hirschgraben-Verlag, 1965), 228–49; see also his “Heidnisches und Christliches im Nibelungenlied,” *Ruperto-Carola* 10.24 (1958): 61–81.

<sup>25</sup> See the respective entries in *Ehre und Mut, Âventiure und Minne: Höfische Wortgeschichte aus dem Mittelalter*, by Otfrid Ehrismann, Albrecht Classen, Winder McConnell, et al. (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1995).

<sup>26</sup> For an insightful study of the heroic values conflicting with each other in this scene, see George Fenwick Jones, “Rüdigers Dilemma,” *Studies in Philology* 57 (1960): 7–21. It seems questionable, however, to argue, as Jones does, to identify Rüdegêr’s conflict as being caught in a dialectics of heroic values; hence that only death can help him from witnessing his own dishonor (20–21). On the contrary, this very aporia reveals the conflict of different value systems, perhaps identifiable as heroic versus courtly, especially because the element of friendship complicates the entire set-up here.

wie sol ich râten in den tôt?" (2159, 2–4; I invited them into my house at home, I gave them food and drink in a friendly manner, and I offered them my gifts. How could I wish them their death?).

Undoubtedly, all these previous gestures represented ordinary rituals in the context of heroic and courtly manners, but we can also perceive Rüedegêr's deep grief over the inevitability that he has to destroy everything he has believed in because of his feudal bondage and the weight of his oaths. He concludes with the lamenting exclamation: "ouch riuwet mich diu vriuntschaft, die ich mit in geworben hân" (2160, 4; I regret [or rather: lament] the friendship that I developed with them).<sup>27</sup> As he then emphasizes, he had handed over his daughter to Giselher, whom he appreciates, as he corroborates explicitly, as the best husband he could have imagined (2161), underscoring not only his warrior qualities, but also his ethical values ("tugentlîch gemuot," 2161, 4; with a virtuous mind). Subsequently, however, he is resigned to his destiny, hence his certain death, yet he laments once more the tragedy that will befall both himself and his friend: "owê der mînen friunde, die ich vil ungerne bestân" (2166, 4; alas for my friends whom I do not like to fight).

Marten Brandt argues that Rüedegêr's ultimate decision to submit under Etzel's and Kriemhilt's request, which is supported by the vassalic relationship that he had enjoyed over decades as an exiled man in the king's service, reflects the importance of social prestige and public recognition (honor).<sup>28</sup> This is undoubtedly true and follows the overall approach pursued by the anonymous poet (or poets).<sup>29</sup> However, the protagonist's obviously psychological suffering also deserves to be

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<sup>27</sup> As much as I admire Gephart's overall reading of the *Nibelungenlied*, here she gets caught in rather speculative interpretations, erroneously accusing Rüedegêr of masochistic tendencies and of lacking in self-consciousness (*Der Zorn der Nibelungen*, 171–73).

<sup>28</sup> Marten Brandt, *Gesellschaftsthematik und ihre Darstellung im Nibelungenlied und seinen hochmittelalterlichen Adaptationen*. Europäische Hochschulschriften. Reihe I: Deutsche Sprache und Literatur, 1643 (Frankfurt a. M., Berlin, et al.: Peter Lang, 1997), 129–30. She summarizes also previous scholarship, see especially Peter Wapnewski, "Rüdigers Schild: Zur 37. Aventure des Nibelungenliedes," *Euphorion* 54 (1960): 380–410; rpt. in *Nibelungenlied und Kudrun*, ed. Heinz Rupp. Wege der Forschung, 54 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1976), 134–78. Wapnewski underscores most rigidly the legal constraints; hence the vassalic conditions within which Rüedegêr operates. But the point here cannot be to consider to what extent the poet of the *Nibelungenlied* reflected upon his time in social, political, and legal terms; instead we must keep in mind the intricate discursive nature even, if not especially, of this epic poem that tries to carve a niche for itself at a time when courtly values dominate everywhere. Nevertheless, even Wapnewski perceives Rüedegêr's ambivalent position, being the only warrior whose death truly represents a human tragedy, mourned with tears and with feelings of love (in *Nibelungenlied und Kudrun*, 174).

<sup>29</sup> Brandt, *Gesellschaftsthematik*, 131, overemphasizes the conflict between Rüedegêr's worries about his public reputation and the loss of his soul. Much more important seems to be the protagonist's emotional bondage to the Burgundians, especially because he has entrusted to them his one and only daughter and thus has expressed his hope of finding an escape from his exile and loneliness.

kept in mind insofar as he tries to achieve the impossible, that is, to maintain the ideals of heroic society, while also subscribing to the new values of the courtly world where friendship and love have gained supreme dominance.<sup>30</sup>

When Rüedegêr, fully armed and accompanied by five hundred knights, finally approaches the hall where the Burgundians hold out against all attacks, his future son-in-law Giselher completely misunderstands the scene unfolding before his eyes, believing that all their sorrow will be over soon and that they can hope to survive, hence to return home safely: "Mir ist lieb ûf mîne triuwe daz ie der hîrât ergie" (2172, 4; By my loyalty, I am glad that the marriage was ever arranged). The minstrel warrior Volker, however, immediately corrects his erroneous interpretation, pointing out the weapons and armor carried by the margrave and his men. And indeed, as soon as Rüedegêr has entered and announced his intention to fight them, all their joy disappears quickly, and they are horrified that their own friend has emerged as their deadly opponent: "daz mit in wolde striten dem si dâ wâren holt" (2176, 3; that he wanted to fight with them with whom they enjoyed friendship).

Of course, the margrave excuses himself, refers to Kriemhilt who forced him into this terrible decision (2178, 4), but Gunther brusquely announces his own hostility, though he still refers to their previous friendship that Rüedegêr had demonstrated to them: "'nu müez' iu got vergelten, vil edel Rüedegêr, / triuwe unde minne, die ir uns habt getân, / ob irz an dem ende woldet gûetlîchen lân" (2179, 2–4; "now God would reward you, most honorable Rüedegêr, for the loyalty and love that you displayed toward us, if you were to let it go kindly"). Tragically, however, that is the very ideal that can no longer be aimed for, and battle even among friends is the only deadly consequence for them all. In a futile attempt, the Burgundian king pleads with the margrave to spare their lives, offering him eternal loyalty and service (2180, 1–2), reminding him, once more, of the unmatched gifts that they had received from him, and so also appeals to his opponent's original loyalty and noble character (2180, 4).

Gunther's brother Gernot also tries his rhetorical skills, insisting that Rüedegêr's incredible gifts to them must surely have been a sign of deep friendship, casting the gift-giving even in terms of courtly love: "minneclîchen" (2182, 3). Tragically, they all wish the same for each other, no one wants to die, and the margrave

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<sup>30</sup> C. Stephen Jaeger, "Mark and Tristan: The Love of Medieval Kings and their Courts," in *hohem priße: A Festschrift in Honor of Ernst S. Dick*, ed. Winder McConnell. Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik, 480 (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1989), 183–97; in his extended study on the same topic, *Ennobling Love*, Jaeger identifies this kind of friendship as "charismatic," "nonlibidinous," and virtuous as described by Cicero in his *On Friendship*; see also Albrecht Diem, "nu suln ouch wir gesellen sîn – Über Schönheit, Freundschaft und mann-männliche Liebe im *Tristan* Gottfrieds von Straßburg," *Tristania* XIX (1999): 45–96. For the early-modern world, see Alan Bray, *The Friend* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2003).

would be happy, as he emphasizes, to see the Burgundians return home alive, even at the cost of his own life (2183, 1–2). In fact, Rüedegêr admits that what he is about to do would represent the worst act of friendship: “ez enwart noch nie an helden wîrs von friunden getân” (2183, 4; heroes have never before experienced a worse act by their friends). Compounding the emotional emphasis, Gernot underscores his own utmost wish to see his new in-law stay alive, while at the same time Rüedegêr’s death would be most grievous to him, especially in light of the weapons that they all had received from him as gifts (2184).

However, the tragedy cannot be prevented any longer, even though the heroes appeal to each other not to use those swords that they had exchanged as gifts against each another (2186). Rüedegêr even refers to his own wife and daughter in this desperate situation, expressing his hope that the latter would be able to enjoy her marriage with the Burgundian king sometime in the future (2187), yet without signaling his willingness to refrain from fighting.<sup>31</sup> Then Giseller intervenes as well, appealing to the new opponent to keep in mind that they are friends: “Swenn ir und iuwer recken mit strîte mich bestât, / wie rehte unvriuntliche ir daz schînen lât” (2189, 1–2; If you and your warriors enter a fight with me, you will display a very unfriendly manner toward me). Moreover, as he underscores, he had given his full trust to Rüedegêr when he accepted the margrave’s daughter’s hand as his future bride, thus arguing now with the most forcefully emotional strategy, yet without achieving the desired goal because fighting will set in soon enough, and death of most of them already lurks around the corner because of the feudal constraints they are all caught in. Insofar as Rüedegêr does not change his mind and stands prepared to enter the battle, even Giseller finds himself forced to end their bond of friendship since he must protect his own relatives and men: “suln die von iu ersterben, sô muoz gescheiden sîn / diu vil stæte vriuntschaft zuo dir und ouch der tochter dîn” (2191, 3–4; if they have to die, then our really stable friendship both with you and your daughter must be dissolved).

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<sup>31</sup> It deserves mention that King Etzel had tried to appeal to Hagen’s friendship and courtly values as well when he had emphasized how much he was looking forward to his own son Ortlieb receiving a solid education at the Burgundian court after the heroes’ return to Worms (this before the outbreak of the battle). Apparently quite naively and in utter disregard of the political situation with his own wife in relentless ‘war’ with Hagen, the murderer of her first husband, Etzel went so far as to identify the guests as his friends: “nu seht ir, friunde mîne, daz ist mîn einec sun, / und ouch iwer swester: daz mac iu allen wesen frum . . . Dar umbe bit’ ich gerne, iuch, lieben friunde mîn, / swenn ir ze lande rîtet wider an den Rîn, / sô sult ir mit iu fûeren iuwer swester sun, / und ult ouch an dem kinde vil genædedlichen tuon” (1914, 3–1916, 4; “now see, my friends, this is my only son, and he is your sister’s child. This can be of great advantage for you . . . I beg you kindly, my dear friends, when you ride back home to the Rhine, take my son with you, your sister’s son, and treat him graciously).

Most significantly, at this very moment when friend is about to slaughter friend, ominous Hagen, the true leader of them all, intervenes, urging them to pause for a while in order to have an opportunity for more discussions. This seems to be the only time in the entire epic poem when this truly liminal figure reveals an emotional side to himself as well,<sup>32</sup> since he would like to preserve both the Burgundians' and Rüedegêr's lives and so also, as we can now argue, their friendship. Of course, Hagen knows that the greatest danger for the few survivors results from the margrave, and yet, when the latter suddenly performs the ultimate gesture of generosity and selflessness by handing over his own shield to Hagen, the entire company feels deeply moved, and tears begin to well up. Hagen had pointed out that the shield that he had received from Rüedegêr's wife as a gift when they departed from Pöchlarn was hacked down to pieces, and this again serves to remind the margrave of the symbolic importance of gifts since these can build friendships and powerful bonds among people on an ethical and political level.<sup>33</sup> For Rüedegêr, on the other hand, this provides him with another opportunity to announce publicly that he has not entered the fray voluntarily and instead was obligated to do so because his original oath to Kriemhilt given during the wooing for her hand on behalf of Etzel had forced him to take this fateful step. Altogether, however, the margrave establishes, despite the deadly situation, one more time a sense of community, perhaps even of friendship, as the reaction of even battle-hardened Hagen indicates:

Swie grimme Hagene wære und swi herte gemuot,  
ja erbarmte in diu gâbe, die der helt guot  
bî sînen lesten zîten sô nâhen het getân.  
vil manec ritter edele mit im truren began. (2198)

[However harsh Hagen might have been, and how much he had a tough mind, the gift, which the good hero had handed over in his last moment of life, shortly before his death, evoked pity in him. Many a noble knight began to mourn with him.]

Subsequently Hagen praises his opponent as one of the most noble warriors who ever lived, considering his unparalleled generosity and hospitality. But he also laments the absurdity of the situation in which the Burgundians have to fight for their lives, and yet also find themselves pitted in a mortal battle friend against friend (2200, 3), revealing an important and heretofore not visible softness of his heart, especially because the best warriors, who are even friends, have to face each

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<sup>32</sup> See Edward R. Haymes, "Preface," *The Dark Figure in Medieval Germanic Literature*, ed. id. and Stephanie Cain Van D'Elden. Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik, 448 (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1986), iii–vi; here iv.

<sup>33</sup> For a broad discussion of gift giving from an anthropological perspective, see Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: the Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*, with a foreword by Mary Douglas. Routledge Classics (1990; London: Routledge, 2001).

other and kill the opponent on behalf of their lords to whom they are obligated.<sup>34</sup> Most amazingly, Hagen then takes the unprecedented step of promising Rüedegêr not to touch or to fight with him, whatever might happen, a most symbolic pledge for a man like Hagen who has consistently demonstrated throughout the epic that absolute loyalty to his lord Gunther determines his thinking. Nothing has ever stopped him from pursuing his goals, except here in this small incidence, which might even endanger the Burgundians altogether. Moreover, the minstrel warrior Volker offers the same pledge, reflecting the profound respect all three men have for each other (2203). Intriguingly, the latter goes so far as to display the rings that the margravine had given him as gifts, expressing thereby that he feels deeply committed to Rüedegêr and would not dare to break the ultimate bond of friendship, not even in the face of death.

Nevertheless, once this exchange of words has come to its end, the margrave picks up his shield and storms into battle, killing scores of Burgundians, and finally, in the ultimate encounter with Gernot, slays his opponent and suffers the same fate at his hand (2220–2221). This loss grieves the few survivors more than anything else, but they can only take a short respite, until they also will be killed. The tragic outcome of the *Nibelungenlied* is well known, so the subsequent events involving even Dietrich, Hildebrant, and their men, who all die except for the first two, do not concern us here any further.

Of course, as scholarship has commented many times, there is the danger of stretching the evidence too thin and to read more emotional aspects into the text than might have been intended by the anonymous poet/author. For instance, can we justifiably assume that the bonds of friendship truly connected Rüedegêr and the Burgundians, especially Hagen? Do these warriors fully display all those courtly emotions, one of which especially culminates into the feeling of friendship? Where are the differences between ceremony and ritual on the one hand, and true emotions on the other?<sup>35</sup> To absolutize the relevance of the former to the disadvantage to the latter, and this within the context of heroic poetry, i.e., to claim that because of ritual behavior there were no emotions, does not seem warranted,

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<sup>34</sup> Peter Göhler, *Nibelungenlied: Erzählweise, Figuren, Weltanschauung, literaturgeschichtes Umfeld. Literatur und Gesellschaft* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1989), 66–67, erroneously denies that the *Nibelungenlied* poet ever allows us to perceive the emotional dimension of his protagonists. Losing a friend obviously triggers a flood of emotions even among the protagonists in heroic epics.

<sup>35</sup> See the contributions to *Emotions and Sensibilities in the Middle Ages*, ed. C. Stephen Jaeger and Ingrid Kasten. *Trends in Medieval Philology*, 1 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2003), where the delicate balance of rituals and emotions and their ever changing and yet intermingling correlations is examined from many different perspectives (though without regard for the peculiar question regarding friendship). See also Elke Koch, *Trauer und Identität: Inszenierungen von Emotionen in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters*. *Trends in Medieval Philology*, 8 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2006), though she seems to give too much evidentiary weight to performances and ignores the inner connections to the emotions reflected by performance.

especially if we consider the enormous outburst of aggressive emotions during the final battle in which even such peace loving individuals as Rüedegêr and Hildebrand succumb to fundamental, almost frenetic instincts and turn into irrepressible fighting machines bound for their own death.<sup>36</sup>

The margrave, however, stands at a curious juncture almost throughout the entire epic because he operates both on the stage of the courts, as reflected by his individual characterization and his role as marriage suitor for Etzel, and by his role as host back home welcoming the Burgundians and making the marriage arrangement for his daughter and Giseler.<sup>37</sup> Edward R. Haymes has questioned the repeatedly asserted claim of Rüedegêr representing more than the typical values expressed in heroic epics because his role as host and his enormous gift giving do not differ essentially from what we can observe in many heroic epics.<sup>38</sup> But if we combine all these elements with the particular focus on the expressions of friendship uttered many times in conjunction with the margrave, we seem to be on firmer ground with respect to the inclusion of specifically courtly features even in the *Nibelungenlied*.

Not surprisingly Rüedegêr utilizes definitely courtly language in his wooing of Kriemhilt's hand on behalf of King Etzel (1232), and he also knows how to counter Kriemhilt's sharp words regarding her infinite pain resulting from Siegfried's death: "'Waz mac ergetzen leides,' sprach der vil küene man, / 'wan friuntliche liebe, swer die kan begân, / unt der dan einen kiuset der im ze rehte kumt? / vor herzenlîcher leide niht sô grœzlîchen frumt . . .'" (1234, 1–4; "What is better in soothing pain," said the mighty man, "but a friend's love. When someone finds it and chooses one who helps him properly, then there is nothing that offers better consolation for the pain in the heart"). No wonder then that the Burgundian court had welcomed the margrave with such honor and great respect,

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<sup>36</sup> Jan-Dirk Müller, *Spielregeln für den Untergang: Die Welt des Nibelungenliedes* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1998), 203–08, at first argues that the psychological reactions and affects are the functions of the plot configurations. Later, however, turning to the ending of the epic, he observes an epidemic of violence (443–47) in which the warriors turn into a blood-thirsty pack of hounds. The question really remains to what extent we then still can talk of ritual, or ceremonial, performance. Gerd Althoff, *Die Macht der Rituale: Symbolik und Herrschaft im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftlicher Buchverlag, 2003); id., *Inszenierte Herrschaft: Geschichtsschreibung und politisches Handeln im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftlicher Buchverlag, 2003), argued forcefully for a broad reading of all expressions of emotions in the Middle Ages as being plain gestures and rituals free of any affectionate grounding. The counter position is now energetically and rather convincingly elaborated by Peter Dinzelsbacher, *Warum weint der König?: eine Kritik des mediävistischen Panritualismus* (Badenweiler: Bachmann, 2009).

<sup>37</sup> András Vizkelely, "Rüdiger – Bote und Brautwerber in Bedrängnis," *Pöchlerner Heldenliedgespräch: Das Nibelungenlied und der mittlere Donaauraum*, ed. Klaus Zatloukal. *Philologica Germanica*, 12 (Vienna: Fassbaender, 1990), 131–37.

<sup>38</sup> Edward R. Haymes, "Heroic, Chivalric, and Aristocratic Ethos in the *Nibelungenlied*," *A Companion to the Nibelungenlied*, 94–104; here 102–03.



as best expressed by Ortwin of Metz as a foremost speaker at the court in Worms: “wir haben in aller wîle mêre nie gesehen / geste hie sô gerne, des wil ich wêrlîch jehen” (1184, 3–4; “We have hardly ever seen guests with more joy, I must honestly say so”).

Taking all the various clues together, it seems most likely that the *Nibelungenlied* poet drew to some extent from the classical and contemporary-medieval tradition of the friendship discourse and created a literary monument dedicated to this ideal best represented by Rüedegêr, at least within the framework of the heroic world. The warriors do not really gush forth with their affections regarding their friend, the margrave, but the narrative does not leave any doubt that the ideal of friendship even among these heroes, not really distant from that one as projected in courtly romances and elsewhere, played a significant role in this Middle High German epic as well. Of course, the outcome of the battle also engulfs the various friends. Nevertheless, the ideal of friendship as expressed here surprisingly survives this Armageddon and signals, even in the darkest hour of the tragedy, some hope for the future because the memory of friendship, as encapsulated in this heroic poem, lives on, signaling that even behind the most hardened fighter there is a human being.

Not surprisingly, then, modern scholarship has seriously struggled with the question of whether the *Nibelungenlied* falls fully into the category of the epic poem, or whether it also contains courtly elements, whether it would have to be defined as a tragedy in heroic terms or as a courtly epic.<sup>39</sup> We might not be able to answer such global questions easily, if at all, but we can certainly affirm that the poet was not only bent on presenting a most somber picture of murder, war, and massive slaughter. He also reveals a considerable interest in the unique and most powerful value of friendship. But he sorrowfully reflects upon the social and political constraints that can destroy even the strongest bonds of love and friendship. That, in fact, represents the true tragedy of the *Nibelungenlied*, if not of the heroic age at large. We would find many parallels to this phenomenon already in Homer’s *Iliad* or in Virgil’s *Aeneid*, but that is beyond the pale of our investigation here.

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<sup>39</sup> Werner Hoffmann, “Das Nibelungenlied – Epos oder Roman? Positionen und Perspektiven der Forschung,” *Nibelungenlied und Klage: Sage und Geschichte, Struktur und Gattung. Passauer Nibelungengespräche 1985*, ed. Fritz Peter Knapp (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1987), 124–51; see also Fritz Peter Knapp, “*Tragoedia* und *Planctus*: Der Eintritt des *Nibelungenliedes* in die Welt der *litterati*,” *ibid.*, 152–70.



## Chapter 10

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### Spiritual Friendship in the Works of Alfonso X of Castile: Images of Interaction Between the Sacred and Spiritual Worlds of Thirteenth-Century Iberia<sup>1</sup>

Friendship has always been a multifaceted subject affecting several spheres of human life, the interpretation and value of which have evolved and transformed in time and spaces. During the Middle Ages the predominant Christian mentality played a fundamental role in establishing the rules according to which both personal and emotional connections between individuals, and the links between humans and the supernatural, were forged.<sup>2</sup> Considering this, the present study will focus on a topic largely unexplored, the medieval Iberian interpretation of friendship, which will be examined through the analysis of the thirteenth-century production ascribed to Alfonso X of Castile's scriptorium. In particular, special emphasis will be devoted to the Marian collection of the *Cantigas de Santa María*

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<sup>1</sup> This chapter has been elaborated within the theoretical frame of the research project *El ejercicio del poder en los reinos de León y Castilla en la Edad Media: ideología, discurso y estructuras políticas (siglos XI–XIII)* (Junta de Castilla y León, SA085A08).

<sup>2</sup> *Friendship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Julian Haseldine (Stroud: Sutton, 1999); *The Olde Daunce: Love, Friendship, Sex and Marriage in the Medieval World*, ed. Robert Edwards and Stephen Spector. Suny Series in Medieval Studies (Albany: State University of New York, 1991); Reginald Hyatte, *The Arts of Friendship: The Idealization of Friendship in Medieval and Early Renaissance Literature*. Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, 50 (Leiden and New York: E.J. Brill, 1994); Gerd Althoff, *Family, Friends and Followers: The Political Importance of Group Bonds in the Early Middle Ages*, trans. Christopher Carroll (Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft: Darmstadt, 1990; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

(henceforth CSM), together with several references to the legal corpus of the *Siete Partidas* (henceforth SP).<sup>3</sup>

Significantly, in the CSM the type of friendship experienced between secular and sacred figures clearly resembles more pragmatic agreements and it goes beyond the parameters and formulae inherited from both classical eastern and western traditions presenting, instead, some undeniable Alfonsine peculiarities. Nonetheless, it cannot be denied that some of these ideas bear the unmistakable mark of these classical philosophical traditions.<sup>4</sup> Aristotle's (384 B.C.E.–322 B.C.E.) *Ethica Eudemea* and *Ethica Nicomachea*, which reached the Iberian Peninsula in 1240, when Herman el Alemán translated Averroes's commentary from Arabic to Latin, were particularly influential in shaping the Alfonsine interpretation of friendship.<sup>5</sup> According to Aristotle, friendship as *philia* was related with φύσις (*physis*, nature), since man was considered to be naturally endowed with human generosity which spontaneously compelled him to love others.<sup>6</sup> Therefore, friendship was regarded as a necessity, without which man could not achieve any happiness.<sup>7</sup> A friend was

<sup>3</sup> Alfonso X, *Cantigas de Santa María*, ed. Walter Mettman. Clásicos Castalia, 3 vols. (Madrid: Castalia, 1986–1988); *Las siete partidas del Rey don Alfonso el Sabio: cotejadas con varios codices antiguos por la Real Academia de la Historia* (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1807); *The Siete Partidas*, ed. Robert I. Burns, trans. Samuel Parsons Scott. The Middle Ages Series, 5 vols. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000); *Songs of Holy Mary of Alfonso X, the Wise: A Translation of the Cantigas de Santa María*, ed. Kathleen Kulp-Hill, with an introduction by Connie L. Scarborough. Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 173 (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2000).

<sup>4</sup> David Konstan, *Friendship in the Classical World*. Key Themes in Ancient History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 5–6, 28–31; “Greek Friendship,” *The American Journal of Philology* 117.1 (1996): 71–94; Gabriel Herman, *Ritualized Friendship and the Greek City* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 38; Paul Millett, *Lending and Borrowing in Ancient Athens* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 120–21; *Hellenistic Philosophy: Introductory Readings*, ed. Brad Inwood and Lloyd P. Gerson, 2nd ed. (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 1988; Indianapolis and Cambridge Hackett Publishing, 1997); Lynette G. Mitchell, *Greeks Bearing Gifts: The Public Use of Private Relationships in the Greek World, 435–323 B.C.* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997); *Aspects of Friendship in the Greco-Roman World: Proceedings of a Conference Held at the Seminar Für Alte Geschichte, Heidelberg, on 10–11th June, 2000*, ed. Michael Peachin. Journal of Roman Archaeology, Supplementary Series, 43 (Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 2001).

<sup>5</sup> Aristotle, *Ethica Eudemea*, trans. M. Woods, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992); *Ethica Nicomachea*, trans. David Ross (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980). Herman el Alemán probably translated Averroes' commentary in the monastery of the Santísima Trinidad, as stated in the fifteenth-century *Itinerarium Hispanicum* by Jerónimo Monetarius: “de monasterio sancte Trinitatis [ . . . ] in hoc loco traductus est liber ethicorum et addicio Averrois, ut in fine libri ethicorum Averrois scriptum est.” Hieronymus Münzer, *Itinerarium Hispanicum*, ed. Ludwig Pfandl, *Revue Hispanique* 48 (1920): 1–178; here 121.

<sup>6</sup> Paul Schollmeier, *Other Selves: Aristotle on Personal and Political Friendship*. Suny Series in Ethical Theory (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1994).

<sup>7</sup> Nancy Sherman, “Aristotle on Friendship and Shared Life,” *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research* 47 (1987): 589–613; Lorraine Smith Pangle, *Aristotle and the Philosophy of Friendship* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

"the other self," a physically autonomous individual who was connected to his friend by sharing with him a single soul.<sup>8</sup>

Such interpretation gradually changed with the early Stoics, Seneca (4 B.C.E.–65 C.E.), Cicero (ca. 106 B.C.E.–43 B.C.E.), up to the transition from the Roman Republic (509 B.C.E.–27 B.C.E.) to the Empire, when friendship coincided with patronage.<sup>9</sup> With the advent of Christianity, the Fathers of the Church elaborated new theories aimed at providing a divine justification for the world and for nature.<sup>10</sup> Interestingly, after a substantial chronological gap, this topic was readdressed only in the sixth century, when Isidore of Seville (ca. 562–636) tried to combine the pagan and Christian thoughts by defining a friend as the guardian of the soul.<sup>11</sup> Further reflections on friendship appeared in Europe in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when, with the disclosure of the paradigm of signs and representations attributed to friendship, it was believed that between the pure feeling and its public accomplishment there was only an apparent separation, which was overcome in practice.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Aristotle, *Ethica Nicomachea*, 1166a: 31; *Ethica Eudemea*, 1245a: 30. Moreover, Aristotle created a threefold analytical framework—the good, the useful and the pleasant—to catalogue all the potential outcomes of *philia*. In the *Rhetoric* (1359b:2–17) Aristotle also listed all the characteristics that a man should possess in order to be regarded as a friend, which contingencies drove men to join together and which, instead, turned them into enemies. He also presented a sort of transitive rule of friendship according to which a friend's friend is one's own ally, as well as a friend's enemy is inevitably one's own foe. His meditation on the subject went further and it drew upon the characteristics which individuals should possess in order to be considered friends, which features they should have in common and how many of them could claim that position.

<sup>9</sup> Diogenes Laërtius, *The Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers*, trans. Charles D. Yonge. Bohn's Classical Library, 43 (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1853), 7–33; *Topics in Stoic Philosophy*, ed. Katerina Ierodiakonou (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 181; Seneca, *Ad Lucilium epistulae morales* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965), 9.5–6; Karl Julius Holzknacht, *Literary Patronage in the Middle Ages* (New York: Octagon Books, 1966); Barbara K. Gold, *Literary Patronage in Greece and Rome* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1987); Richard P. Seller, *Personal Patronage Under the Early Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Miguel Rodríguez-Pantoja, "Con Cicerón por los caminos (zigzagieantes) de la amistad," *Anuario Filosófico* 34 (2001): 433–62.

<sup>10</sup> Philippe Delhaye, *Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages*, trans. S. J. Tester (London: Burns & Oates, 1960); Mary Dorothea, "Cicero and Saint Ambrose on Friendship," *The Classical Journal* 43 (1948): 219–22; Eoin G. Cassidy, "He Who Has Friends Can Have No Friend: Classical and Christian Perspectives on the Limits to Friendship," *Friendship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Julian Haseldine, 45–67; Marie Aquinas McNamara, *Friendship in Saint Augustine*. Studia Friburgensia, New Series, 20 (Fribourg, Switzerland: University Press, 1958); Carolinne White, *Christian Friendship in the Fourth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Donald X. Burt, *Friendship and Society: An Introduction to Augustine's Practical Philosophy* (Grand Rapids, MI: W. B. Eerdmans, 1999).

<sup>11</sup> *Isidori Hispalensis Sententiae*, ed. Pierre Cazier (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998); here *Sententiarum Libri* III, XXX, 30.2b.

<sup>12</sup> Jean Claude Schmitt, *La Raison des gestes dans l'occident médiéval*. Bibliothèque des Histoires (Paris: Gallimard, 1990); John A. Burrow, *Gestures and Looks in Medieval Narrative* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Benedicte Sère, "De la vérité en amitié. Une phénoménologie médiévale

## Friendships in Medieval Europe: Exploring the Case of the Iberian Peninsula

In the Iberian medieval context the term *amistad* (friendship) was recurrently used as a synecdoche to indicate numerous and different relationships, among which were spiritual and sensual love, kinship and companionship, formal and private alliances, pacts of mutual support, as well as any ritualized form of brotherhood. One of the earliest scholars to adopt an historical and sociological approach to define these relationships was Eduardo de Hinojosa, who pointed out the strict connection existing between friendship, peace, security and treaty, which he regarded as parts of a wider range of agreements including *hermandades*, *amizdades* and *fraternitas*.<sup>13</sup> Most of these relationships were established in order to achieve material and commercial profits. Nonetheless, on several occasions, they also represented a social tool of integration and protection. With this in mind, it may be argued that the majority of the alliances signed in medieval Iberia rotated around two main points: first, the community of properties, profits and inheritances; secondly, the moral and pragmatic duty of mutual defence and protection.<sup>14</sup> Considering this, it might be argued that the Iberian situation did not differ excessively from that experienced elsewhere in Europe, since friendship was perceived as a *pactum amiciarum*, that is to say a social agreement aimed at protecting both public peace and the constituted order.

In fact, according to historical, juridical, religious and literary sources proceeding from medieval central Europe (mainly France and Germany) friendship was regarded as a contractual link endowed with utilitarian goals.<sup>15</sup> It

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du sentiment dans les commentaires de l'Éthique à Nicomaque: (XIIIe–XVe siècle),” *Revue Historique* 636 (2005): 793–848; here 800. About the scholastic period: John M. Finnis, *Aquinas: Moral, Political, and Legal Theory. Founders of Modern Political and Social Thought* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 227; Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae: Latin Text and English Translation, Introductions, Notes, Appendices and Glossaries* (London: Blackfriars in conjunction with Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1964–1981), I–II q. 99 a. 2c.

<sup>13</sup> Eduardo de Hinojosa y Naveros, “La fraternidad artificial en España,” *Revista de Archivos, Museos y Bibliotecas* 13 (1905): 1–18; published also in *Obras. T. I. Estudios de investigación* (Madrid: Ministerio de Justicia y CSIC, 1948), 259–78. See also Eduardo de Hinojosa y Naveros and Francisco Tomás Valiente, *El elemento germánico en el derecho español* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 1993), 380. Terms such as *fides*, *pax*, *foedus* and other variants also appeared, since friendship was not always strictly defined as such. Huguette Legros, “Le vocabulaire de l’amitié et son évolution sémantique au cours du XII siècle,” *Cahiers de Linguistique Hispanique Médiévale* 23 (1980): 131–39.

<sup>14</sup> Hinojosa, *Obras*, 257–66.

<sup>15</sup> Marc Bloch, *Feudal Society*, trans. L. A. Manyon, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1965); George Duby, *The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined*, trans. by Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1980); *Love and Marriage in the Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994); Adam Kostó, *Making Agreements in Medieval Catalonia: Power, Order, and the Written Word, 1000–1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography*, ed. Gerd Althoff, Johannes

was considered to be one of the most privileged and strongest social bonds together with kinship, *consanguinitas*, godfatherhood and feudal relationships, and it was defined as a consequence of certain pre-existing companionships of arms.<sup>16</sup> As a matter of fact, kinship and family provided the protection universally required against hostility and violence; therefore, friendship, a similar social bond, also assumed an enormous importance both as a private and a political link.<sup>17</sup>

However, as Prieto Bances suggests, a distinction between the concepts of friendship and alliance should be made, since they were stringently dependent although not perfectly coincident:

... pero la paz es diversa según su origen; hay paz nacida del amor y paz nacida del interés mutuo o de la violencia, y a estas distintas paces corresponden amistades distintas; en el primer caso tendremos la amistad natural, aristotélica; en el segundo, la amistad pactada, y en el tercero la amistad impuesta.<sup>18</sup>

[... but peace is different according to its origin; there is peace born from love, peace originated from mutual interest and peace created by violence; and different kinds of friendship correspond to these different kinds of peace; in the first case, we will have natural friendship, the Aristotelian one; in the second case, an agreed friendship, and in the third case, an imposed friendship.]

Two other crucial aspects of the Iberian interpretation which conformed to a more general European perspective are the adoption of the vocabulary and code of friendship to describe vassalic relationships, and the semantic coincidence between the terms *amor* (love) and *amicitia* (friendship). The first point will be exemplified by the following example, which has been extrapolated from a thirteenth-century poem depicting Charlemagne's mourning for his friend and vassal Roland's demise:

Tanto bueno amjgo uos me soljades ganare,  
Por uuestra amor ariba, muchos me soljan amare.<sup>19</sup>

[Thanks to you I gained very good friends,  
because by loving you first, they also loved me.]

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Fried, Patrick J. Geary. Publications of the German Historical Institute (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Washington, DC: German Historical Institute, 2002); Althoff, *Family, Friends and Followers*.

<sup>16</sup> George Fenwick Jones, *The Ethos of the "Song of Roland"* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press 1963), 143.

<sup>17</sup> *Medieval Concepts of the Past*, ed. Althoff, 71–88.

<sup>18</sup> Prieto Bances, "Los amigos en el fuero de Oviedo," *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español* 23 (1963): 203–46.

<sup>19</sup> *Textos lingüísticos del medioevo español*, ed. Douglas J. Gifford and Fredrick W. Hodcroft, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Dolphin Book Co., 1966), 147.

Evidently, alongside the emotional experience suggested by the word *amor*, some traditional clichés persisted, such as the inheritance of friendship that the king has gained through his friend's deeds, as well as the status of companion of his friend's friends and enemy of his friend's foes.

As far as the second aspect is concerned, according to a general medieval perspective the relationships of *amor* and *amistad* had very loosely-defined borders, at least from a purely lexical point of view. This rendered any attempt at a clear definition and classification very difficult to undertake since "love between man and woman was expressed in terms of friendship, and friendship between man and man was expressed in terms of love."<sup>20</sup> In medieval French, for instance, *amor* signified both "amour" and "amitié."<sup>21</sup> The same polyvalent connotations of *amare* are noticeable also in the vernacular Italian.<sup>22</sup> By contrast, a neater separation might be envisaged in the early medieval Latin production in which *amicitia*, though defined as both a personal and private link, was regarded as a bond much stronger than love, since "itaque amicitia semper prodest, amor etiam aliquando noce" (whereas friendship is always worthy, love can sometimes cause harm).<sup>23</sup> Similarly, in medieval Castilian *amigo* and *amiga* were frequently adopted to define those who were linked in a sexual or amorous relationship.

However, as Paden has claimed examining the verses of the *cantigas de amor*, *cantigas de amigo*, and *cantigas d'escarnho e de maldizer*, despite the fact that the courtly formulae had a striking correspondence in their mirror-like vassalatic rituals, the wide range of semantic connotations related to the term *amigo* went beyond the political and amorous implications which the title of lord used to

<sup>20</sup> Garvase Mathew, "Ideals of Friendship," *Patterns of Love and Courtesy, Essays in Memory of C. S. Lewis*, ed. John Lawlor (London: Edward Arnold, 1966), 45–53; here 46; Klaus Oschema, "Reflections on Love and Friendship in the Middle Ages," *Love, Friendship and Faith in Europe, 1300–1800*, ed. Laura Gowing, Michael Hunter and Miri Rubin (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 43–65; *Ami et Amile: chanson de geste*, ed. Peter F. Dembowski (Paris: Champion, 1969); Alexander H. Krappe "The Legend of Amicus and Amelius," *The Modern Language Review* 18 (1923): 152–61; Emma Herrán Alonso, "«Amicus» o la historia de la amistad verdadera. Otro testimonio peninsular," *Hispanic Review* 71 (2003): 549–63; Aelred of Rievaulx, *Opera Omnia*, ed. Anselm Hoste and Charles H. Talbot. *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis*, 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1971), PL 195; *Spiritual Friendship: A New Translation*, trans. Mark F. William (London & Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1994); Peter de Blois, *Un Traité de l'amour du XIIe siècle: (De amicitia christiana et de dilectione Dei et proximi)*, trans. Maria M. Davy (Paris: Boccard, 1932).

<sup>21</sup> Legros, "Le vocabulaire de l'amitié," 131–39.

<sup>22</sup> The thirteenth-century *Divine Comedy* by Dante Alighieri is a case in point. In fact, the examples of friendship which appear in this work lack a proper definition and they are explained, instead, by adopting the words *amore* and *amare*. For a definition of "amistade" or "amistate" and "amico," see *Enciclopedia Dantesca*, ed. Aldo Ferrabino, 5 vols. (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1970–1976), 1: 202–12.

<sup>23</sup> Frederic J. E. Raby, "Amor and Amicitia: A Mediaeval Poem," *Speculum* 40 (1965): 599–610; here 601. The quotation is attributed to Seneca, *Epistulae morales*, VI (35).



bear.<sup>24</sup> Paden argues that in the *cantigas d'amor*, the poetic male voice addresses his lover using the title of *senhor*, which was a female appellation referring to the lady who owned the poet's heart. Conversely, in the *cantigas d'amigo* the key-word which identifies the genre and which most frequently recurs is *amigo*, an epithet which the female poetic voice—which is the protagonist in this case—uses to address her counterpart. What needs to be remarked upon is that the term *amigo* was used, in this context, as a surrogate for “lord,” a title that the female protagonist was unable to use to define her lover, since it was already the appellation adopted to name the king. Therefore, *amigo* was a polyvalent expression, used to indicate the lover, the companion, the vassal bounded by a fief, and also “a freeman who had committed himself to a lord, who enjoys his protection and serves him as his dependent.”<sup>25</sup>

### Alfonsine Perspectives

Before continuing with the analysis of the various typologies of friendship recognizable in medieval Iberia, and in particular in the works produced in the Alfonsine scriptorium, a few notes on Alfonso X's (1221–1284) biography and his production would be helpful.<sup>26</sup> After inheriting the throne of Castile and León in 1252 from his father Ferdinand III (1199–1252), Alfonso's political activity was marked by the failure of his imperialistic ambitions, the rebellion of the Castilian nobles in 1272 and the deposition by his son Sancho IV (1258–1295) in 1282.

<sup>24</sup> William D. Paden, “Principles of Generic Classification in the Medieval European Lyric: The Case of Galician-Portuguese,” *Speculum* 81 (2006): 76–97.

<sup>25</sup> Jan F. Niermeyer and Co van de Kieft, *Mediae Latinitatis lexicon minus*, rev. by Johannes W. J. Burgers, 2 vols. (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2002), 1, 53; cited in Paden, “Principles of Generic Classification,” 91.

<sup>26</sup> For an introduction to Alfonso X's biography, see Evelyn S. Procter, *Alfonso X of Castile, Patron of Literature and Learning* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951; Westport, CT.: Greenwood Press, [1980]); Antonio Ballesteros-Beretta, *Alfonso X el Sabio* (Barcelona: Salvat, 1963); John E. Keller, *Alfonso X, el Sabio*. Twayne's World Authors Series, 12: Spain (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1967); *Alfonso X, el Sabio, vida, obra y época*, ed. Juan Carlos de Miguel Rodríguez, Angela Muñoz Fernández, Cristina Segura Graiño (Madrid: Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales, 1989); *Emperor of Culture: Alfonso X the Learned of Castile and his Thirteenth-Century Renaissance*, ed. Robert I. Burns. Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press 1990); Manuel González Jiménez, *Alfonso X el Sabio, 1252–1284*. Corona de España, 2, Serie de Reyes de Castilla y León (Palencia: Editorial La Olmeda, 1993); *Alfonso X el Sabio* (Barcelona: Ariel, 2004); Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *The Learned King: The Reign of Alfonso X of Castile*. Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993); id., *Alfonso X and the Cantigas de Santa María: A Poetic Biography*. The Medieval Mediterranean, 16 (Leiden and Boston: E. J. Brill, 1998); H. Salvador Martínez, *Alfonso X, el Sabio: una biografía*. Crónicas y memorias (Madrid: Ediciones Polifemo, 2003); Peter Linehan, *Spain, 1157–1300: A Partible Inheritance*. A History of Spain (Malden, MA, and Oxford: Blackwell, 2008), 106–214.

Despite his political failures, he was, by contrast, one of the most active and notable patrons of arts and sciences, dubbed for this reason “the Wise” and “the Learned” king. He supervised a significant number of scientific and literary translations from the Arabic into the vernacular language of Castile and patronized the production of other original works of history, poetry, law and leisure.<sup>27</sup> Among them the aforementioned CSM deserve special attention. This poetic collection, composed in the vernacular Galician-Portuguese, is estimated to include about 420 canticles, albeit a number prone to variation within the four different manuscript versions.<sup>28</sup> The CSM, considered by many the expression of Alfonso’s personal devotion, are admired as the most exhaustive example of Iberian narrative and lyric production dedicated to the Virgin, as well as a milestone in medieval monophonic production.<sup>29</sup> Its harmonious *unicum* of verses, music and miniatures generates a complete artistic and religious product which Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo defined as the aesthetic Bible of the thirteenth century, in which all the elements of medieval art—visual, melodic and verbal—appear to be encyclopaedically collected.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>27</sup> For an introduction, see *El scriptorium alfonsí: de los Libros de astrología a las ‘Cantigas de Santa María,’* ed. Jesús Montoya Martínez and Ana Domínguez Rodríguez (Madrid: Complutense Editorial, 1999).

<sup>28</sup> The four surviving manuscripts of the CSM are the following: To known as “Toledo Ms,” T known as “Códice Rico;” F known as “Florence Codex;” and E (Escorial) known as “Códice de los músicos.” For a clarifying overview on the editions of the CSM see *Cantigas de Santa María*, ed. Walter Mettman, 3 vols. (Madrid: Castalia, 1986–1988), 1, 7–42; Stephen Parkinson, “The First Reorganization of the *Cantigas de Santa María*,” *Bulletin of the Cantigueiros de Santa María* 1 (1988): 91–97; Valeria Bertolucci Pizzorusso, “Primo contributo all’analisi delle varianti redazionali nelle *Cantigas de Santa María*,” *Cobras e Son: Papers on the Text, Music and Manuscripts of the ‘Cantigas de Santa María,’* ed. Stephen Parkinson (Oxford: European Humanities Research Centre of the University of Oxford, 2001), 106–18; Martha E. Schaffer, “The ‘Evolution’ of the *Cantigas de Santa María*: The Relationships Between MSS T, F and E,” *Cobras e Son*, 106–18; here 186–213.

<sup>29</sup> See Gerardo V. Huseby, “Musical Analysis and Poetic Structure in the *Cantigas de Santa María*,” *Florilegium Hispanicum: Medieval and Golden Age Studies Presented to Dorothy Clotelle Clarke*, ed. John S. Geary et al. (Madison, WI.: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1983), 81–101; Higinio Anglés, *La música de las Cantigas de Santa María del Rey Alfonso el Sabio. 1. Fasímul del códice j.b.2 de El Escorial* (Barcelona: Diputación Provincial de Barcelona, 1964); Israel J. Katz, “Higinio Anglés and the Melodic Origins of the *Cantigas de Santa María*: A Critical View,” *Alfonso X of Castile, the Learned King (1221–1284): An International Symposium, Harvard University, 17 November 1984*, ed. Francisco Márquez-Villanueva and Carlos Alberto Vega. *Harvard Studies in Romance Languages*, 43 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1990), 46–75; Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta, “Claves de retórica musical para la interpretación y transcripción del ritmo de las *Cantigas de Santa María*,” *Literatura y cristiandad: homenaje al profesor Jesús Montoya*, coord. Antonio Rafael Rubio Flores, María Luisa Dañobeitia Fernández, Manuel José Alonso García (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2001), 685–718; “Las *Cantigas de Santa María*. La música y su interpretación,” *El scriptorium alfonsí*, 347–59; David Wulstan, “The Rhythmic Organization of the *Cantigas de Santa María*,” *Cobras e Son*, ed. Stephen Parkinson, 31–65.

<sup>30</sup> Richard P. Kinkade, “Scholastic Philosophy and the Art of the *Cantigas de Santa María*,” *Studies on the Cantigas de Santa María*, ed. Israel J. Katz and John E. Keller, 95–109.

A degree of scholarly attention has been devoted to the thorny issues of authorship, dating, subject matters, sources and diffusion of the CSM, questions which in part still remain unsolved.<sup>31</sup> The first problem arises from the attempt to date the collection, for which the admittedly rather tentative dates 1257–1283 have been accepted as two valid *post* and *ante quem* limits.<sup>32</sup> Secondly, neither the possibility that Alfonso X was the material author of some of the *loors* (religious hymns in praise of the Virgin inserted every tenth song), nor that he was supported by one or more professional writers can be excluded. What needs to be borne in mind is that authorship and direct composition of the book did not necessarily coincide; in fact, in many cases the sovereign supervised those who were responsible for the material composition of the texts.<sup>33</sup> The king is portrayed in precisely this “editorial” position from the outset, as the first illumination of the CSM proves, by depicting him on his throne, dictating the work to a group of *scriba*, surrounded by musicians and cantors who seem in all likelihood about to perform the pieces.<sup>34</sup> Alfonso X built up his troubadour *persona* through the personal elaboration of Marian hymns and the account of events from which he was rescued thanks to the Virgin’s aid.<sup>35</sup> The “poet-king” used secular versification, metrical and semantic structures of the art of *troubar* to worship the

<sup>31</sup> Walter Mettmann proposed three likely conclusions: first, most of the *cantigas* were written by a certain Airas Nunes (whose name appears in MS E, between two columns of CSM 223), collaborator-poet and coordinator of the Alfonsine scriptorium. About the identity of other possible collaborators working in Alfonso X’s scriptorium see Antonio Ballesteros, “Sevilla en el siglo XIII,” *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 66 (1915): 50–53. See also Walter Mettmann, “Algunas observaciones sobre la génesis de la colección de las *Cantigas de Santa María* y sobre el problema del autor,” *Studies on the Cantigas de Santa María*, ed. Israel J. Katz and John E. Keller, 355–66. Mettmann’s second hypothesis was that other poets contributed to the elaboration or translation of the miracles to the point of overshadowing Nunes’s eminent role. Third, the authorship of Alfonso X cannot be ruled out for at least a group of *cantigas*, narrated in the first person and recounting episodes personally experienced by the sovereign, which can be easily highlighted by their style and themes (CSM 169, 180, 200, 209, 279, 300, 360, 401, 406). See *Cantigas de Santa María*, ed. Walter Mettmann, 17–20; Anthony J. Cárdenas, “A Study of Alfonso’s Role in Selected *Cantigas* and the Castilian Prosification of Escorial Codex T.I.1,” *Studies on the Cantigas de Santa María*, ed. Israel J. Katz and John E. Keller, 253–68; Antonio G. Solalinde, “Intervención de Alfonso X en la redacción de sus obras,” *Revista de Filología Española* 2 (1915): 283–88; Joseph Snow, “A Chapter in Alfonso X’s Personal Narrative: The Puerto de Santa María Poems in the *Cantigas de Santa María*,” *La Corónica* 8 (1979): 10–21.

<sup>32</sup> Jesús Montoya Martínez, “Algunas precisiones acerca de las *Cantigas de Santa María*,” *Studies on the Cantigas de Santa María*, ed. Israel J. Katz and John E. Keller, 374–78.

<sup>33</sup> Roger D. Tinnell, “Authorship and Composition: Music and Poetry in *Las Cantigas de Santa María*,” *Kentucky Romance Quarterly* 28 (1981): 189–98; David Wulstan, “The Compilation of the *Cantigas* of Alfonso el Sabio,” *Cobras y Son*, ed. Stephen Parkinson, 154–85; Montoya Martínez, “Algunas precisiones acerca de las *Cantigas de Santa María*,” 355–86.

<sup>34</sup> Martin G. Cunningham, *Alfonso X El Sabio, Cantigas de Loor* (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2000), 17–18.

<sup>35</sup> Joseph Snow, “The Central Role of the Troubadour Persona of Alfonso X in the *Cantigas de Santa María*,” *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 56 (1979): 305–16.

worthiest lover—the Virgin Mary—who was also “the exemplification of the perfect qualities of womanhood.”<sup>36</sup> The result is a collection which is revered as the sovereign’s spiritual and “poetic biography”—as O’Callaghan has defined it—as well as a model of Christian and moral devotion for the readers. In fact, as Keller has argued, the Alfonsine scriptorium was orientated toward the production of works aimed at generating pleasure as well as spreading erudition—*utile et dulce*—to both the court’s members and the lower classes.<sup>37</sup>

Significantly, most of the miracles contained in the first 100 songs of the CSM were not new to the Iberian people, who had acknowledged other European Marian legends previously diffused throughout the Peninsula. With the expansion of the plan of the work—from its original 100 songs to the final 400 or so—which the monarch is believed to have personally devised, the collection assumed a progressively increasing Iberian dimension.<sup>38</sup> Moreover, elements from the French, German, English, Portuguese and Islamic traditions—imported by the artists gathered at the Alfonsine court—are identifiable throughout the entire collection.<sup>39</sup> The considerable number of examples proceeding from Biblical references and the presence of abundant historical, geographical, political, and folkloristic elements also contributed to enhance the narration with a realistic tone which has been considered by modern critics to be a powerful contribution to modern readers’ ability to understand, or at least to imagine, Iberian medieval life.<sup>40</sup> Interestingly, in the CSM there is no picture of the unearthly reality. Unlike the inflamed sinful abyss and the Heavenly circles experienced by Dante Alighieri, for example, in his metaphysical journey described in his *Divina Commedia*, in the CSM there is no Pindaric fly, and no access for the readers/listeners to the upper spheres; therefore, the interaction of the two worlds has only one way-access, that is toward the lower world. It does not mean, however, that the secular dimension was the only one experienced, dreamed or described by medieval subjects. Within the Christian context apparitions of celestial figures in the eyes of humans were not such a rarity. The only *sine qua non* element to connect the two spheres was the presence of some intermediary characters, such as the Virgin, the saints and the angels, who were very often labelled as friends.

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<sup>36</sup> Keller, *Alfonso X el Sabio*, 79.

<sup>37</sup> Keller, “The Threefold Impact of the *Cantigas de Santa María*: Visual, Verbal, and Musical,” *Studies on the Cantigas de Santa María*, ed. Israel J. Katz and John E. Keller, 7–33.

<sup>38</sup> Joseph Snow, “Self-Conscious References and the Organic Narrative Pattern of the *Cantigas de Santa María* of Alfonso X,” *Medieval Renaissance and Folklore Studies in Honour of John Esten Keller*, ed. Joseph R. Jones. Hispanic Monographs. Serie homenajes, 1 (Newark, DE: Juan de la Cuesta, 1980), 53–66.

<sup>39</sup> Keller, *Alfonso X, el Sabio*, 73–74.

<sup>40</sup> John E. Keller and Annette Grant Cash, *Daily Life Depicted in the Cantigas de Santa María*. Studies in Romance Languages, 44 (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1998).

Alfonso X put himself at the centre of such connections; in fact, while being regarded as friend and vicar of God for his royal status, he also wanted to be regarded as a friend of his people, without denying the unbridgeable gap which existed between them. His works, without omitting the differences existing between the various typologies of relationships, as well as between the individuals involved, outline a perfectly-balanced system within which the general and untouchable rules of friendship predominated, although in some cases certain exceptions were allowed. Relying on these premises, the present study seeks to demonstrate, mainly through the examples of the *CSM*, how the secular typologies of friendship, including political agreements, vassalic bonds and sensual relationships, found their parallels in a spiritual dimension where even perfect and ideal connections, here defined as “spiritual friendships,” were subjected to the formulae and pragmatic rules of *amicitia*.

### Spiritual Friendship: A Definition

From its first recorded Latin use—*spiritualis amicitia*—found in the Venerable Bede (ca. 672–735), until its adoption in the later medieval context, “spiritual friendship” has been used to define the most desirable connections between humans and God.<sup>41</sup> In medieval Iberia, beyond the moral and theological justifications for the creation of such links, there were also political and social motivations. Since for a long period ethnic, linguistic and social boundaries were not rigidly enforced, Christian believers tried to safeguard and legitimize their position in society by forging their identities as “amigos de Dios” and antagonists of the infidels. In order to do so, as also confirmed by the law, they resorted to the standardized sacramental rituals which “facen ayuntar amor de home con Dios” (connected God’s and human love; *SP*, I:IV:VI):

... todo cristiano debe saber et creer ciertamente que esta es la creencia de Dios uerdadera que ayunta al home con Dios por amor. Et el que lo asi creyere es verdadero cristiano, et el que non creyere non puede ser salvo nin amigo de Dios. (*SP* I:III:I)

[... every Christian should know and truly believe that this is the genuine Creed of God which unites man and God by means of love. And he who does so believe, is a true Christian, and he who does not so believe, cannot be saved, nor is he a friend of God.]

Christian theology preached that humankind could enter in contact with God thanks to the support given by sacred or human intermediaries who behaved as

<sup>41</sup> Brian P. McGuire, *Friendship and Community: The Monastic Experience 350–1250*. Cistercian Studies Series, 95 (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1988), 94.

ministers and performers of the conventional rituals. At this point it is fundamental to clarify who those intermediaries were and to what extent they might be defined as friends. There is a pyramidal segmentation which goes from the lowest level, occupied by individuals of different social statuses, to an intermediate position where the king and the Pope — vicars of God each in his own sphere — dwell. At the top the Virgin stands out from the others, subordinated to the Divine Father only. Although this pattern suggests that its constituents are rigidly entrenched, in fact there was the possibility of moving from one level to the other of this hierarchy. For example, it was not necessary for the highest located figures to go through all those “steps” of intermediation. In this regard, the king’s status is emblematic: he is represented simultaneously as one of the Virgin’s and the saints’ closest friends, but he is also connected to the Father directly since he is His vassal and envoy.

### God and Mankind: “Christianos de Dios Amigos”

The definition of spiritual friendship, among its various polysemous implications, also includes the connections between God, the Virgin, the saints, the apostles and the angels, either among them or with their subordinated fellows. St Thomas Aquinas had already elaborated on the definition of *amicitia Christiana* in his *Summa Theologiae* by stating that “*caritas non est simplex amor, sed habet rationem amicitiae . . .*” (charity is not merely love, but friendship . . .).<sup>42</sup> Such a connection between man and God implied, besides pure love, certain mutuality since “*praeterea amicitia non est sine reamatione*” (there is no friendship without return of love).<sup>43</sup> Clearly this statement represents the rejection of the previous philosophical theories of human unidirectional love according to which man could shower his affection on worthless or inadequate subjects without being rewarded equally.<sup>44</sup>

Alfonsine law abounds with examples conforming to these parameters of spiritual friendship. From the outset of Book I of the *SP*, for example, both the abstract love for God and the far more pragmatic relationships involving the Church and its representatives are presented as follows: “ . . . demostró Dios á los que eran sus amigos muchas de sus poridades por fecho et por semejanza” ( . . . God revealed many of His secrets directly or metaphorically to His friends; *SP*, prologue). God is frequently described as the stereotyped image of the perfect

<sup>42</sup> Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, ed. Fathers of the English Dominican Province (London: Burns, Oates & Washburn, 1920–1924), Q. XXV, art. 2, 310.

<sup>43</sup> Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, Q. XXIII, art. 1, 262.

<sup>44</sup> The complete discussion about charity and friendship is carried out in Aquinas, *Summae Theologiae*, QQ. XXIII–XLIV, 262–553.

friend, endowed with all of the characteristics which a counterpart should have in order to merit such an appellation. In fact, He is loyal, careful, respectful, driven by the other's good and protection, ready to die for a friend's sake, as He did through Christ, whose crucifixion was a manifestation of His love toward mankind. According to the aforementioned rule of mutuality, man should behave in a faithful and charitable manner toward God as well. However, a careful analysis of the Alfonsine works shows a compelling paradox: since such an ideal friendship is so rare to fulfil, only few are allowed to enter in contact with God directly, but—and here is the impasse—their privileged status is a gift that they received from divine Grace, which endows them with uncorrupted souls.

The title "Christianos de Dios amigos" (God's friends), which frequently appears in the Alfonsine works, was recurrently used to address all the professed Christian believers performing their faith, and to create a sign of identification for those who made alliances in the name of God or in defence of His people. In the wars fought in the name of orthodoxy against the infidels the title of "God's friends" was assumed by warriors in order to legitimize their roles and missions. In that context God was often portrayed as a feudal lord, whose subordinates were regarded as vassals and servants rather than as real friends.<sup>45</sup> Despite God's divine and eminent position, however, the relationships in which He took part could not escape the *sine qua non* conditions of mutuality, love and respect. The same feudal model also emerges from the *SP*, whose title IV of Book I remarks that God "demuestra grant amorio de amigo et mayormente de señor á vasallos" (he demonstrates a friendly affection which resembles more the benevolence of a lord to his vassal) toward His believers. Moreover, in most of those cases, directly or indirectly, the gift of divine advice occurred through the intermediation of God's ministers.

The abundance of lexical devices depicting Christian believers as God's friends or "compañna de cristianos" suggests that spiritual amity was an essential element to strengthen the sense of a common religious background which could also have led to the building of a solid social identity. However, it would be extremely simplistic and reductive to approach the subject from a Christian perspective exclusively, underestimating in this way the threefold context of the medieval Iberian Peninsula, where Muslims and Jews held strategic positions from demographic, social and economic points of view.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>45</sup> O'Callaghan, *Alfonso X: A Poetic Biography*, 16–17.

<sup>46</sup> Several studies have been carried out on the image of Jews and Muslims as presented in the Alfonsine works, see Albert I. Bagby Jr, "The Figure of the Jew in the *Cantigas* of Alfonso X," *Studies on the Cantigas de Santa María*, ed. Israel J. Katz and John E. Keller, 235–46; "The Moslem in the *Cantigas* of Alfonso X, El Sabio," *Kentucky Romance Quarterly* 20 (1973): 173–207; "Alfonso X, el sabio compara moros y judíos," *Romanische Forschungen* 82 (1970): 578–83; Dwayne Carpenter, *Alfonso X and the Jews: An Edition of and Commentary on Siete Partidas 7.24 'De los Judíos.'* University of California Publications in Modern Philology, 115 (Berkeley: University of California

At this stage, one might wonder whether or not declaring themselves Christians constituted a mechanical guarantee which allowed those who professed it to achieve a blessed companionship with God by avoiding any further mediation. In fact, it was believed that God revealed his power through the saints' intervention and they, similarly, received their holy gifts through the Virgin's intercession. Only two figures of the human race were directly touched by divine Grace, becoming themselves "vicars of God": the king and the Pope. However, moments of crisis were not infrequent between these two powers, erupting whenever their spheres of influence overlapped. For this reason Alfonso X tried to keep them separated, as *SP II:I* clearly states:

Ca el señor á quien Dios tal honra da es rey et emperador, et á él pertenesce segunt derecho et el ortogamiento quel fieron las gentes antiguamente de gobernar et de mantener el imperio en justicia, et por eso es llamado emperador, que quier tanto decir como mandador, porque al su mandamiento deben obedescer todos los del imperio: et él no es tenuto de obedescer á ninguno, fueras ende al papa en las cosas espirituales. (*SP II:I*)

[For the lord on whom God confers such an honor is both king and emperor, and to him belongs, according to law, the power granted by the people in former times to govern and maintain the empire with justice. For this reason he is styled emperor, which means commander, because all persons of the empire obey his commands, and he is not bound to obey anyone except the Pope, and that only in spiritual matters.]

## Friendships Between Sacred Figures

In the imaginary descent down the hierarchical pyramidal segmentation presented before, the next step is occupied by the Virgin Mary. The connections established with her are regarded as the most profitable, at least as far as the CSM are concerned, and for this reason they occupy a central position in such a network

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Press, 1986); Carpenter, "Christian Attitudes Towards the Jewish Sabbath in the Light of Medieval Spanish Legal Texts," *Proceedings of the Patristic, Medieval and Renaissance Conference*, ed. Villanova University, Augustinian Historical Institute. Annual Publication of the Patristic, Medieval and Renaissance Conference (Villanova, Pa.: Augustinian Historical Institute, Villanova University, 1979), 51–62; Carpenter, "Jewish-Christian Social Relations in Alphonsine Spain: A Commentary on *Siete Partidas*, Book VII, Title XXIV, Law 8," *Florilegium Hispanicum*, ed. John S. Geary et al., 61–70; Carpenter, "Tolerance and Intolerance: Alfonso X's Attitudes Towards the Synagogue as Reflected in the *Siete Partidas*," *Kentucky Romance Quarterly* 31 (1984): 31–39; David Romano, "Los Judíos y Alfonso X," *Revista de Occidente* 43 (1984): 203–17; here 204–05; Robert I. Burns, "Jews and Moors in the *Siete Partidas* of Alfonso X the Learned: A Background Perspective," *Medieval Spain: Culture, Conflict, and Coexistence, Studies in Honour of Angus MacKay*, ed. Roger Collins and Anthony Goodman (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave/Macmillan, 2002), 46–62.



connecting spiritual and secular spheres. To quote only a few of the manifold examples, one could mention CSM 360, where the Virgin is named “de Deus filla | e criad e amiga” (God’s daughter, servant and friend) and CSM 399 where she is defined “de Deus Madre | falar e amiga” (God’s mother, company and friend). Most of the invocations and prayers that the believers devote to Mary are on behalf of the supreme Lord, who is defined simultaneously as her father, son and friend. In this case, since friendship is listed together with the familiar bonds of childhood and motherhood, there are grounds to supposing that the perfect amity occupy one of the highest levels among the other social relationships in the Alfonsine perception, as they also did in classical and religious thought. In fact, this idea recalls the Aristotelian thought of parental connections, considered as forms of *affectus naturalis* (natural love), the same natural love which includes pure friendship. In the aforementioned case the *affectus naturalis* experienced by the Virgin is inevitable, in whichever way God’s position toward her would be interpreted, since He deserves to be the object of love and respect, both as her creator, father and original master of love.

Thus, the affection that Mary feels for God resembles the definition of *spiritualis* in all its aspects, since it involves her most intimate and true essence, it lacks any secular implications, it is mutual, and, last but not least, it is an immaterial chain connecting her originally earthly essence with the supernatural world. However, whereas family ties were considered either genetically or divinely created, the title of “friend” could be achieved only by proving virtues, loyalty and honesty. This vision also contrasts the evangelical idea of bestowing love indiscriminately to any human beings as God’s creatures who are, for this reason, subjects of *agapé* (Christian love). The specific case of the Virgin Mary shows at least two personal values which make her eligible as God’s companion: her innate virtues and her loyal and trustful behavior. All these positive characteristics allow her to mediate between the saints and God, as well as between the human believers and the celestial court.

Her position toward the believers, belonging to both the highest and the lowest spheres of the physical and metaphysical worlds, is characterized by plentiful and different aspects. In the CSM the fact that she embodies the closest relationships man could establish in his life is highlighted in verses such as:

Tal foi el meter entre nos e ssi  
e deu por avogada,  
que madr’, amiga ll’ é, creed’a mi,  
e filla e criada.

(CSM 30, lines 16–19)

[He placed Her between us and Himself  
and gave Her as advocate,  
for, believe my words, to Him she is mother, friend,  
daughter, and handmaiden.]

Besides being Christ's mother, the Virgin is also endowed with numerous virtues and values which make her the icon of a perfect friend, an uncorrupted lover, a wise counselor and a successful intermediary between God and humankind. All these roles are frequently combined under the unique definition of "amiga." This appellation incorporates a wide range of semantic subtleties including mutual help, advice and affection, as well as marital, sensual and parental connections. In fact, the Virgin Mary is frequently portrayed as "amiga e amada | de mui santa compannia" (friend and loved one | holy companion; CSM 70, lines 12–13). She is defined as "amiga companeyra" (friend and companion)<sup>47</sup> of individuals who have the privilege to enter in contact with her, without reaching ever an absolute state of equality. As Queen of the Heaven, the Virgin Mary is surrounded and accompanied in her apparitions by a celestial court whose members are saints, apostles and angels.<sup>48</sup> The saints are elevated to the position of her friends, which they achieved thanks to their holy lives and the unconditional affection with which they shower the Blessed woman. The holy characters, endowed with miraculous skills and sometimes extraordinary abilities, held the positions of *primi inter pares* since not only did they achieve divine Grace, but they also received sacred gifts, signs of God's reward for their exemplary behavior and faith.

It is important to highlight that the Holy Lady and the saints would be positioned under the same category of intermediaries. However, whereas the saints' intercessions constitute the means for common people's pleas to reach the Virgin, the Lady represents the final mediator before God. Due to the existence of such a hierarchy, the holy figures inevitably have to worship Mary and stimulate the rest of the Christian community to do the same. This is what happens in CSM 368 in which a woman, affected by a heavy illness, is advised in her dream by Saint Domingo de Silos to go on a pilgrimage to the Virgin, since the plea for her divine aid would be the principal, and probably only, way for the supplicant to be rescued. Equally revealing is CSM 278 in which a believer remarks upon the superiority of Mary's power over the saints. The miracle is about the advice given by a woman to her blind companion during their pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela. She suggests that he should change his route and walk to the Virgin of Villasirga (now Villalcázar de Sirga, in the province of Palencia) because only for the Virgin's sake and thanks to her mediation could he gain a miraculous recovery.

Significantly, if we leave aside the devotional message, we might question whether the verses of CSM 278 contain another and more pragmatic meaning: the attempt to deflect part of the pilgrims toward Villasirga on their route to

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<sup>47</sup> CSM 70, 213 and 231 among others.

<sup>48</sup> See CSM 28, 132, 419, 420, 421, 422.

Compostela.<sup>49</sup> This would have generated prestige for Alfonso X's kingdom, but it would have also brought inevitable economic and financial benefits supplied by the pilgrimage and all its connected activities. It is worth mentioning the fact that, even if the existence of numerous pilgrimages in honor of saints was widely spread, Marianism in the thirteenth-century acquired renewed prestige while the other cults lost ground and adherents. In fact, many of these revered saints were themselves devotees of the Virgin. They had acquired their celestial positions through her intercession before God and they had frequently spent their lives preaching and worshipping the Holy Lady, contributing in this way to spread the acknowledgment of her power among the believers.

At this point, the focus should turn again to the portraits of the saints given in the Alfonsine production, whose positions toward the Virgin vary according to the works taken into account. Their representations sometimes even contradict the previous statement about the Virgin's uncontested superiority in common beliefs. On a few occasions, in both the *SP* and the *Estoria de España*, for example, the Virgin's role is undermined by the saints' positions, since they hold the uncontested titles of God's friends and unique intermediaries between the Heavens and Christendom. An interesting passage from Book I of the *SP* informs us about the saints' roles in both the celestial and human cosmos:

... onde pues que Dios los honra en este mundo asi, mostrando que los tiene por amigos et haciendo mucho et maravillosos miraglos por ellos ... derecho es que los homes lo honren et mayormiente los cristianos. (*SP* I:XXIII)

[... wherefore, since God honors them in this world by showing that He considers them His friends, and by performing many and marvellous miracles through them ... ; it is just that all men and especially Christians, should honor them.]

With regard to this point one might question whether or not the fact that the role of the Virgin is partially debilitated in the *SP* was influenced by the earlier Visigothic law, which was later filtered and reshaped through the new Alfonsine perspective. In fact, the Visigothic *Fuero Juzgo* was deeply permeated with misogynous elements which might have also influenced the subsequent Alfonsine orientation and legal enactments. Similarly, in the *Estoria de España* the Virgin Mary is simply invoked through standardized formulae and she neither shines nor predominates, as she does, instead, in the *CSM*.

While acknowledging all this, another category to be examined within this supernatural system of relationships is that of the angels, who also occupy a privileged position in such a pyramidal structure. They are defined as a uniform and indistinct mass lacking individual identity, with the exception of Gabriel. The

<sup>49</sup> Connie L. Scarborough, *A Holy Alliance: Alfonso X's Use of Marian Poetry*. Juan de la Cuesta Hispanic Monographs. Estudios de literatura medieval "John E. Keller," 6 (Newark, DE: Juan de la Cuesta, 2009), 127.

archangel gained a definite position by acting as God's messenger, fulfilling in this way the original gap separating Christ's mother—still unaware of her future—and God. Gabriel was the initial intermediary which the Virgin herself would become once she consciously recognized her role and mission in supporting human redemption. Moreover, thanks to his actions and attitudes, he embodies an incomparable and *non plus ultra* model of friendship:

E nunca non podia | ja mayor amizade  
mostrar . . .  
Quen viu nunc' amizade | que esta semellasse

(CSM 210, lines 10–15)

[And never could he show us greater  
friendship . . .  
who ever saw greater friendship than this]

To complete this overview of the possible connections between sacred figures, the position of the apostles cannot be forgotten either, since they constitute the first model of Christian community which relies on concord among its members. Their association may be described, using St Augustine's definition, as a form of *societas amicalis* (similar to monastic corporations), whose members are linked by their love for God and by Christian charity. The figures of the apostles appear in both the *SP* and the *CSM*, but in the legal code they are presented as the highest positioned members in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, regarded for their knowledge of the Holy Word no longer as "siervos, mas amigos" (servants, but rather friends; *SP* I:V:I) of God.<sup>50</sup> By accepting the idea of a "transitive rule" of friendship—according to which any relationship generated by pure love can be inherited and transmitted from father to sons and vice versa—the apostles, as God's friends, are legitimized to become also Christ's friends and, following the same transactional passage, friends of Christ's mother. This theory, however, does not exclude the assumption that they managed to reach such an elevated position mainly because of their genuine beliefs and performances as good Christians. Moreover, their merits also justify their becoming exemplary models for the rest of the religious community.

### The Virgin and her Devotees

In the *CSM* the Holy Lady's noble and appreciable qualities of motherhood and friendship are complemented by her portrait as a woman and a lover, whose characteristics received renewed emphasis, above all once they are compared with those of her Biblical antagonist: Eve. The latter, unlike Mary, deserves a derogatory

<sup>50</sup> The same kind of reference is also in *CSM* 187.

description due to her sinful and treacherous behavior. It is not unreasonable to assert that the Virgin represents Eve's purified alter ego, who might even redeem the value of the human female figure. With regard to this point it is significant to quote the lines from CSM 320:

O ben que perdeu Eva  
a nossa madr'antiga.  
cobrou Santa Maria  
u foi de Deus amiga.

(Lines 14–17)

[The good which Eve,  
our ancient mother, lost,  
Holy Mary recovered  
when She befriended God.]

Both women are God's offspring, generated from His act of love, although only one of them adopted her free will properly in order to keep that link and to consolidate her role as one of the Almighty's friends. The message conveyed by this biblical episode has a double meaning; on the one hand the focus is on Eve, the first woman created by God in order to be the complementary part of man, who in fact became his worst enemy. On the other hand, the reproach is addressed to Adam, representative of everyman, who trusted his wife as a loyal friend and whose blind reliance caused his damnation. The metaphor and the didactic warning are quite clear: man should prove who his real friends are and only afterwards should he trust them completely. The risk he takes in not respecting this test (which also includes a deep acknowledgment acquired over time) leads to the end of friendship or, even worse, to irreparable damage in his own life.<sup>51</sup>

At this stage, the lexicon adopted to define the relationships involving the Virgin and her devotees should also be considered. A significant case in point is CSM 259, whose protagonists are two minstrels linked by a manifest affection which is, however, never alluded to as a "friendship" in the entire poem. Contrarily, the description of their relationship is limited to "de dos joglares que fez ben querer" (for two minstrels whom She caused to love each other; line 8) and "foron-s' ambos dali en grand'amor" (they both went from there in great love; line 36). A radical change was experienced once the Virgin entered their relationship and addressed them as "amigos." Not only did that title ennoble their personae and the bond linking them, but it also made the appellation of friendship impossible to be used (almost in the same sentence) in referring to the two men's emotional, but entirely worldly, relationship. Their case also demonstrates that the believers' proof of amity toward the Virgin often appears to be shaped on the model of an opportunistic love, aimed at achieving personal benefits and advantages, such as

<sup>51</sup> Carlos Heusch, "La Philosophie de l'amour dans l'Espagne du XVe siècle," *Atalaya* 4 (1993): 233–39.

recovery from mortal illnesses, rescue from imprisonment and dangerous situations, protection for relatives and loved ones, and the claim for eternal salvation. Admittedly, this point prompts other questions about the real possibility of associating spiritual friendship with pure love. In fact, the hypothesis that man might love the Virgin unselfishly and without thinking of her as the intermediary before God is highly questionable.

Another aspect which needs to be observed is the sensual representation of the Virgin Mary and the description of the amorous bonds that she established with her believers. This representation is probably due to the process of humanization to which the Virgin was subjected: a metamorphosis which did not exclude the acquisition of some worldly imperfections. As pointed out by Catherine Guzmán in her article about antifeminism in the CSM, the Virgin is often displayed as a "jilted lover" (refer to CSM 42, lines 77–80), pleased by anyone who writes a poem in praise of her or simply who chooses her rather than another human lover.<sup>52</sup> The counterpart is usually a knight and their relationship seems to be forged on the code of courtly love and chivalric manners. A clarifying example is CSM 16, which tells the story of a tormented handsome and generous knight who was going to lose his senses and even to die for a lady who openly refused him. The unbearable suffering led him to open his soul to an abbot in order to reach God's piety through his spiritual aid. The mediator-clergyman, who addressed the knight with the appellation of "amigo" (line 40), wisely suggested that he should pray for the Virgin's intercession. Inasmuch as the Holy Mary is concerned, she acted as if she were the direct antagonist of the human lady with whom she was contending for the knight's heart. When she appeared in her majestic splendour in front of the man's eyes she asked him to choose between her and the other earthly woman. The love-game involved a choice that the knight had to make "se me por amiga queres aver" (if you wish me for your beloved; CSM 16, line 76), the rules of which forced him to pick the right option in order to deserve the Virgin's priceless love. Needless to say, in this case the title "amiga" does not imply any sexual connotation, although the atmosphere and the adopted vocabulary are manifestly sensual. In fact, the Virgin's roles of mother and daughter are here subordinated to the other side of her profile, that is to say the passionate, emotional and sometimes fickle woman.<sup>53</sup> As far as the voluble and impulsive Virgin's behavior

<sup>52</sup> Catherine Guzmán, "Antifeminism in the *Cantigas de Santa María* and the *Dialogo de mujeres* of Cristóbal de Castillejo," *Studies on the Cantigas de Santa María*, ed. Israel J. Katz and John E. Keller, 279–86.

<sup>53</sup> There is a striking coincidence between this miracle tale and one recounted in Gautier de Coincy, *Miracles de la Sainte Vierge*, ed. by Abbé Poquet (Paris: Parmantier : Didron, 1857), 637; in the introduction of Johannes Herolt, called *Discipulus*, *Miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, trans. C. C. Swinton Bland. Broadway Medieval Library (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1928), xvii. Their plots are identical as well as the vocabulary and approaches adopted by the Virgin to address her lover-knight.

is concerned, it is also interesting to recall the example of CSM 132, in which she reproaches one of her devotees, who was pressured by his family to marry a wealthy woman, as follows:

Porqué outra fillar yas  
 amiga e desdennavas  
 a mi, que por amor ti avia? (CSM 132, lines 105–07)

[Why are you going to take  
 another love and spurn me,  
 who loved you?]

These words would hardly tell us that the speaker is not an outraged human lover disappointed by her partner.

The Virgin Mary occupies a central position not solely in the aforementioned amorous performances, in motherhood and friendship, but also in companionship and counselorship. In fact, it was believed that the best and wisest advice that man could receive during his life came from the Virgin or from her ministers. There is evidence to illustrate this in CSM 155, which is the story of a wicked and proud knight of Alexandria who, once he realized how miserable his sinful life had been, decided to find some rescue in confession and penitence. He visited a holy hermit who suggested a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Unfortunately, the knight was unable to undertake such a long and risky journey; therefore, the hermit changed his advice and asked the knight to bring him a tankard of water, which would have been considered the sign of his redemption. The apparently easy task turned to be, in fact, impossible to accomplish because the water drained away from him. The turning point was experienced only when the knight addressed his pleas to the Virgin, without whose succour he would have never succeeded. Nonetheless, the miracle happened without the direct intervention of the Blessed Lady on the scene; in fact, she did not appear in front of the supplicant, who managed to fill the tankard with the tears shed during his invocations to her. However, one should not draw the conclusion that the hermit, who had first advised him, represented a malevolent guide; he was, rather and simply powerless, above all if compared with the Holy Lady who was the perfect counselor of those who behaved as God's friends:

Du o pecador promete | de seer amigo de Deus  
 e se partir de pecado | e enmendar tortos seus (CSM 155, lines 7–8)

[When the sinner promises to be God's friend  
 and amend his misdeeds]

Not only was the Virgin Mary's advice more valuable than any human guidance, but it was also the most powerful weapon against the devil's temptations. The latter was depicted as the bad advisor *per antonomasia*, since he had the power to

drag man to damnation; moreover, his corruption represented the hardest obstacle to overcome along the journey toward redemption. The examples of devils tempting religious and lay characters abound in the CSM where at least 47 songs depict such situations.<sup>54</sup> Most of them describe the devil's performances, transformation and his taking possession of minds, souls and bodies, as well as his deft ability to transmorph into an apparently reliable shape in order to drag those who followed him toward great pains and, finally, damnation. The most powerful remedies are Mary's aid and advice, as the invocation of CSM 350 suggests:

.....  
 e porend', ai, piadosa,  
 ta mercee nos escude  
 contra a compann' astrosa  
 do demo, e nos ajude;  
 ca tu na coita mayor  
 vales ao peccador. (CSM 350, lines 19–24)

[.....  
 therefore, oh Gentle Lady,  
 may your mercy shield us  
 against the horrid ilk  
 of the devil and come to our aid,  
 for your help the sinner  
 in times of greatest trouble.]

With regard to this subject the comparison with another contemporary Marian collection, the *Milagros de nuestra Señora* by Berceo, comes to mind. Miracle XXIV of Berceo's work narrates the story of a generous and charitable man named Theophilus, respected and appreciated by his entire religious community since he was the *factotum* of the bishopric.<sup>55</sup> After the bishop's death and the election of his successor, jealousy and frustration led Theophilus to be easily deceived by a Jew who was in fact a devil's vassal. He fell into a miserable state because of such an evil counselor: "este nuestro canonigo e nuestro compannero / moviólo su locura, un falso conseiero" (this churchman and companion of ours was driven to madness by a deceitful advisor; line 840). These accounts underline the fact that even Mary's devotees, including churchmen, could be tempted. The *SP* also give a series of commandments against those "que parescen amigos de fuera et son falagueros de palabra que han la voluntad contraria de lo que muestran" (who appear to be friend but are merely flatterers, and whose characters are the opposite

<sup>54</sup> CSM 11, 14, 17, 26, 38, 41, 45, 47, 58, 67, 72, 74, 75, 82, 85, 96, 109, 111, 115, 119, 123, 125, 154, 157, 182, 192, 197, 201, 213, 216, 238, 241, 254, 259, 267, 272, 273, 274, 284, 298, 311, 343, 365, 378, 392, 404, 409.

<sup>55</sup> Gonzalo de Berceo, *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, ed. Fernando Baños Vallejo. Biblioteca Clásica (Barcelona, Spain), 3 (Barcelona: Crítica, 1997), 157–87.



of what they seem to be; *SP IV:XXVII:III*), in other words against false and treacherous friends. However, this did not deny the possibility for man to find humble, honest and wise friends, endowed with exemplary virtues which would enable them to act out of pure benevolence.

Considering all of this, the conclusion one may draw is the existence of a direct dependence between good advice and the advisor's personal wisdom and acknowledged fame. This assumption would explain the impossibility for wicked men to be chosen as reliable guides, while also suggesting further reasons for which the Virgin Mary merits the title of perfect friend and counselor. In fact, she appears in such a role in several of the *cantigas* (for instance *CSM* 64, 119, 140, 248, 273, 275, 291, 313, 355), and in particular *CSM* 418 explicitly tells us that her task of counselorship was one of the seven gifts that Christ donated to her: "O terceyro de consello | ést , e con mui gran razon o ouve Santa Maria" (the third [gift] was good advice, which Holy Mary utterly deserved; lines 18–19). Beyond her role of exemplary advisor and guide toward salvation, we should not underestimate the degree to which the Virgin Mary also helped man in coping with personal and daily concerns and difficulties.

### The Virgin and the King: Between Friendship and Vassallic Relationships

Among the examples of perfect friends and devotees the king emerges from the lines of the *CSM* as an idealized figure characterized by his uncorrupted love and his submission to the supreme authority of God, though not to that of the Church. Despite his portrait as a model for his subjects to emulate, he was far from being considered a superior creature (as the theory of *christomimētēs* required), and he was rather regarded as a true believer endowed with the gift of Holy Grace.<sup>56</sup> The *CSM*, as both a product of Alfonso X's personal spiritual experience and a collection addressed to everybody, even if at different reading levels, contributed to make his subjects believe that everybody could achieve such a status of grace, as a reward for noble actions. Additionally, the vernacular language, in which the collection was written, played a fundamental role, since it corroborated the idea of a shared religious experience and supported the royal project of transition toward a nationwide identity.<sup>57</sup> The *CSM* show an idealized picture of Alfonso X, submissive to the supreme authority of God, the Virgin and the saints. But the

<sup>56</sup> Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (1957; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 61–78.

<sup>57</sup> David Rojinsky, "The Rule of Law and the Written Word in Alfonsine Castile: Demystifying a Consecrated Vernacular," *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 80 (2003): 287–305.

paradox is that thanks to such reverential behavior, the sovereign gained sufficient prestige to be recognised as a moral authority.<sup>58</sup>

The “Reconquest” also contributed to strengthen the idea of his uncontested superiority; in fact, by fighting against the enemies of the faith, regaining the Muslim territories and reconverting them into Christian spaces, Alfonso X gained the epithet of champion of Christianity and defender of orthodoxy. Complementarily, the major tasks of his law, policy and administration—all depicted as divinely bestowed tools—were to accomplish God’s will and to guide people in living an honest life which would constitute their passport to Heaven. It has to be noted, however, that the king never tried to usurp the sacred role of mediator held by the Virgin. Contrarily, she continued to be the main addressee of his claims and to embody a perfect companion which no other human figure could have equalled. For all these reasons, it is not unusual to come across images of the Liege Queen providing support in the battlefield or rescuing devoted sovereigns in need. The CSM present some cases of monarchs imploring the Virgin for political and military aid and it is not surprising to find literary accounts of the support they received in their campaigns against the Muslim armies. Cases in point are CSM 28, describing the conquest of Constantinople, and CSM 181, which tells of the Almohad ruler of Marrakech, Umar al-Murtada (1248–1266), who was supported by the Virgin’s intervention against Abu Yusuf of the Merinids when he allowed a group of Christian mercenaries to go out of the city carrying with them the banner of the Holy Mary:

E assi Santa Maria | ajudou a seus amigos,  
 pero que d’ outra lei eran, | a britar seus ãemigos  
 que, macar que eran muitos, | nonos preçaron dous figos,  
 e assi foi ssa mercee | de todos mui connoçada.

(CSM 181, lines 40–43)

[Thus Holy Mary helped Her friends,  
 although they were of another faith, to defeat their enemies,  
 for although they were many, they did not give two figs  
 about them. In this way was Her mercy made manifest to all.]

A closer look at CSM 348, which tells of a treasure of gold and silver which Alfonso X found thanks to Mary’s advice, is also revealing:

Ben parte Santa Maria | sas graças e seus tesouros  
 aos que serven seu Fillo | ben e ela contra mouros.  
 Desto direi un miragre | que avêeo en Espanna,

<sup>58</sup> For example, Alfonso X avoided rituals of anointing and coronation, unlike other European sovereigns. Read more in my forthcoming article “The King as Subject, Master and Figure of Authority,” *Every Inch a King: Comparative Studies in Kings and Kingship in the Ancient and Mediaeval Worlds*, ed. Lynette Mitchell and Charles Melville (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming 2010).

que mostrou Santa Maria, | a piadosa sen sanna,  
 contra un rei que de gente | levava mui gran companna  
 por onrrar a fe de Cristo | e destroyr a dos mouros.

(CSM 348, lines 3–8)

[Holy Mary generously shares Her blessing  
 and Her treasures with those who serve Her and Her Son well  
 against the Moors.

Concerning this, I shall tell a miracle which happened in Spain  
 which Holy Mary, the gentle and compassionate One,  
 performed for a king who led a great army  
 to honor the faith of Christ and destroy that of the Moors.]

The king is depicted as a valorous knight fighting against the enemies of orthodoxy in the name of his love for God and, in particular, for Castile, emblematically represented by the Virgin Mary. The divine support that the sovereign received by the Holy Lady was also interpreted as a form of divine consensus which authorized his expansionistic plans and justified his inheritance of the throne. This assumption is also exemplified by CSM 200:

Ca a mi de bõa gente  
 fez vñir dereitamente  
 e quis que mui chãamente  
 reinass' e que fosse rei.

.....

Ca mi fez de bõa terra  
 sennor, e en toda guerra  
 m'ajudou a que non erra  
 nen errou, u a chamei.

(Lines 9–12; 29–32)

[She caused me  
 to descend from good lineage  
 and willed that I should justly reign  
 and be king.

.....

For She who does not err made me  
 lord of a fine land  
 and helped me in every war  
 when I called on Her.]

Similarly, a reflection on the supposed divine origin of royal power recurs in CSM 409:

Reis e emperadores,  
 todos comũalmente  
 a todo seu ciente

deven de bõa mente  
 dar-lle grandes loores,  
 ca per ela sennores  
 son de toda a gente,  
 e cada ùu sente  
 dela compridamente  
 mercees e amores;  
 e macar peccadores  
 sejan, a Virgen bõa  
 mui toste os perdõa,  
 sen nulla dovidança.

(CSM 409, lines 36–49)

[Kings and emperors  
 should one and all,  
 to the best of their ability,  
 joyfully render  
 Her great praise,  
 for because of Her  
 they are lords  
 of all the people,  
 and each one receives  
 signs of mercy and love  
 generously from Her.  
 Although they may be sinners,  
 the gentle Virgin  
 quickly pardons them  
 without hesitation.]

Not only was the sovereign endowed with full authority, but he was even forgiven in case of any mistake. Amy G. Remensnyder has discussed this point further by arguing that Alfonso X was engaged in a process of identification with the Virgin, supported also by the visual coincidence—evident in the CSM's panels—between his and the Holy Lady's gestures, positions, crowns and thrones; coincidences which strengthened and vouchsafed his position and mission in the audience's eye.<sup>59</sup> In such an emulative attitude Alfonso X distanced himself from the former high medieval Christological theories, according to which the sovereign retained an ontological status of icon for Christ, and he rather acquired the functional role of friend and intermediary. In the footsteps of his father, Ferdinand III, Alfonso X stressed his dependence and cooperation with the Holy Mother by declaring himself her lover, friend, vassal and first of her devotees.

<sup>59</sup> Amy G. Remensnyder, "Marian Monarchy in Thirteenth-Century Castile," *The Experience of Power in Medieval Europe: 950–1350*, ed. Robert F. Berkhofer, Alan Cooper, and Adam J. Kosto (Aldershot, Hampshire, England, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005), 253–70. See also my article "The King as Subject, Master and Figure of Authority," *Every Inch a King*, ed. Lynette Mitchell (forthcoming 2010).

Another aspect to be borne in mind is that the sovereign did not invoke the supernatural intervention for matters of governmental policy and state affairs only. Physical handicaps, moments of crisis and sense of defeat were some of the main reasons for invoking the Lady's mercy and assistance. One example is CSM 209, which reports the story of the illness suffered by Alfonso X, his recovery in Vitoria and his request to have the book of the CSM brought to him in order to be rescued by its miraculous contact. The collection, as a physical object, was thought to have the capability to give relief to the body, just as its contents and moral advice could be helpful in curing human souls and in guiding man to everlasting salvation. In this case a material object, a book, turned into the key to access the supernatural life. It is not therefore unreasonable to state that the unselfish ideas of pure love and friendship were sometimes eclipsed by personal interests and material goals, additional reasons which led the king to call for supernatural intervention.<sup>60</sup>

Among the most common demands made by Alfonso X, there was also the request to be delighted by friends and to discern the true signs of amity in people who surrounded him. CSM 401 is revealing: the sovereign implores the Virgin Mary to make him able to select good friends and to be preserved from treacherous counselors:

Outros rogos sen estes | te quer' ora fazer:  
 que rogues a teu Fillo | que me faça viver,  
 per que servi-lo possa, | e que me dé poder  
 contra seus ãemigos | e lles faça perder  
 o que tãen forçado, | que non deven aver,  
 .....  
 e que de meus amigos | veja senpre prazer, [ . . . ]. (Lines 32–38)

[Other requests besides these I wish to make of you now.  
 Pray to your Son to let me live  
 so that I may serve you and to give me power  
 against His enemies and make them lose  
 what they hold by force and should not keep.  
 .....  
 and may I know only pleasure from my friends.]

These lines evoke the image of a corrupted court in which the ruler's power and mission needed to be protected against the nobles' threatening ambition, lack of loyalty and sinful behavior:

.....  
 e, pois Rey me fez, queira | que reyn' a seu sabor,  
 e de mi e dos reynos | seja el guardador,

<sup>60</sup> See also CSM 221, which narrates the illness suffered by the young King Ferdinand III.

que me deu e dar pode | quando ll'en prazer for;  
 e que el me deffenda | de fals' e traedor,  
 e outrossi me guarde | de mal consellador  
 e d'ome que mal serve | e é mui pedidor.

.....

e dos que lealdade | non preçan quant' un pan,  
 pero que sempr' en ela | muito faland' estan.

.....

e me guarde meu corpo | d'ocajon e de mal  
 e d'amigo encuberto, | que a gran coita fal,  
 e de quen ten en pouco | de seer desleal,  
 e daquel que se preça | mui' e mui pouco val,  
 e de quen en seus feitos | sempr' é descomunal.

(CSM 401, lines 46–51; 70–71; 76–80)

[.....

and may He be guardian of me  
 and the kingdoms he gave me  
 and has power to give me when He so chooses.  
 May He defend me from false and treacherous men  
 and also protect me from bad advisors  
 and men who serve unwillingly and are never satisfied.

.....

and from those who care not a crumb for loyalty,  
 although they always speak of it.

.....

may She preserve my person from any damages  
 and adversities and from false friends,  
 who do not help in case of necessity,  
 and from those who do not care about being disloyal,  
 and from those who estimate themselves but they are unworthy in fact,  
 and from those who are always extreme in their deeds.]

Such a derogatory description of the courtly connections and the comparison with other forms of worldly links seems to emphasize the value of spiritual relations over any other connection, including those established within the royal circle. Another interesting case to analyse is CSM 292, the protagonist of which is Alfonso X's father, King Ferdinand III, whose relationship with the Virgin is described as follows:

Se el leal contra ela | foi, tan leal a achou,  
 que en todo-los seus feitos | atan ben o ajudou,  
 que quanto começar quisu | e acabar, acabou;  
 e se ben obrou por ela, ben ll'ar pagou seu jor[nal].

.....

Assi estes dous laes | lealdade fez amar,

ca el sempre e servia | e a sabia loar ;  
 e quand' algũa cidade | de mouros ya gãar,  
 ssa omagen na mezquita | pōya eno portal. (Lines 16–19; 26–29)

[If he bore loyalty toward Her, he found Her to be equally loyal,  
 for in all his deeds She aided him so well  
 that all he chose to begin and carry out, he achieved.  
 If he performed good service for Her, She generously paid him his  
 wages in return.

.....

Thus the bond of loyalty made these two loyal hearts love each other,  
 for he always served Her and rendered Her praise.  
 When he conquered some city from the Moors,  
 he placed Her statue in the portico of the mosque.]

As for any other form of pure friendship the key words remain mutual love, goodness, loyalty and respect. Although the relationship between the king and the Virgin would have been impossible according to Aristotle's theory of equality, in fact it was established thanks to the privileged and moral position of the king, which allowed him to bridge the gap existing between them, without reaching ever a perfectly symmetrical position. In fact, not only the sovereign's social prestige, but also his personal values and virtues, allowed him to be elevated to the role of one of the Holy Lady's friends.

Similarly, CSM 321 attests the king's virtuous and loyal behavior by showing how he never tried to take advantage from his privileged status. In a largely superstitious context, where the majority of people were uneducated, the monarch could have been easily tempted to overuse his power. This happened, for instance, in the medieval English and French courts, in which the rulers claimed the miraculous thaumaturgical power of curing illnesses associated with tuberculosis, creating in this way the myth of the royal touch. As pointed out by O'Callaghan, in the Iberian Peninsula there was neither literary nor historic evidence of the existence of the royal healing phenomenon.<sup>61</sup> The above-mentioned CSM 321 is a valid demonstration: a young girl suffering from an incurable throat disease, after many years of medical treatments given by doctors and physicians, was brought by her mother—who followed a good man's advice—in front of Alfonso X as the last attempt to rescue her. Wisely, Alfonso X did not claim any divine gift, although the devotee's invocation offered him the easy opportunity to make people believe in such a pretentious ability. On the contrary, he addressed the

<sup>61</sup> Joseph F. O'Callaghan, "The *Cantigas de Santa María* as a Historical Source: Two Examples (nos. 321 and 386)," *Studies on the Cantigas de Santa María: Art, Music, and Poetry: Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Cantigas de Santa María of Alfonso X, el Sabio (1221–1284) in Commemoration of Its 700th Anniversary Year—1981 (New York, November 19–21)*, ed. Israel J. Katz, John E. Keller, Samuel G. Armistead, and Joseph Thomas Snow. Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies (Madison, WI: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1987), 387–402.

devotee's pleas to the Virgin, the only one who could have cured her sick daughter. In terms of love, respect and trust the king earned more by behaving in such a way than by entering into an ambitious competition with the Holy Lady which would have had as a result his being regarded as a betrayer.

Alfonso X, as revealed in some of his works, aimed at garnering both respect as a lord and love as a friend from his subjects. Obviously, had he taken on the role of Mary's antagonist, by promoting himself as her worldly peer, he would not have received supernatural aid. Therefore, we can infer that the necessity of equality between friends, in this case at least, has to be rejected in order to allow such connections between the two worlds to persist. The reason for such a statement appears quite clear: had the sovereign claimed supernatural powers arrogantly and unfairly, or professed an undifferentiated position with the Virgin, he would have lost the privilege to be considered her friend. Although it could appear contradictory, true friendship was possible only if the king acted in a respectful attitude of love and vassalage toward the Virgin. Needless to say, the Alfonsine Marian production illustrates this point: the poems dedicated to the Virgin represent the homage of a man who was at the same time her lover, vassal, friend and servant and who was always positioned, despite his royalty and his role of "vicar of God," a step lower than her golden throne.

To conclude, an interesting consideration emerges from the analysis of the different typologies of spiritual friendship hitherto examined, which is how the idea of mutuality challenged the innate antithesis existing between unequal parties and, in particular, between secular and supernatural figures. In fact, also in cases of connections between representatives of the two worlds, love could not be given univocally. Human believers had to show their pure affection and benevolence only if they were respected and awarded with mutual favours by their holy counterparts. Nevertheless, these connections could be regarded as forms of mutual, but not equal, love since the gap existing between the involved parties was unbridgeable. For this reason, most of the relationships between holy figures and humans, even if described in terms of friendship, presented signs and peculiarities typical of the bonds linking the highest figures with their subordinates and, in particular, they recalled the structure and rituals of vassalic relationships and, similarly, that of courtly love. Moreover, unselfish pure love and friendship were usually eclipsed by personal interests and material goals. On the one hand, the most common claims which the believers addressed to the Virgin and the saints were final salvation, redemption from their sins, and rescue from dangers and illnesses. On the other hand, the sovereign invoked the Holy powers and claimed, in the name of his friendship with them, to be supported in the Christian wars against the infidels, to be delighted by friendship and to discern the true signs of amity in those who surrounded him. With the CSM Alfonso X and



his scriptorium managed to create a work which explored such “spiritual connections,” even if they were clearly presented as metaphors of the most pragmatic and secular bonds established with and between men. Whether these two worlds, the secular and the spiritual, were factually connected or not, Alfonso X declared himself to be linked to both these dimensions in a sacred amity chain and, in such a way, he managed to hold the wide consensus of his subjects, without denying or usurping the roles and positions attributed to the Holy powers.



## Chapter 14

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### The Spiritual Friendship of Henry Suso and Elsbeth Stigel

The search for authentic women's voices in religious literature of the Middle Ages has been frustrated and frequently foiled by the gendering of textual transmission. As Catherine Mooney notes: "Women's words almost invariably reach us only after having passed through the filters of their male confessors, patrons, and scribes."<sup>1</sup> This realization has sparked three productive decades of feminist research, in which scholars subjected medieval attitudes toward gender, power, and hierarchy to critical analysis.<sup>2</sup> When examining interactions between confessor and female disciple, such as between Raymond of Capua and Catherine of Siena, most of these commentators assume an adversarial relationship between the will of the confessor and his female disciple's desire for God, with the goal of unmasking the confessor's primary motivation to be the preservation of male and ecclesiastical power.<sup>3</sup> Similar assumptions have shaped studies of the relationship

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<sup>1</sup> *Gendered Voices: Medieval Saints and their Interpreters*, ed. Catherine M. Mooney. The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 7.

<sup>2</sup> For insightful studies of this phenomenon, see Ursula Peters, *Religiöse Erfahrung als literarisches Faktum: Zur Vorgeschichte und Genese frauenmystischer Texte des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts*. Hermaea, Neue Folge, 56 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1988); *Gendered Voices*, ed. Mooney; and John Wayland Coakley, *Women, Men, and Spiritual Power: Female Saints and their Male Collaborators* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006).

<sup>3</sup> In the case of Raymond and Catherine, Karen Scott and Thomas Luongo rightly question whether prominent events in Raymond's hagiographical account, such as Catherine's extreme asceticism, reflect Catherine's life as portrayed in her meditations and letters, Raymond's spiritual agenda, the genre requirements of hagiography, or the desire to control a blood mysticism that Raymond was incapable of comprehending. See Karen Scott, "Mystical Death, Bodily Death: Catherine of Siena and Raymond of Capua on the Mystic's Encounter with God," *Gendered Voices*, 136–67; and Thomas Luongo, "Catherine of Siena: Rewriting Female Holy Authority," *Women, the Book, and the Godly: Selected Proceedings of the St. Hilda's Conference, 1993*, ed. Lesley Smith and Jane H. M.

between the fourteenth-century Dominican mystic Henry Suso and his spiritual daughter, Elsbeth Stigel, as depicted in their letters and in Suso's *Vita*.<sup>4</sup> Ulrike Wiethaus concludes, for example, that Suso "used the vernacular to discipline and contain women under his pastoral care and to demarcate female spirituality as inferior to his own."<sup>5</sup> Scholars of the *cura monialium* have explored the implications of such exploitation for the nun/disciple's spiritual development along the lines of Wiethaus, even if they reach less critical conclusions.

In this article I propose to re-examine the relationship between Suso and Stigel using medieval notions of spiritual friendship, that is, using ideals of *amicitia* and *caritas* as prescribed and depicted in didactic texts that were recommended reading in fourteenth-century Dominican convents.<sup>6</sup> At first glance this approach seems to raise more questions than it answers. Given the biological, psychological, and spiritual differences that were understood to exist between the sexes in the Middle Ages, was it possible for friars and nuns in the Order of Preachers to imagine a relationship between a religious man and a religious woman in terms of spiritual friendship? Could the expectations governing the hierarchical relationship of confessor and *discipula* within the *cura monialium* include any notion of spiritual friendship? And perhaps most central in the context of medieval mentalities: if we see Elsbeth Stigel as an exemplary nun, which is how she is presented in Suso's *Vita*, how could any notion of spiritual friendship bridge the

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Taylor (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK, and Rochester, NY: D. S. Brewer, 1995), 89–111.

<sup>4</sup> As Bernard McGinn notes: "... It is safe to say that no fourteenth-century mystic was more widely read and none was more representative of the many strands of the mysticism of the century than this Dominican friar." See Bernard McGinn, "Henry Suso's Spiritual Philosophy," *The Harvest of Mysticism in Medieval Germany (1300–1500)*. The Presence of God: A History of Western Christian Mysticism (New York: Herder & Herder, 2005), 407–31; here 195. All references to Suso's *Vita* are taken from Karl Bihlmeyer, ed., *Deutsche Schriften von Heinrich Seuse* (Frankfurt am Main: Minerva, 1961). The English translation is from Frank J. Tobin, ed., *Henry Suso: the Exemplar, with two German Sermons*. The Classics of Western Spirituality (New York: Paulist Press, 1989). For useful studies of major themes in the *Vita* itself, see Walter Blank, "Heinrich Seuses 'Vita': Literarische Gestaltung und pastorale Funktion seines Schrifttums," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 122 (1993): 285–311; Christine Pleuser, "Tradition und Ursprünglichkeit in der Vita Seuses," *Heinrich Seuse; Studien zum 600. Todestag, 1366–1966*, ed. Ephrem Filthaut (Cologne: Albertus Magnus Verlag, 1966), 135–60; and Frank Tobin, "Henry Suso and Elsbeth Stigel: Was the *Vita* a Cooperative Effort?" *Gendered Voices*, 118–35.

<sup>5</sup> Ulrike Wiethaus, "Thieves and Carnivals: Gender in German Dominican Literature of the Fourteenth Century," *The Vernacular Spirit: Essays on Medieval Religious Literature*, ed. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, Duncan Robertson and Nancy Bradley Warren (New York and Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, England: Palgrave MacMillan, 2002), 209–38; here 226.

<sup>6</sup> Some of the ideas expressed in this article were presented at a series of sessions on *amicitia* in the Middle Ages at the 44th International Congress on Medieval Studies in Kalamazoo, MI, in the Spring of 2009. The sessions were organized by Albrecht Classen of The University of Arizona, Tucson.

gulf created by the successful estrangement from the worldly that defines the saintly life?<sup>7</sup> All of these questions arise in the assumption that true friendship can emerge only under conditions of equality and unanimity between two human beings.

Yet even the briefest survey of treatises on friendship in coenobitic life throughout the Middle Ages puts into question the assumption that friendship can only be defined according to the Ciceronian ideal of “complete identity of feeling about all things divine and human, as strengthened by mutual good will and affection.”<sup>8</sup> Indeed, the early Christian reception of classical ideals of *amicitia* not only included but also transcended Ciceronian principles of mutuality, equality, and reciprocity that also underlie most modern assumptions about friendship.<sup>9</sup> This begins with the most basic definition of a friend, which first appears in the writings of Gregory the Great and eventually finds its way into Isidore of Seville’s *Etymologiae*: the friend as *custos animi*, someone who accepts responsibility for another person’s well-being and salvation, who cultivates a knowledge of this person’s inner life, and whose relationship exhibits a spiritual dimension. As Brian McGuire points out, this bond, as defined by Gregory and Isidore, “does not necessarily imply equality or even mutuality.”<sup>10</sup> As a matter of fact, friendship was often described in terms of spiritual guardianship and was portrayed as the bond of spiritual father to son, regardless of the age or standing of the two monastics involved.

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<sup>7</sup> For useful introductions to the life and works of Elsbeth Stagel, see *Bibliographie zur deutschen Frauenmystik des Mittelalters*, ed. Gertrud Jaron Lewis, Frank Willaert, and Marie-José Govers. *Bibliographien zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters*, 10 (Berlin: Schmidt, 1989), 304–10; Gertrud Jaron Lewis, *By Women, for Women, about Women: The Sister-Books of Fourteenth-Century Germany* (Toronto, Ontario: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1996), 21–26; Alois Haas, “Stagel, Elsbeth, OP.” *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, ed. Kurt Ruh, et al. 2nd completely revised ed. (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 1977), Vol. 9, cols. 219–25. For the most convincing refutation of the historicity of Stagel as the author of the Töß Sisterbook, see Klaus Grubmüller, “Die Viten der Schwestern von Töß und Elsbeth Stagel,” *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 98 (1969): 171–204.

<sup>8</sup> Brian Patrick McGuire, *Friendship and Community: The Monastic Experience, 350–1250*. Cistercian Studies Series, 95 (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1988), xv.

<sup>9</sup> McEvoy’s insight, although polemically stated, seems fitting in this case: “. . . [Modern] culture which prizes individual autonomy above virtue and community, an attitude which regards equality as a democratic norm and which views authority essentially as something intrusive, and a mentality for which sin and salvation are at best only abstract notions, cannot be expected to interpret the historical reality of this sort of friendship with any true empathy.” See James McEvoy, “The Theory of Friendship in the Latin Middle Ages: Hermeneutics, Contextualization and the Transmission and Reception of Ancient Texts and Ideas, from c. AD 350 to c. 1500,” *Friendship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Julian Haseldine (Stroud: Sutton, 1999), 3–44; here 10.

<sup>10</sup> McGuire, *Friendship and Community*, xv.

Biblical models of friendship as *caritas* also serve to refute the accompanying assumption that inequality in power or knowledge must be seen as a barrier to friendship in exemplary texts of the Middle Ages. The most famous passage on friendship may be found in the teachings of Jesus himself, as described in the Gospel of John. Here love for one another is modeled solely on Jesus' love for his disciples, and friendship is presented as unconditional and made possible only through obedience.<sup>11</sup> So ideal friendship actually presupposes an imbalance of power and knowledge between the lover and the beloved. Obedience is the principal basis for discipleship, not only in this gospel passage, but also among the Desert Fathers, as we shall see below. Obedience and interaction bring greater insight and discernment; the love of Jesus and the experience of his wisdom accompany the transition from slavery to friendship. "Knowledge and awareness of the Father's nature (which is *agape*) and of his will, is now held in common by the teacher and his disciples; it forms the foundation for their communion."<sup>12</sup>

Gender lines also seem to blur when spiritual friendship becomes the focus. The exemplary spiritual friendship most often cited from the Scriptures in the Middle Ages, that of David and Jonathan, is noteworthy in the degree that it plays with gender expectations in order to model *amicitia*. In the Vulgate, David describes his love for Jonathan as surpassing that of a woman, as comparable to the love of a mother for her only son.<sup>13</sup> Monastic readers/listeners would therefore have felt quite at home with descriptions of love being so strong between the flawed yet greatest King of Israel and his favorite warrior that it only could be described by fracturing gender lines. Such depth of feeling was felt to be a principal province of feminine love, and the medieval reader trained in allegorical exegesis would have been reminded of Mary's love for her son, as depicted in the iconography of the Madonna and, in the fourteenth century, in that of the *pietà*.<sup>14</sup>

The communal ideal of friendship envisioned in the Rule of Augustine, as adapted for Dominican friars and nuns, is unthinkable without the principle of universal sharing as described in Acts 4: 32–35. This extended from material possessions — "Not a man of them claimed any of his possessions as his own, but everything

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<sup>11</sup> McGuire, *Friendship and Community*, xxv.

<sup>12</sup> McEvoy, "The Theory of Friendship," 30. See also Caroline Walker Bynum, *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 129–69.

<sup>13</sup> McGuire, *Friendship and Community*, xvii–xviii.

<sup>14</sup> For medieval notions of transcendent love, see the chapters "Sublime Love," and "Love beyond the Body," C. Stephen Jaeger, *Ennobling Love. In Search of a Lost Sensibility*. Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 109–27. A good source on the *pietà* is Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex. The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1977).

was held in common"—to communal spiritual existence—the whole body of believers was united in heart and soul."<sup>15</sup> McEvoy stresses that this included "the moral and spiritual goods of character, of thought and ideas, of faith and hope, of prayer and love."<sup>16</sup> Here Augustine evoked the spiritual friendship of the ideal community, defined by the Apostle Paul as a spiritual body in Christ: "so all of us, united with Christ, form one body, serving individually as limbs and organs to one another."<sup>17</sup> Augustine saw such spiritual sharing manifesting itself in "the philosophical search for truth; the mental and spiritual unity which that pilgrimage creates between and among friends; the trust and freedom of speech that result; [and] the realization of happy living in true friendship."<sup>18</sup>

Our brief survey of medieval models for *amicitia* and *caritas* yields two premises that will underlie the following investigations. First, we have seen how spiritual friendship did not have to be defined by mutuality and equality. Second, discrepancies in power or differences in gender were not seen as barriers to spiritual friendship in monastic communities. So the question is not *whether* medieval notions of *amicitia* and *caritas* could be applied to the relationship between Henry Suso and Elsbeth Stigel as ideally depicted in Suso's *Vita*, but rather *how* these notions were meant to be applied. The critical context for discussion is comparative; the narrative division of Suso's *Vita* into two lives encouraged the intended audience, identified as beginners of both genders within the Order of Preachers, to ponder how Stigel's spiritual progress related to that of her mentor.<sup>19</sup>

In keeping with recent trends in medieval scholarship that seek to move beyond generalizations concerning the entire Middle Ages, the initial discussion of "medieval" notions of friendship now shifts to three didactic models central to the Order of Preachers in the fourteenth century: first, the communal ideal of spiritual

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<sup>15</sup> Nec quisquam eorum quae possidebant aliquid suum esse dicebat sed errant illis omnia communia [and] ita multi unum corpus sumus in Christo singuli autem alter alterius membra. Quoted in McEvoy, "Theory of Friendship," 8–9. All quotations from the Vulgate are from the *Biblia sacra: iuxta Vulgatam versionem*, ed. Bonifatius Fischer, Robert Weber, and Roger Gryson (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994).

Whenever the Vulgate and modern editions coincide, the translation is from *The New English Bible with the Apocrypha. Oxford Study Edition*, ed. Samuel Sandmel, M. Jack Suggs, and Arnold J. Tkacik (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976).

<sup>16</sup> McEvoy, "Theory of Friendship," 9.

<sup>17</sup> Romans 12:5.

<sup>18</sup> McEvoy, "Theory of Friendship," 20. The most eloquent medieval description of such principles at work in the monastic setting is the treatise *On Spiritual Friendship* by Aelred of Rievaulx, which models the complete co-dependence in Christ while maintaining the authority of Aelred to "teach, lead, rule, and guide" his spiritual disciples. See McEvoy, "Theory of Friendship," 11.

<sup>19</sup> "Ein recht anvahender mensch" (a beginner), Bihlmeyer, *Seusebuch*, 3, 4–5 (Tobin, *Exemplar*, 57).

friendship as exemplified in the Rule of St. Augustine and modified for both male and female Dominican communities; second, relationships between *abbas* and female disciples as depicted in vernacular adaptations of the lives of the Desert Fathers; and, finally, the ideal of spiritual friendship as described in references to the *amici dei*, or Friends of God, prominently cited in the writings of Suso and some of his contemporaries. Let us now examine how the friendship of Suso and Stigel was understood to reflect the Augustinian ideal of *monos*, as modified to promote the goals of reformers within the Order of Preachers in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

### The Ideal of Communal Friendship in the Rule of St. Augustine

Since the Augustinian Rule was the basis for communal life among both men and women in the Order of Preachers, Augustine's notion of love in community as it relates to friendship will require particular attention.<sup>20</sup> Although it was not possible for Henry Suso and Elsbeth Stigel to be members of the same monastery, their relationship was shaped by their membership in the same order, in exemplary figures like St. Dominic and St. Catherine; and by responsibilities demanded of both parties in the *cura monialium*. In Suso's *Vita*, their relationship is depicted as developing through infrequent contact, correspondence, and collaboration on the production of Suso's writings. Their ideals of friendship were shaped in part by Augustinian notions and principles and are particularly germane regarding issues of power and authority. As I mentioned briefly in my introduction, the Biblical basis for Augustinian communal relationship was the description of the Jerusalem community in Acts. Members of a community founded in divine love were to become a *monos*, or one single person or being under the motto, "Together one, in the one Christ, on the way to the one Father."<sup>21</sup> This communal love encompassed all dimensions of life, from the purely material to the moral to the spiritual. Furthermore, its most meaningful aspect transcends distance and space: "Not only each individual became God's temple," Augustine writes in his sermon on Psalm 131, "but all of them together."<sup>22</sup>

Nowhere is the triumph of friendship over distance more apparent than in the letter that Suso writes to a spiritual daughter on her deathbed. The dying nun is

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<sup>20</sup> All references to the Augustinian Rule in this section are to *The Rule of Saint Augustine: Masculine and Feminine Versions*, ed. Tarsicius J. van Bavel (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1984).

<sup>21</sup> Bavel, ed., *Rule of St. Augustine*, 45.

<sup>22</sup> Bavel, ed., *Rule of St. Augustine*, 59.



called “siner liebsten geischlichen kinden eins” (one of the servant’s dearest spiritual children).<sup>23</sup> The motto of the letter is a paraphrase from II Samuel, where King David is so distraught at the news of the death of his rebellious son Absalom that he endangers the coalition he built in order to save his throne and must be reproved by his own general, Joab. For Suso’s audience of beginners, a direct connection is established between the fatherly devotion of David and Suso’s devotion to his spiritual daughter: “Kind mins, wer git einem getruwen vatter, daz ich fur min liebes wolgeraten kind sterbe? Stirb ich nit liplich, so stirb ich aber herzeklich mit dem geminten kind meines herzen” (My child, who will allow me, a devoted father, to die in place of my dear daughter who turned out so well? If I do not die physically, I certainly die in spirit along with the beloved child of my heart).<sup>24</sup> Here the constraints of gender are shattered by love. That distance and enclosure are overcome by spiritual friendship is evident when Suso writes, “Ich bin liplich verr von dir, aber min herz stat vor dinem todbete mit bitren trehen und getruwer klage” (I am physically far away from you, but my heart is present at your death-bed with bitter tears and loyal lament).<sup>25</sup>

The joining of diverse spiritual destinies is only possible, according to Augustine, through true reciprocity of divine gifts. And here it is essential to grasp that reciprocity is in no way equal to uniformity. Each brother or sister is expected to contribute according to the talents and limitations that God has bestowed on him or her. “Uniformity reduces people to ciphers and effectively means the destruction of a personality. Love, on the other hand, respects what is characteristic of each person with his different needs and gifts, his own irreplaceable temperament and character.”<sup>26</sup> Along with respect for the differing gifts of one’s sisters and brothers come expectations of sincerity, indeed, merciless frankness in regard to the failure to live properly. As Augustine writes in his sermon on the First Letter of John, “Do not think that you love your servant just because you refrain from striking him, or that you love your child if you do not bother to teach him discipline . . . This is not love, but weakness.”<sup>27</sup> We find precisely this combination of frankness and mutual respect in Suso’s *Vita*, when the beginner Elsbeth Stagel engages in extreme asceticism in emulation of the Desert Fathers and Suso himself.<sup>28</sup> Suso forbids it, saying, “Liebu tochter, wilt du

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<sup>23</sup> Bihlmeyer, *Seusebuch*, 378, 22 (Tobin, *Exemplar*, 349).

<sup>24</sup> Bihlmeyer, *Seusebuch*, 378, 25–27 (Tobin, *Exemplar*, 349).

<sup>25</sup> Bihlmeyer, *Seusebuch*, 378, 27–29 (Tobin, *Exemplar*, 349).

<sup>26</sup> Bavel, ed., *Rule of St. Augustine*, 53.

<sup>27</sup> Bavel, ed., *Rule of St. Augustine*, 60.

<sup>28</sup> On the question of gender and asceticism in the *Vita*, see my chapter, “The Spiritual Journeys of Henry Suso and Elsbeth Stagel,” in David F. Tinsley, *The Scourge and the Cross: Ascetic Mentalities of the Later Middle Ages*. Mediaevalia Groningana, 14 (Paris, Leuven, and Walpole, MA: Peeters, 2010), 103–32.

din geischliches leben nah miner lere rihten, als du es an mich hast gevordret, so lasse soelich ubrig strenkheit underwegen, wan es diner froewlichen krankheit und wol geordneten nature nit zuo gehoeret" (Dear daughter, if you intend to order your spiritual life according to my teachings, as you had requested of me, then put aside such exaggerated severity because it is out of keeping with your weakness as a woman and your physical well-being).<sup>29</sup> Stigel is not satisfied with this explanation. "Sie begerte von im ze wussene, war umbe er so streng uebung heti gehabt, und er daz selb weder ir noh andren menschen woelti raten" (She asked him to tell her why he had practiced such severe austerities and yet did not want to advise them for her or others).<sup>30</sup> Stigel is then persuaded by Suso to abandon "extreme discipline" in favor of God-given illness for the rest of her life. The didactic message here is not, as some have claimed, that women are incapable of using extreme discipline to make the spirit ascend beyond the demands of the body, but rather, as Suso illustrates through the examples of Peter and John, that God's choice is appropriate to Stigel's individual nature.

Reciprocity is also defined in the Rule in such a way as to take differences in authority, worldly possessions and spiritual development into account. Stigel is Suso's "spiritual daughter." When he agrees to assume the role of Father and when she assents to becoming his spiritual daughter, an interesting reciprocity emerges between obedience and obligation. The superior can expect obedience, but he himself must acknowledge his role as servant of those he serves: "Because of your esteem for him he shall be superior to you; because of his responsibility to God he shall realize that he is the very least of all the brethren."<sup>31</sup> Augustine uses the dichotomy of wealth and poverty to illustrate the mutual obligation he has in mind, with an emphasis that is counterintuitive to our modern sensibilities. For example, those accustomed to wealth and privilege before entering the monastery, Augustine writes, have the right to receive a *greater* share of goods held in common so that they may more easily adjust; the physically more vigorous should expect to receive less because they are better able to cope; whereas the former slaves or poor people should not demand too much and should simply be grateful for what they have.<sup>32</sup> Augustine regards brotherhoods where the formerly wealthy are always expected to sacrifice as illustrating a lack of community; sacrifice must be practiced by all.

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<sup>29</sup> Bihlmeyer, *Seusebuch* 107, 7–11 (Tobin, *Exemplar*, 139–40).

<sup>30</sup> Bihlmeyer, *Seusebuch* 107, 18–20 (Tobin, *Exemplar*, 140). This interpretation follows logically from the topos of the weak woman in medieval religious writing. See the chapter "Flaws in the Golden Bowl," Barbara Newman, *From Virile Woman to WomanChrist: Studies in Medieval Religion and Literature*. Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), 18–45.

<sup>31</sup> Bavel, ed., *Rule of St. Augustine*, 23.

<sup>32</sup> Bavel, ed., *Rule of St. Augustine*, 14–15.

The reciprocity in relationships is further governed by each individual's motivation. In the original Augustinian rule, the motivating principle is humility: "In love one becomes, as it were, alienated from oneself through the acknowledgement of the other with whom one is face to face."<sup>33</sup> It is in the constant readiness to acknowledge one's own shortcomings that the potential for *monos* arises. Under two major reform movements in the Order of Preachers, first in the fourteenth and then in the fifteenth century, this Augustinian ideal of humility slowly yielded to a greater emphasis on renunciation and asceticism. Philosophical models for reciprocal renunciation were found in the writings of John Cassian, who insisted that true friendship "consists of contempt for worldly substance and scorn for all we possess."<sup>34</sup>

Suso himself looked to the Desert Fathers for models of friendship born in austerity. Key anecdotes such as the parable of the doormat illustrate the absolute asceticism which inextricably linked the Desert Fathers with their Dominican brothers and sisters.<sup>35</sup>

Moyses wart von brudern gebetten das er si etwas lerte. Do hies er Zachariam seinen jvngern etwas sagen. Der leite sinen mantel nider vnd trat dar vf vnd knat in vnder den fvessen und sprach: Wer sich also nvt zertretten lat, der mag ein mvnich nvt sin.<sup>36</sup>

[Moses was asked by the brothers to instruct them in something. He bade his disciple Zacharias to speak. Zacharias laid his robe on the ground and trampled and scuffed it with his feet and said: "Whoever is not prepared to let himself be abused in this fashion, is not fit to become a monk."]

Suso subtly manipulates the central allegory of the desert source by changing the identity of the defacing subject.

Do sah er einen hund, der luf enmitten in dem krúzungang und truog ein verschlissen fuosstuocho umbe in dem munde, und hat wunderlich geberde mit dem fuostuocho; er

<sup>33</sup> Bavel, ed., *Rule of St. Augustine*, 55.

<sup>34</sup> McEvoy, "Theory of Friendship," 19–20.

<sup>35</sup> Werner Williams-Krapp, "'Nucleus totius perfectionis.' Die Altvaterspiritualität in der 'vita' Heinrich Seuses," *Festschrift Walter Haug und Burghart Wachinger*, ed. Johannes Janota, Walter Haug, and Burghart Wachinger, vol. 2 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1992), 402–41; here 414–15, confirms this connection. See also Marie Hohenstein-Hasler, "Studien zur Vita Heinrich Seuses," *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Kirchengeschichte. Sonderdruck* 62 (1968): 13–163; especially the section "Der Hund mit dem Fußtuch" (125–27). See also Jeffrey F. Hamburger, "Fathers and Daughters: Images in the *cura monialium*," *The Visual and the Visionary. Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany* (New York: Zone Books, 1998), 227–32.

<sup>36</sup> (20/VII, 9:2). All quotations from the Middle High German adaptation of the *Vitaspatrum* are from *Die "Alemannischen Vitaspatrum": Untersuchungen und Edition*, ed. Ulla Williams. *Texte und Textgeschichte*, 45 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1996), 217. The translations are my own, unless otherwise indicated.

warf es uf, er warf es nider, und zarte loecher darin in. Also sah er auf und ersufzet inneklich, und ward in ime gesprochen: 'reht also wirst du in diner bruoder munde.'<sup>37</sup>

[There he saw a dog running around in the cloisters, dragging a tattered doormat in his mouth. He had a strange way of playing with the mat. He would throw it in the air and then to the ground, tearing holes in it. Then the servant looked upward and sighed within himself, and it was said to him: "Exactly this shall happen to you in the mouths of your fellow friars."]

Tobin reads "bruoder" to mean Suso's fellow friars; since the dog was the symbol of the Dominicans, this makes sense. I prefer to see it in a broader sense as well, meaning those dearest to the servant. In either case *amicitia* is engendered through each brother's or sister's willingness to endure patiently whatever suffering God brings.

. . . Sid es anders nut mag gesin, so gib dich dar in, und luog eben, wie sich daz fuosstuoch swigende ubel lat handeln: daz tuo och du!<sup>38</sup>

[. . . Since it cannot be any other way, dedicate yourself completely to this and behold exactly how the foot-cloth allows itself to be the object of evil, all without making a sound. This you, too, must do.]

In the third letter, Suso links this bond of *amicitia* created through suffering with the love of King Solomon for the Queen of Sheba, who despite her black countenance became Solomon's favorite among all of his wives. Here the link is not to Stigel directly, but rather to the spiritual role that Suso and Stigel share: "Du swerzu lutseligu moerin, die got vor andren wol gevellet, ist ein gotlidender mensch, den got mit emzigm lidene uebet und in mit gedultiger gelazsenheit begabet" (The charming black Moorish girl who pleases God more than all others is a God-suffering person whom God tries with constant sufferings and endows with patient detachment).<sup>39</sup> The essential qualities are two: first, that the person undergo incessant suffering through the will and hand of God, and, second, that the person have developed spiritually in order to achieve a state of detachment that transcends the fallen state of the soul in the depravity of the world. It is no accident, then, that Suso confides to Stigel at the end of the third letter that he had considered sending her the doormat as a gift, the very same doormat that is the symbol of suffering in the *Vita*. He confesses that he is too attached to it and has decided to keep it.

So we have seen how the Augustinian ideal of *monos* created in humility has been transformed into a *monos* created through suffering, and how such suffering

<sup>37</sup> Bihlmeyer, *Seusebuch*, 59, 6–11 (Tobin, *Exemplar*, 101).

<sup>38</sup> Bihlmeyer, *Seusebuch*, 59, 11–13 (Tobin, *Exemplar*, 101).

<sup>39</sup> Bihlmeyer, *Seusebuch*, 367, 11–14 (Tobin, *Exemplar*, 340).

underlies the *amicitia* that develops between the confessor Henry Suso and his spiritual daughter Elsbeth Stigel. It is now time to explore which further dimensions of their relationship are revealed in a comparative study of the *Vita* with the life of Maria Meretrix, as recounted in vernacular adaptations of the *Lives of the Desert Fathers*.

## Desert Fathers and their Daughters

Relationships between *abbas* and disciples, as portrayed in the *Vitaspatrum*, almost certainly provided additional models of spiritual friendship for the interactions of Henry Suso and Elsbeth Stigel.<sup>40</sup> Although unique to the desert tradition, the relationship between *abba* and disciple had in common with Gregory and Isidore “the direction of the inner life of disciples by a spiritual father who exercised prayerful counsel and pastoral care in their regard, and who was their guide in the discernment of spirits.”<sup>41</sup> We may assume that both friars and nuns would have been familiar with the lives of the Desert Fathers because they “von Anfang an eine herausragende Bedeutung für das Selbstverständnis des Dominikanerordens gehabt hatten” (had from the beginning an extraordinary significance for the identity of the Dominican order).<sup>42</sup> Vernacular adaptations of the *Vitaspatrum* “gehörten zum Lektürekanon für die zur Mystik neigenden Dominikanerinnen des Südwestens” (were part of the reading regimen for those Dominican nuns of the southwestern regions who felt drawn to the practice of mysticism).<sup>43</sup> And we have noted that Suso recommends the lives of the Desert Fathers to Stigel as the best possible reading for a spiritual beginner who wishes to learn true discernment.

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<sup>40</sup> All quotations from the *Vita* of Maria Meretrix are from Williams, ed., *AVP*, (See Note 36). For helpful introductions to the medieval reception of the *Vitaspatrum*, see the article by Kunze, Williams, and Kaiser, “Information und innere Formung,” as well as Ulla Williams’ introduction to her edition. For the influence of the Desert Fathers on Dominican spirituality, see Williams-Krapp, “Altväterspiritualität,” 402–41. See also Jeffrey F. Hamburger, “The Illustrations in the *Vitae Patrum*,” *The Rothschild Canticles: Art and Mysticism in Flanders and the Rhineland circa 1300* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 144–54. A useful standard work on the Latin tradition is Columba M. Battle, *Die “Adhortationes sanctorum patrum” (“Verba seniorum”) im lateinischen Mittelalter; Überlieferung, Fortleben und Wirkung. Beiträge zur Geschichte des alten Mönchtums und des Benediktinerordens*, 31 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1972).

<sup>41</sup> McEvoy, “Theory of Friendship,” 10. See Graham Gould, *The Desert Fathers on Monastic Community*. Oxford Early Christian Studies (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, Clarendon Press, 1993), for the extreme nature of the demands that could be imposed by the *abba*.

<sup>42</sup> Williams-Krapp, “Altväterspiritualität,” 410.

<sup>43</sup> Williams-Krapp, “Altväterspiritualität,” 410. See also Williams, ed., *AVP*, 4.

As a tale of a holy woman's fall and redemption, the *Vita* of Maria Meretrix found a place among the initial *vitae* of the *Vitaspatrum*-corpus, a compilation which remains relatively intact throughout the Middle Ages.<sup>44</sup> Unlike the brief *Gnadenviten* of holy penitents like Thaïs, Pelagia, and Maria Aegyptiaca that appear elsewhere in the *AVP*, Maria's *Vita*, beginning at age seven and continuing until her death, resembles in its scope that of the greatest penitent saint, Mary Magdalen.<sup>45</sup> The interaction of female disciple and male confessor structures the narrative, just as it does in Suso's *Vita*, although the Meretrix *Vita* relates Maria's fall and redemption, whereas Elsbeth Stigel experiences steady spiritual progress following her receiving from God the gift of life-long, serious illness.<sup>46</sup> In a reversal of the conclusion to Suso's *Vita*, Maria outlives Abraham, but visions confirm that both pairs end up in heaven.

Two key aspects of Suso's and Stigel's spiritual friendship resonate in the relationship of Maria Meretrix with the *abba* Abraham: the ties that unite them and the space that separates them. In the first instance, the love that Suso expresses for his spiritual daughter reflects little of the overt misogyny often voiced in the teachings of the desert hermits, where the realm of darkness and damnation is the city and virtue is defined by the absence of women.<sup>47</sup> This is also true of Abraham, who shows no hesitation in adopting Maria and providing for her. Whereas family obligations define an acceptable context for the spiritual relationship of Abraham and Maria to develop—Abraham is her uncle and takes her in upon her father's death—Suso's pastoral obligations are set forth in the rules governing the *cura monialium* within the Order of Preachers, which allow contacts in which *amicitia* might flourish. In the second instance, the spiritual friendship of Suso and Stigel

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<sup>44</sup> Maria's *Vita* was either transmitted as a separate text following the life of Abraham, as is the case in the Latin version and in the Williams edition, or it was made a part of Abraham's *Vita*, as in the *Väterbuch*. See Williams, ed., *AVP*, 43–44.

<sup>45</sup> For helpful introductions to the medieval traditions surrounding Mary Magdalen, see Madeleine Boxler, *'Ich bin ein predigerin und apostlerin': Die deutschen Maria Magdalena-Legenden des Mittelalters (1300–1550): Untersuchungen und Text*. Deutsche Literatur von den Anfängen bis 1700, 22 (Bern and New York: Peter Lang, 1996); Wiltrud aus der Füntten, *Maria Magdalena in der Lyrik des Mittelalters*. Wirkendes Wort Schriftenreihe, 3 (Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1966); Cornelia Elizabeth Catharina Maria van den Wildenberg-de Kroon, *Das Weltleben und die Bekehrung der Maria Magdalena im deutschen religiösen Drama und in der bildenden Kunst des Mittelalters*. Amsterdamer Publikationen zur Sprache und Literatur, 39 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1979); and Werner Williams-Krapp, "Maria Magdalena," *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, ed. Kurt Ruh et al. (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 1977), Vol. 5, cols. 1258–59.

<sup>46</sup> Leonard Patrick Hindsley, *The Mystics of Engelthal: Writings from a Medieval Monastery*. The Classics of Western Spirituality (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998).

<sup>47</sup> As I have shown elsewhere, several anecdotes and legends among the Desert accounts make the spiritual ascension of saintly women under the direction of an *abba* into the central theme. See my chapter "Exemplary Women in the Alemannische *Vitaspatrum*," Tinsley, *Scourge and Cross*, 77–102.

develops over distance.<sup>48</sup> Their contacts are depicted as infrequent at best; Stigel resides within her cloistered space near Zürich. Suso is based in Constance. Yet Suso and Stigel are both portrayed as voracious readers and prolific writers, with much of their interaction occurring through correspondence.<sup>49</sup> When Maria comes to Abraham, he has a separate cell constructed for her next to his with an intervening window, thereby allowing for oversight while at the same time restricting access within acceptable bounds (*AVP*, 165, 30–31).<sup>50</sup> Both the *abba* Abraham and the confessor Suso provide instruction: the former has Maria study the psalter and read excerpts from scriptures (*AVP*, 165, 31–32), whereas the latter asks Stigel to put off her study of Meister Eckhart until she is ready and provides the lives of the Desert Fathers as more suitable for a novice. Abraham's proximity does not imply daily contact; in fact, he is focused predominantly on his own spiritual path and only learns of her seduction and flight through a series of visions. Suso's distance does not imply spiritual separation, as the warmth of their letters attests.

There can be no doubt that Abraham takes on the exemplary role of *custos animi* within the Christian tradition of *amicitia*. But the *Meretrix Vita* describes a growing spiritual closeness that enables confessor and daughter to become "unum corpus in Christo." This is expressed indirectly in the *Meretrix Vita* in three ways. First, the two approach one another in spiritual development. Through her studies Maria achieves such a spiritual state that "si mit im alle heiligen zit begieng, vnd an vastenne vnd an wachenne, vnd allen geistlichen dingen sich im mocht gleichen" (she took part with him in exercises suitable for the holy hours, and even

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<sup>48</sup> The objection that the lack of daily interaction so typical in the desert accounts would preclude the development of *amicitia* is easily dispelled by models of spiritual friendship through correspondence throughout the Christian tradition, beginning with Paulinus of Nola in the 4th century, particularly ubiquitous in the Carolingian monastic tradition and finding frequent mention in the fourteenth century. The governing principle was "that those whose souls are fused by friendship or *caritas* can suffer no division through bodily absence or local separation." See McEvoy, "Theory of Friendship," 12–13.

<sup>49</sup> For a close look at Elsbeth Stigel as a writer, see Albrecht Classen, "From *Nonnenbuch* to Epistolarity: Elsbeth Stigel as a Late Medieval Woman Writer." *Medieval German Literature: Proceedings from the 23rd International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, Michigan, May 5–8, 1988*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik, 507 (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1989), 147–80. See also David F. Tinsley, "Gender and 'auctoritas,'" *The Scourge and the Cross*, 106–10.

<sup>50</sup> Editor's note: This is exactly the same narrative motif as in Hrotsvit of Gandersheim's play *Abraham*; see my article "Sex on the Stage in an Early Medieval Convent: Hrotsvita of Gandersheim. A Tenth-Century Convent Playwright's Successful Struggle Against the Roman Terence," to appear in: *Orbis Litterarum*. For a convenient and solid English translation, see Hrotsvit of Gandersheim, *A Florilegium of Her Works*. Trans. with Introduction, Interpretive Essay and Notes by Katharina M. Wilson. Library of Medieval Women (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1998).

began to equal him in fasting and in waking and in all spiritual things).<sup>51</sup> Second, the two emulate the apostles in their lack of concern for worldly goods. Abraham arranges for his brother's considerable wealth to be distributed among the poor, and Maria concurs in the decision wholeheartedly and without hesitation (*AVP* 166, 4–8). Third, their growing spiritual bond makes them a particularly attractive target for the machinations of the Devil, who schemes, “wie er si vervalte von ir reinem lebenne, vnd wie er och den guoten Abraham sin heilig herze verserte, wan er im in allen sinen tagen nie konde zuo komen” (how he could bring about Maria's fall from her purity of heart and how he could rip apart the heart of Abraham, as well, since he had been unable to get to him at any time during his life).<sup>52</sup>

Although Maria's seduction and fall occupy the rest of the *Vita*, the unknown author does not gender the susceptibility to sin. In the *Meretrix Vita* the seducer is a “false monk,” whose heart the Devil inflames with the fire of lust. Thus, Maria is portrayed as taking on Adam's role in the Fall, with the monk taking on Eve's instigator-role. Furthermore, the author of the *Vita* asserts that the seduction never would have happened had it not been for the *abba* Abraham's gullibility: “Do was sin heiliges herze als einualtig, das es des kunftigen schaden nit konde versehen, vnd so er wande das der munch in heiliger meinunge dar keme” (Here his saintly heart was so gullible that it could not foresee the future threat and thus he believed that the monk had come to him for saintly purposes).<sup>53</sup> Where we might have expected an appeal to gender as the reason for Maria's fall, we get instead a vulnerable male seducer and a gullible spiritual mentor. Similar surprises await the reader in the parallel fates that form the centerpiece of Suso's *Vita*. Despite the gender difference and Suso's position of power as Stigel's confessor and mentor, the spiritual beginner Stigel is portrayed as being superior to the youthful Suso in her ability to suffer as well as in her ability to discern the proper path.<sup>54</sup> Furthermore, Suso's spiritual guides and guardians along his long and twisted path to God are not elders of the Order itself, but almost exclusively wise women or female anchorites, some of whom are described as friends of God.

The spiritual state of the protagonists is signaled throughout the *Meretrix Vita* by extended first-person laments, which not only structure but also provide commentaries on events. Maria's heartfelt lament follows her seduction and fall. First she regrets the twenty years of spiritual exercises, the effect of which was

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<sup>51</sup> *AVP* 165,32–166, 2.

<sup>52</sup> *AVP* 166, 11–13.

<sup>53</sup> *AVP* 166, 18–20.

<sup>54</sup> Tinsley, *Scourge and Cross*, 131–33.



overcome in a moment of weakness. But she reserves her greatest regret for the injuries she has inflicted on her soulmate:

Owe nu hab ich mich selber nit allein ertoetet, ich han das rein herze vnd das tugenthafter herze mines liben verttern uf den tot och verwunt!...Owe was sine zarten getruwen ougen vnd lieben werdent gesechent trechen, dur roetet mit sines herzen bluot!

[Oh woe, now I have killed not only myself, I have wounded to the death the pure heart and virtuous heart of my dear cousin! . . . Oh woe, what sort of tears will fill his tender, faithful eyes so dear, running red with the blood of his heart!]<sup>55</sup>

After bemoaning her fall into the abyss away from God, the Virgin Mary and the heavenly host, she concludes her lament by invoking the window of wisdom through which she had been instructed all her young years. With this she falls into despair, the greatest distance from God that one can reach.

When Abraham finally learns of his niece's fate, his lament draws upon the parable of the good shepherd. Maria is the dear little sheep whom the wolf has stolen away. The depth of his attachment is expressed through a series of names invoking their relationship: "Mein herze liebes kint" (the child so dear to my heart), "min zarte tochter" (my sweet young daughter), and stressing their actual genealogical ties: "min us erwelte muome" (my chosen sister's daughter).<sup>56</sup> His devotion is so great that he leaves his cell, acquires armor, and, disguised as a knight, rides out in search of Maria, his lost sheep. (The knight persona also dominates the second stage of Suso's spiritual journey, in which he is called to suffer spiritually through the loss of everyone and everything he holds dear.<sup>57</sup>) The third great lament is delivered by Abraham to Maria as he unmask himself in the brothel where he has found her. He addresses her "Owe liebe min tochter" (Alas, my dear daughter), echoes her words of lament concerning the spiritual progress she had forfeited, and then concludes with the consoling words appropriate to the

<sup>55</sup> AVP 166,36–167,2.

<sup>56</sup> AVP 168, 1–2. Lexer defines *muome* as the sister of one's mother, but it could also denote a child related through one's sister. See the dictionaries by Georg Friedrich Benecke, Wilhelm Müller, Friedrich Zarncke, Matthias Lexer, and Kurt Gärtner, ed., *Mittelhochdeutsche Wörterbücher online*. <http://urts55.uni-trier.de:8080/Projekte/MWV/wbb>, Vol. 2, 240–42 (last accessed on Aug. 1, 2010).

<sup>57</sup> The classic study of this motif in Suso's *Vita* is Julius Schwietering, "Zur Autorschaft von Seuses 'Vita,'" *Altdeutsche und altniederländische Mystik*, ed. Kurt Ruh (1953; rpt. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1964), 309–23; and is modified and updated in Maria Bindschedler, "Seuses Begriff der Ritterschaft," *Heinrich Seuse; Studien zum 600. Todestag, 1366–1966*, ed. Ephrem Filthaut (Cologne: Albertus Magnus Verlag, 1966), 233–39. I argue in my *Scourge and the Cross*, 135–39, that the motif of the questing knight was meant to be applied only to the second stage of Suso's spiritual journey on the *via triplex*.

return of a penitent and which would transcend gender and power to make a universal statement about the human condition in a fallen world: "Es ist doch nieman ohne sunde, wan got allein" (There is no one without sin except for God alone).<sup>58</sup>

Fallen women do appear prominently in Suso's *Vita*, especially Suso's sister, whose flight from the convent, fall, and rescue from damnation are almost certainly modeled on the story of Maria Meretrix.<sup>59</sup> As with Maria Meretrix, Suso's sister's fall begins with her decision to leave her convent. She falls into bad company, commits unnamed but grievous sins and runs away in disgrace. The emphasis in Suso's *Vita* is very much on the damage she causes to his reputation. He is ostracized and shunned by many in his Order. But the moral lesson that the episode teaches is conveyed through models of spiritual friendship, especially in Suso's decision to search for his sister when everyone wants him to abandon her: "daz ir got niene me trúwen mugent geleisten noch im glicher gewuerken, denn an einer verworfenen súnderin und einem überladen herzen" (. . . You can never show God more true devotion, nor act more as he does, than in your relations with an outcast sinner and an overburdened heart).<sup>60</sup>

Here Suso's friendship with God, defined through devotion (*trúwe*), is demonstrated by his devotion to his outcast sister as her *custos animi*. When his sister confesses her sins she describes them as an offense against her status as *geswistergit* (sister's daughter)<sup>61</sup> and offers as penance to sever all ties of friendship with him: "Und ander gemeinsami ensol noch enmag ich niemer me von ú noch mit ú gehabt, wan daz sich úwrú ogen und oren min erschamen und erschrekn muessent" (From now on I shall not and cannot have any other relationship with you except that you feel shame and fright at the sight or sound of me).<sup>62</sup> Suso's response demonstrates the love of God that offers forgiveness: ". . . so wil ich . . . dich hût enphahen in der gnad und erbaermde, als ich beger, daz mich súndigen menschen der erbarmherzig go enphah an miner jungsten hinvar" (I . . . shall receive you today in grace and mercy, just as I want our merciful God to receive me, a sinner, at my final departure).<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> AVP, 171,1 and 171, 3.

<sup>59</sup> The pertinent chapter in Suso's *Vita* may be found in Bihlmeyer, *Seusebuch*, 70,17–74,10 (Tobin, *Exemplar*, 110–13).

<sup>60</sup> Bihlmeyer, *Seusebuch*, 72, 6–8 (Tobin, *Exemplar*, 112).

<sup>61</sup> Bihlmeyer 72,29. Lexer defines this as a synonym for "geswisterkint" or "muome." See Lexer, *Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch*, Vol. 1, 941–43.

<sup>62</sup> Bihlmeyer, *Seusebuch*, 73, 3–5 (Tobin, *Exemplar*, 112).

<sup>63</sup> Bihlmeyer, *Seusebuch*, 73, 21–23 (Tobin, *Exemplar*, 113).

The “woman with the heart of a wolf “ serves as a negative counter-exemplar to the steady spiritual progress made by Stigel and as a reminder that not every woman who falls into evil can be rescued and redeemed.<sup>64</sup> In a motif common to hagiography, she becomes pregnant and accuses Suso of being the father, thereby destroying his reputation and causing him great distress and spiritual suffering. Although this is just one of God’s gifts which, as promised, destroy everything he holds dear in this life, his steadfastness in suffering and willingness to become the foot-cloth for the diabolical curs that he meets result in God taking pity on him. Suso shows mercy to the bastard child, salvaging its soul, and the wolf-hearted woman is struck dead by an unknown illness.

Neither the penitent sister nor the wolf-hearted woman, then, is meant to be exemplary for Elsbeth Stigel, but her gift of serious illness and steady spiritual progress are set against positive and negative desert models of the penitent. Elsbeth’s spiritual journey exemplifies that of an eager servant who simply requires instruction in the proper path to true discernment. But the spiritual friendship that develops between *abba* and disciple, between Desert Father and spiritual daughter in the *Vita* of Maria Meretrix, is the principal model for the spiritual relationship exemplified by Henry Suso and Elsbeth Stigel in Suso’s *Vita*.

## The Spiritual Ideal of the Friends of God

The fourteenth-century Friends of God would appear at first glance to be the most promising model for Suso and Stigel’s spiritual friendship. Not only do these *gotesvründe* seem to provide an historical realization of the prescriptive and exemplary ideals that have occupied my analysis thus far; the word “vründ” in some variant finds mention forty-one times in Suso’s German writings.<sup>65</sup> But the status of the group itself remains problematical, not least because of the glaring discrepancy between the number of fourteenth-century luminaries that mention *amici dei* in their writings and the failure of repeated attempts to document the historical existence of any such community. In the words of Francis Rapp:

Die Ansicht, dass diese Gottesfreunde eine Art Kirche innerhalb der Kirche waren, die ein verborgener Oberhirte geleitet hätte, wird heute kaum noch vertreten. Auch einen

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<sup>64</sup> The wolf-woman episode can be found in Bihlmeyer, *Seusebuch*, 119, 1–130, 14 (Tobin, *Exemplar*, 148–57).

<sup>65</sup> For a nuanced introduction, especially to Merswin’s life and times, see Bernard Gorceix, *Amis de Dieu en Allemagne au siècle de Maître Eckhart* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1984). Bernard McGinn, “The Friends of God,” *The Harvest of Mysticism in Medieval Germany (1300–1500)*. *The Presence of God: A History of Western Christian Mysticism*, 4 (New York: Herder & Herder, 2005), 407–31, provides a thorough survey of major themes depicted in key texts.

losen Verband, eine Art Bruderschaft, haben sie nicht gebildet . . . . Ihre Lebensauffassung war das starke Band, das die geographischen und sozialen Abstände überwindet.<sup>66</sup>

[The view that these friends of God were a kind of church within the church led by a secret pastor is no longer taken seriously. They did not constitute even a loose confederation or a kind of brotherhood . . . . Their view of life is the strong tie that overcomes their geographical and social diversity.]

Bernard McGinn calls them an “amorphous and to some extent mysterious group,” preferring to illuminate their reception of mystical experience as an expression of the rise of the “newly devout” in the fourteenth century.<sup>67</sup> Most recently, Regina Schiewer subjects the concept itself along with the preconceptions of previous scholarship to a rigorous and productive re-evaluation.<sup>68</sup> She not only succeeds in debunking long-held scholarly myths, such as the existence of a close friendship between Heinrich von Nördlingen and Rulman Merswin, she also argues for understanding *gotesvründe* as a spiritual ideal with great appeal for reform-minded clerics and lay people in a time of extreme political, social, and spiritual upheaval.

When Schiewer defines the concept “Gottesfreundschaft” as “friendship to God” and focuses on the “relationship to God” as its foundation, she touches upon a central paradox of “Friends”-scholarship: many scholars use implicit models of *amicitia*, in some cases anachronistically, to recreate a horizontal network of clerics and laypersons in the upper-German provinces, whereas the Dominicans and other monastics would have defined *Gottesfreundschaft* according to models of *caritas*, or divine love, which presuppose God’s grace and obedience to the will of Christ operating independent of human interaction.<sup>69</sup> According to Christ’s teachings as put forth in the Gospel of John, human volition has no role to play in establishing friendship; the choice is God’s alone. And the movement that Christ proclaims from slave to friend is dependent on unquestioning obedience. Schiewer does go too far, in my opinion, when she rules out the *amicitia*-based model of “Freund in Gott,” which finds frequent mention in Nördlingen’s correspondence.<sup>70</sup> Brian McGuire reminds us that the principal concern about monastic relationships

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<sup>66</sup> Francis Rapp, “Die Gottesfreunde am Oberrhein,” *Das Elsaß und Tirol an der Wende vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit: Sieben Vorträge*, ed. Eugen Thurnher. Schlern-Schriften, 295 (Innsbruck: Wagner, 1994), 55–62; here 58.

<sup>67</sup> McGinn, “Harvest of Mysticism,” 407.

<sup>68</sup> Regina D. Schiewer, “‘Vos amici Dei estis’: Die ‘Gottesfreunde’ des 14. Jahrhunderts bei Seuse, Tauler und in den ‘Engelberger Predigten’: Religiöse Elite, Verein oder Literaturzirkel?” *Oxford German Studies* 36 (2007): 227–46.

<sup>69</sup> Schiewer, “Gottesfreunde,” 232–33.

<sup>70</sup> Schiewer, “Gottesfreunde,” 232.

found expression in the tension between *amicitia*, or particularized love, and *caritas* or *dilectio*, generalized love.<sup>71</sup> So a more useful approach would seem to be a dialectic that encompasses the dynamic inherent in the two great commandments, in other words, how divine, absolute love can also be reflected in the love of neighbor as oneself.

As we already saw in Part I, the Augustinian Rule makes humility into the defining principle of *amicitia* in *caritas*. Suso lets suffering be the essential link in the dialectic between the ways of loving God and neighbor. For Suso, each person freely accepts the obligation to become the doormat torn apart by the rabid dogs of earthly existence.<sup>72</sup> This expectation finds articulation in the first mention in the *Vita* of *Gottesfreundschaft*, as Schiewer shows.<sup>73</sup> Here Suso receives an *auditio* in which he is exhorted to become one of the *gotesfründe* who will achieve *rechter selikeit* (true bliss) by means of God's *gelitnen menschheit* (suffering humanity). As a beginner, God explains, he has sinned in wanting to enjoy divine consolation without being willing to emulate Jesus and the martyrs. This sends a strong signal that, in Suso's *Vita*, the path of the erring beginner from such self-indulgence to true discernment will be paved by suffering, making death on the cross into a model for daily existence. And just as Maria Meretrix's spiritual journey was defined through suffering and loss, in her case, the loss of her *custos animi*, the gift of intensified suffering bestowed on Suso in the second phase of his soul's development involves the loss of all friends and the apparent disappearance of *amicitia* in any form from his life.

Whether their source was Bonaventure's *via triplex*<sup>74</sup> or the popular seven-step way of Augustine, "spiritual authors used steps or turns to structure an ordered set of

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<sup>71</sup> McGuire, *Friendship and Community*, xxxiv.

<sup>72</sup> Gorceix stresses just how diverse the ways of *Gottesfreundschaft* were in the fourteenth century: "Pour Maître Eckhart, l'Ami de Dieu est le spirituel qui se transforme en Dieu; pour Ruysbroeck, il est l'homme intérieur qui n'a pas encore dépassé tous les modes; pour Tauler il s'unit à Dieu dans la renonciation totale, pour Suso, il souffre avec Jésus . . ." (For Meister Eckhart, a friend of God is a spirit who is transformed in God; for Ruysbroeck, he is an interior man who has never before transcended all of the stages; for Tauler he becomes one with God in total renunciation, for Suso he suffers with Christ . . .). See Gorceix, *Amis de Dieu*, 75.

<sup>73</sup> Schiewer, "Gottesfreunde," 233–34. See Bihlmeyer, *Seusebuch*, 34, 5–12 and Tobin, *Exemplar*, 83–84.

<sup>74</sup> For a useful introduction to the *via triplex*, see Kurt Ruh, *Geschichte der abendländischen Mystik*, Vol. 1 (Munich: Beck, 1990), 53–71 and 104–13. See also Otto Langer, *Mystische Erfahrung und spirituelle Theologie: Zu Meister Eckharts Auseinandersetzung mit der Frauenfrömmigkeit seiner Zeit*. Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters, 91 (Munich: Artemis, 1987), 156–74.

principles corresponding to the stages of the 'itinerarium mentis in Deum.'"<sup>75</sup> For Suso, suffering is one's constant companion on the soul's arduous journey to God.<sup>76</sup> After years of extreme asceticism, the servant begs God's youthful avatar, "herr, zoeg mir, wie meng liden ich noch vor mir habe" (Lord, show me how much suffering I still have before me).<sup>77</sup> God answers: "mahst du die unzallichen mengi der sternen gezellen, so maht du och dinú liden gezellen . . ." (if you can count the limitless numbers of the stars, you can also count the sufferings still in your future).<sup>78</sup> It turns out that Suso must now endure much more horrific suffering imposed by God, involving three phases: to be handed over defenseless to abuse at the hands of others (Bihlmeyer 57, 3–4; Tobin 100); to have his tender, loving nature hardened by betrayals at the hands of those he trusts the most (Bihlmeyer 57, 14–16; Tobin 101); and, most painfully, to be exiled from all divine love in his life, the love of God, and the love of neighbor (Bihlmeyer 57, 19–21; Tobin 101). We have already seen how much the allegories of knighthood and the doormat, drawn from the *Vita* of Maria Meretrix and the lives of the Desert Fathers, dominate this second phase of the trifold way of suffering.

The soul's progress to the third stage is impossible without the discernment that develops as a result of relationships born in suffering. Like Suso, each individual moves from exterior suffering brought about by extreme asceticism through interior suffering through the loss of all spiritual ties to the world to a final stage of transcendent suffering in which all individuals, regardless of station and separation, form a *monos* of sufferers willing to follow Christ in becoming a doormat to the world. In this final stage of universal suffering the individual sufferer is called to a legion of universal sufferers whose anguish (and sin) are washed away in the blood of Christ.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists: The Visual Culture of a Medieval Convent* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 109.

<sup>76</sup> Schiewer, "Gottesfreunde," 234–37, recognizes this and, following Haas, characterizes the *via triplex* as the soul's movement from suffering through serenity (*Gelassenheit*) to eternal bliss (*jubilus*). As I argue elsewhere, the *entire via triplex* is accompanied in Suso by suffering, with *jubilus* being defined in part as a community of universal sufferers. Compare Alois M. Haas, *Kunst rechter Gelassenheit: Themen und Schwerpunkte von Heinrich Seuses Mystik* (Bern, New York: Peter Lang, 1996), 2nd ed., with "Gender and Suffering," Tinsley, *Scourge and Cross*, 115–25.

<sup>77</sup> Bihlmeyer, *Seusebuch*, 56, 20–21 (Tobin, *Exemplar*, 100).

<sup>78</sup> Bihlmeyer, *Seusebuch*, 56, 21–22 (Tobin, *Exemplar*, 100).

<sup>79</sup> "... in der Nachfolge Christi . . . steht der christusförmige Mensch, der stellvertretend für andere lebt, leidet und stirbt, weil in ihm und durch ihn...Gottes universell einheits- und damit heilstiftendes Wirken zur Entfaltung kommt (. . . in the imitation of Christ . . . stands the human being formed in the image of Christ, who lives, suffers, and dies for others, because God's universally encompassing and thereby healing power comes in him [the sufferer] to fruition"). Markus Enders, "Das mystische Wissen Seuses. Ein Beitrag zu seiner Relevanz," *Heinrich Seuses Philosophia spiritualis. Quellen, Konzept, Formen und Rezeption*, ed. Rüdiger Blumrich and Philipp

Hier umbe so sezzen wir uns, ich meine ellu du lidenden menschen, du ie geliten, zuo einem grossen witen ringe umb und umb, und sezzen dich, zarter truter unschuldiger buole, enmiten under uns in den ring dero selben lidenden menschen und zerspreiten unser turstigen adren wit uf ginende von grosser begirde gen dir...wem lieb, wem leid, dur din lidenden hintrieffenden wunden geweschen und aller ding unschuldig werden aller missetat.<sup>80</sup>

[Therefore, all of us who have ever suffered, let us all sit down in a gigantic circle all around. And you, gentle, intimate, innocent Beloved, sit down in our midst in this circle of suffering people. Our thirsting interiors shall burst wide open out of deep desire for you...in joy or in sorrow, washing in your painful bleeding wounds and made innocent of all evil in all things.]

In the midst of this *monos* of universal sufferers in Augustine's sense sits the lamb who has suffered ultimately in order to pay Satan's ransom and to bring redemption to all humankind. The community also stretches across time; St. Elizabeth, the Apostle Paul, Job, Tobias, and Athanasius complete the catalogue that begins with the Queen of Sheba.

But how did such comradeship in suffering function for a Dominican, if the focus had to remain on God? The most memorable example comes just before Suso is sent forth as a knight of Christ into his second stage of suffering. Years of extreme asceticism wore him down, and he has fallen ill. In a vision God appears to a "gotesfründ" with a box of Christ's blood in his hand. When asked by the friend of God what the box is for, God explains, "... ich wil sin herz und alle sin nature mit lidenne minneklichen zeichnen, und will in denne arznen und gesunt gemachen, ich wil einen menschen us im machen nah allem minem herzen" (... I want to mark his heart and whole being lovingly with suffering, and then I shall treat him and make him healthy. I want to make out of him a man after my own heart).<sup>81</sup> The *gotesfründ* is privileged to witness Suso's stigmatization, one presumes, as a reward for her own suffering. A second example occurs earlier during Suso's self-imposed suffering. A holy woman Anna, while praying in a castle at a distance from Suso's cloister, has a vision in which she sees him mortifying himself.<sup>82</sup> Concerned that he might harm himself, she throws herself between his scourge and his flesh and takes the blow. When she comes back to consciousness after the vision, her arm bears the bloody scar of the blow. Here one *gotesfründ* steps in to shield another from his own zeal, using the power of

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Kaiser. *Wissensliteratur im Mittelalter*, 17 (Wiesbaden, Reichert, 1994), 139–72; here 163.

<sup>80</sup> Bihlmeyer, *Seusebuch*, 92, 14–16 (Tobin, *Exemplar*, 128).

<sup>81</sup> Bihlmeyer, *Seusebuch*, 52, 2–5 (Tobin, *Exemplar*, 97).

<sup>82</sup> Although not specifically called a friend of God, Anna is a *heiligú jungfrow* whose pious life and access to divine revelation mirror those called friends of God elsewhere in the *Vita*. See Bihlmeyer, *Seusebuch*, 44, 15–24 and Tobin, *Exemplar*, 91.

revelation. In both cases, distance is no barrier and gender is no factor. The bonds of friendship reach across earthly lines to bring validation and access to divine truth.

At the same time, as Schiewer reminds us, *gottesfründe* are not perfect. "They still require pastoral care and are not infallible in the changeability inevitable in life . . ." <sup>83</sup> Suso instructs Stigel at the beginning of Part II that each individual is blessed by God with unique gifts and also unique challenges. So *Gottesfreundschaft* is determined by God and confirmed through the power of revelation. We see this following Stigel's ascendance and redemption at the conclusion of the *Vita*. Before the conclusion and in the surviving letters, motifs of the *custos animi* dominate the appellations used by Suso during his mentoring of Stigel. His favorite appellation is "spiritual daughter," but he also frequently addresses her as "my child."<sup>84</sup> Confirmation that Elsbeth Stigel is a friend of God does not occur until the final lines of the *Vita* when, after her death, she appears to Suso in a vision and comforts him. Suso declares:

Got helf úns, daz wir diser heiligen tochter und aller siner lieben fründen geniessen,  
daz wir eweklich sin goetliches antlút werden niessende!

[May God help us to profit from this holy daughter and from all his dear friends, so that we may enjoy eternally the sight of his divine countenance.]<sup>85</sup>

Stigel's death is the culmination of her saintly life. All hierarchies are reversed. Gender is no longer relevant. All of these reversals have been achieved within models of *Gottesfreundschaft*.

## Conclusion

The analysis of three principal models for spiritual friendship that inspired friars and nuns within the Order of Preachers in the fourteenth century has provided definitive responses to the three questions posed in the introduction. 1) It was not only possible but also desirable to imagine a relationship between a religious man and a religious woman in terms of spiritual friendship. 2) The hierarchical relationship of confessor and *discipula* within the *cura monialium* was not viewed as a barrier to spiritual friendship, but rather as a prerequisite for it. 3) Suso's

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<sup>83</sup> "Sie bedürfen seelsorgerlicher Betreuung und sind in ihrem Lebenswandel nicht unfehlbar . . . (They need pastoral care and are not without faults in the course of their lives . . . "). See Schiewer, "Gottesfreunde," 237–38.

<sup>84</sup> The former, as in the prologue to the *Briefbüchlein* (Bihlmeyer, *Seusebuch*, 360, 3; Tobin, *Exemplar*, 335); the latter, as in the third letter (Bihlmeyer, *Seusebuch*, 368, 18; Tobin, *Exemplar*, 341). In the *Vita* such references are frequent, beginning with Part II (Bihlmeyer, *Seusebuch*, 96; Tobin, *Exemplar*, 132).

<sup>85</sup> Bihlmeyer 195, 2–4 (Tobin, *Exemplar*, 204).



model of *amicitia* grounded in universal suffering depended upon the extreme estrangement from the world that saintliness was also meant to illustrate.

The principal concern surrounding spiritual friendship among Dominicans has turned out to be the potential conflict between universal love (*caritas*) and particular love (*amicitia*). The question seems to have been how to become a friend of God while nurturing the love for one another that was supposed to be achieved in a monastic community. In the model articulated in the Augustinian Rule, humility, as expressed not only in the frank acknowledgment of human shortcomings but also in the realization of acts of repentance, becomes the means of achieving the ideal of *monos*, in which the community embodies the principle of universal sharing first achieved by the Apostles and described in Acts. We saw how Suso transformed this ideal by taking the bridging metaphor of the doormat from the *Vitaspatrum* and using it to illustrate the necessity, not just of humility, but also of transcendent suffering. The journey of the soul to God is impossible without the discernment achieved in suffering's ability to sever ties to the world. In both Augustine's and Suso's ideal, the focus remains on God: *Gottesfreundschaft* has its roots in total obedience to divine grace authenticated by revelation.

The ideal of spiritual friendship takes both gender difference and power imbalance into account within the uniqueness of each soul's burden of suffering on its journey to God. Suso receives the gift of self-mortification, total alienation from God and his loved ones, and, finally, the destiny of suffering with others for others. Stigel receives the gift of life-long illness. Although much of their spiritual friendship operates within the dictates of the *custos animi* and the *cura monialium*, at the end of the *Vita* Stigel experiences salvation and functions as Suso's mentor and a universal exemplar. He remains the servant, she remains a faithful daughter and becomes a friend of God.

For the exemplary figures of Suso's *Vita*, each of the three models just discussed takes on a key function. Suso utilizes the ideal of the *monos* born in reciprocity from Augustine, the ascetic ethos of the dog's doormat from the Desert Fathers, and the prerequisites of obedience and hierarchy from the teachings of Christ as recorded in the Gospel of John and adapted for the Friends of God. Spiritual friendship thus defines the imperfection of *amicitia* that leads through darkness to the light. One can look to friends of God for guidance, but friendship *with* God born in *caritas* is the wellspring of hope for Dominican exemplars of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.



## Chapter 12

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### Engendering Obligation: Sworn Brotherhood and Love Rivalry in Medieval English Romance

It is a striking irony that Palamon and Arcite, two of the most famous friends in medieval literature, are known not for the constancy of their friendship but for its spectacular rupture. The fatal rivalry of the young knights over the beautiful princess Emilia begins with a glance out of a prison window. Giovanni Boccaccio, who makes their story the center of his *Teseida* (ca. 1340), initially tells us little about the relationship between the knights other than that they are kinsmen. They fall in love with Emilia before Boccaccio ever shows them speaking to one another, and, once smitten, they do not immediately fall into rivalry, but rather languish poetically with love-sickness. In adapting this story several decades later as *The Knight's Tale*, the first of *The Canterbury Tales*, Geoffrey Chaucer not only makes the enmity dramatically sudden but also adds a very important new detail: Palamon and Arcite are not simply kinsmen, but “brother[s] / Ysworn ful depe” (I 1131–32), sworn brothers bound to one another by solemn oath.<sup>1</sup> Sworn brotherhood constitutes the most highly formalized mode of male friendship in the Middle Ages. So what would it have meant for two such oath-bound men to fall out over a woman and to ignore their duties to one another for the sake of erotic passion?

This essay examines the changing literary representation of sworn brotherhood in medieval literature. The practice of sworn brotherhood, which ritually transformed men, usually of aristocratic station, into “wed brothers” with an array of legal, social, and moral obligations, appears frequently in medieval romance

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<sup>1</sup> All Chaucer citations are from *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. Larry D. Benson, 3rd ed. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1987), cited by fragment and line number in the text.

from the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries. Insofar as brotherhood reinforces the duties and obligations between men that serve as the bedrock of chivalric culture, it is unsurprising to find it in the medieval courtly romances that promoted honor, fidelity, and friendship between knights. What is surprising, however, is the shift that brotherhood undergoes in some medieval romances from being celebrated as the noblest form of loving friendship to being a site of anxiety and pessimism about male integrity. Most of the following discussion will center on Middle English romance, where the transformation is particularly visible.

One cause of this representational shift, I suggest, is the dramatic potential that writers saw in placing sworn brotherhood in conflict with *fin'amors* ("courtly love") and marriage. Sworn brotherhood creates a world of masculine priorities in which women are marginalized, often radically. When brotherhood appears in courtly romance, however, we find it most often set in tension with a competing set of gender-specific obligations, namely duties to lovers or wives. Brotherhood oaths prove remarkably fragile when brothers are confronted with the demands of love. We can see this in the stark contrast between the indestructible male bonds found in brotherhood literature, such as the popular Amis and Amiloun legends, and the friendship-destroying rivalry in *The Knight's Tale*, which appears to be a rebuttal to the idealizing tendencies of earlier male friendship literature. The discrepancy in the representations of brotherhood in these stories is emblematic of a larger shift in attitude among medieval romance writers, one that culminates in the fifteenth century in Thomas Malory's nostalgic and ultimately pessimistic retelling of Arthurian legend. In the complex relationship between Arthur, Lancelot, and Guinevere, rivalry over a woman destroys oath-sealed obligation as surely as in *The Knight's Tale*. Lancelot, in the end, betrays not only Arthur but also the public homosocial ideals he represents in favor of the private emotional demands of romantic love.

## I. The Practice of Brotherhood

The tradition of sworn or ritual brotherhood in Western Europe has ancient and obscure origins. It was practiced within the Roman Empire, as well as by the Celtic and Germanic peoples at the empire's fringes, and it likely was common throughout the early Middle Ages, especially among men of high rank.<sup>2</sup> One of the

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<sup>2</sup> Elizabeth A. R. Brown, "Ritual Brotherhood in Western Medieval Europe," *Traditio* 52 (1997): 357–81. On Western European sworn brotherhood, see also Alan Bray, *The Friend* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2003); Maurice Keen, "Brotherhood-in-Arms," *Nobles, Knights and Men-at-Arms in the Middle Ages*, ed. id. (London and Rio Grande, OH: Hambledon Press, 1996), 43–62; first printed in *History* 47.159 (Jan. 1962): 1–17; MacEdward Leach,

earliest post-Roman descriptions of Germanic sworn brotherhood comes in 587 from Gregory of Tours, who describes two men who “formed a pact of great friendship . . . [T]hey loved each other with such affection that they often took their meals together and slept together in the same bed.”<sup>3</sup> Documentary evidence is scarce, however, prior to the eleventh century, when numerous chronicle references (especially in England and Scotland) to *fratres adjurati* and *federati* and *adoptivi* appear.<sup>4</sup> As Pierre Chaplais has shown, the relationship between Edward II of England and Piers Gaveston, notoriously controversial in later years, was treated by contemporaries as a case of “adoptive” brotherhood sealed by a “compact” (“fraternitatis fedus”).<sup>5</sup> Brotherhood was most commonly established between two men, though it could include more, as in the case of the four sworn brothers at the center of the Middle English romance *Athelston*. The many medieval historical and literary references to brotherhood are often frustrating in their lack of detail about the nature of the bond, but the proliferation of these descriptions of brotherhood, however cursory, offers a testament to the frequency of the practice. Writers mention brotherhood with the sort of casualness that bespeaks easy familiarity on the part of both author and audience with a well-established cultural tradition.

Though the details varied by time and place, sworn brotherhood was typically based on troth-plight (literally, “truth-pledge”), a ritual of union that became increasingly codified after the twelfth century. Historian Maurice Keen argues that brotherhood agreements would have consisted of verbal oaths, the exchange of written documents, or both, creating “a legal bond to which enforceable law gave reality.”<sup>6</sup> While such written agreements have rarely survived, one notable brotherhood about which we do have relatively detailed information is that forged in 1412 between Charles, Duke of Orléans, and Thomas, Duke of Clarence. The document reads:

I, Thomas, the king’s son, duke of Clarence, swear and promise on the faith of my body, and by all the oaths which a *preudhomme* can make, that I will be good and true

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“Introduction,” *Amis and Amiloun*, ed. MacEdward Leach. Early English Text Society (o.s.), 203 (London: Oxford University Press, 1937); and Allan McIntyre Trowce, “Introduction,” *Athelston: A Middle English Romance*, ed. Allan M. Trowce. Early English Text Society (o.s.), 224 (London: Oxford University Press, 1951).

<sup>3</sup> Quoted in Brent D. Shaw, “Ritual Brotherhood in Roman and Post-Roman Societies,” *Traditio* 52 (1997): 327–55; here 336–37. Shaw notes that Gregory and other post-Roman commentators generally treat sworn brotherhood as one of the many “barbaric” practices of un-Romanized Gauls and Germans.

<sup>4</sup> Brown, “Ritual Brotherhood,” 359–60.

<sup>5</sup> Pierre Chaplais, *Piers Gaveston: Edward II’s Adoptive Brother* (Oxford and New York: Clarendon, 1994), 11–13.

<sup>6</sup> Keen, “Brotherhood-in-Arms,” 45.

kinsman, brother and companion-in-arms to my very dear and very beloved cousin, Charles duke of Orléans, and that I will serve him, aid him, counsel him, and protect his honour and well-being in all ways and to the best of my powers, saving and excepting my allegiance reserved to my sovereign lord the king. And this oath I promise to keep loyally and fulfil to the utmost of my ability, and never, whatever may happen, will I go against it. And in witness hereof I have written this letter, and signed it with my hand and sealed it with my seal, this twelfth day of November, the year 1412.<sup>7</sup>

This language parallels some of the more detailed literary descriptions of brotherhood oaths, such as this one from the fourteenth-century romance *Guy of Warwick* of the troth-plight between Guy and his sworn brother Tirry:

Gij seyð to Tirry, wiþ-outen lesing:  
 “Ich wil þat we be treuþe-pliȝt  
 & sworn breþer anon riȝt . . . .

.....  
 Pat noiþer oþer after þis  
 No faile oþer while he liues is.”  
 Wiþ þat answerd þerl Tirri,  
 & seyð, “wel bleþelich, sir Gij.  
 Now þou louest so miche me,  
 Pat tow mi sworn broþer wil be,  
 No wille ich neuer feyle þe  
 For nouȝt þat mai bi-falle me.  
 Gret worþschip þou hast don me :”  
 .....  
 Treuþe bitven hem is pliȝt,  
 & after kist anon riȝt.<sup>8</sup>

[Guy said to Tirry, truthfully:  
 “I desire that we be troth-plight  
 And (become) sworn brothers immediately,  
 .....  
 That neither of us after this  
 Will fail the other while he is living.”  
 With that, the earl Tirry answered  
 And said, “Very gladly, Sir Guy.  
 Now you love me so much  
 That you desire to be sworn brother to me,  
 Nor will I ever fail you,

<sup>7</sup> Quoted in Keen, “Brotherhood-in-Arms,” 49.

<sup>8</sup> *The Romance of Guy of Warwick*, ed. Julius Zupitza. Early English Text Society (o.s.), 49 (London: Oxford University Press, 1887), 4906–08, 4911–19, 4927–28. This couplet-form *Guy* appears in the Auchinleck manuscript, along with the Middle English *Amis and Amiloun*.

For anything that might befall me.  
 You have done me great honor :"  
 .....  
 Truth is pledged between them  
 And afterwards (they) immediately kissed.]<sup>9</sup>

Beyond the general promise of life-long aid and support, a standard clause in troth-plights, brotherhood carried with it a specific set of obligations, which included fighting alongside the brother, sharing possessions, fighting duels on behalf of the brother, claiming his wer-gild or, if necessary, avenging his death. Sworn brothers would often wear each other's arms, or even combine their individual coats of arms into a new heraldic icon. The duties of sworn brothers might also extend to the women in their lives. MacEdward Leach points out that a man might require his sworn brother's permission to marry and that, "at the death of one brother, the other, if free, often married the widow"; likewise, A. M. Trounce notes that in *Daurel et Beton*, a twelfth-century *chanson de geste*, the terms of a brotherhood oath specify that if one brother dies without issue, he will leave "all of his possessions, including his wife" to his comrade.<sup>10</sup> And, since the bond that joined brothers in life was imagined as lasting even beyond death, it was not uncommon for sworn brothers to be buried together in a single tomb.<sup>11</sup>

Formal elements such as swearing on an object (often a Bible or a sword), or the kiss that seals Guy and Tirry's friendship, and which has historical precedent in Henry of Huntingdon's description of Cnut and Edmund Ironside's brotherhood pact in the *Historia Anglorum* (ca. 1130),<sup>12</sup> suggest the extent to which brotherhood was embedded in the ritualistic practices of medieval society. Alan Bray has marshaled considerable evidence that brotherhood was in fact an accepted part of ecclesiastical ritual, arguing that

in the churches of Catholic Europe from at least the end of the twelfth century until the beginning of the fifteenth, the mass provided a familiar culmination for the creation of ritual "brothers," a ritual completed in their taking Holy Communion together.<sup>13</sup>

The reasons for entering into sworn brotherhood were as varied as the men who practiced it. Elizabeth Brown writes that

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<sup>9</sup> Unless otherwise noted, all Middle English translations are my own. I have taken occasional liberties with grammar and phrasing in the interest of clarity.

<sup>10</sup> Leach, "Introduction," lxx; Trounce, "Introduction," 12.

<sup>11</sup> Bray discusses several instances of dual burials in *The Friend*, with special attention to the late fourteenth-century case of the knights William Neville and John Clanvowe, sworn brothers whose 1391 tomb slab features their two coats of arms combined ("impaled") like those of a married couple (15–16).

<sup>12</sup> Brown, "Ritual Brotherhood," 360–61.

<sup>13</sup> Bray, *The Friend*, 25.

the relationship has fulfilled a range of different functions: solemnizing and reinforcing bonds of friendship that the participants want the community to recognize; securing social, financial, and political advancement for one or both of the participants; establishing peace between former enemies; inaugurating pacts of non-aggression; forming alliances both offensive and defensive.<sup>14</sup>

But whatever the motivations for forming sworn relationships, it is clear that brotherhood created a system of male obligation and duty that prioritized the public display of male fidelity. It reinforced the feudal hierarchy in which a man's primary allegiance was to another man—and obligations to women came second. Moreover, if the authority of the church played a role in codifying and formalizing relationships between men, sworn brotherhood served to reinforce patriarchy in an especially powerful and systematic way.

## II. Brotherhood Triumphant: The Masculine World of *Amis & Amiloun*

As one might expect of such a widespread cultural practice, sworn brotherhood appears frequently in medieval literature. For instance, Roland and Olivier, in the *Chanson de Roland*, embody brotherhood on an epic scale;<sup>15</sup> in the earliest English romance, the thirteenth-century *King Horn*, we find sworn brotherhood between Horn and his friend Ayol; likewise, Tristrem and Ganhardin pledge brotherhood in the Middle English *Sir Tristrem*; sworn brothers appear in Layamon's *Brut*, in *Floris and Blancheflour*, and in *Athelston*; and, in addition to *The Knight's Tale*, brotherhood figures in several other of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*.<sup>16</sup>

Literary sworn brotherhood differs from historical brotherhood in two interesting ways. First, brotherhood in medieval literature tends to appear in its most idealized form. Literary sworn brothers are usually motivated not by questions of political, social, or economic advantage (as many actual medieval

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<sup>14</sup> Brown, "Introduction—Ritual Brotherhood in Ancient and Medieval Europe: A Symposium," *Traditio* 52 (1997): 261–83; here 281. In addition to these motivations, John Boswell famously argued that sworn brotherhood functioned, at least in Byzantium, as a form of institutionalized gay marriage—see Boswell, *Same-Sex Unions in Premodern Europe* (New York: Villard Books, 1994).

<sup>15</sup> On heroic friendship in German literature, see Albrecht Classen's essay in this volume.

<sup>16</sup> This list is representative, not comprehensive. For useful overviews of sworn brotherhood in English and Anglo-Norman literature, see Laurens J. Mills, "The Friendship Theme in the Middle Ages," *One Soul in Bodies Twain: Friendship in Tudor Literature and Stuart Drama* (Bloomington, IN: Principia Press, 1937), 16–75; and P. J. Heathers, "Sworn-Brotherhood," *Folklore* 63.3 (1952): 158–72. For a discussion of male friendship in medieval French literature, see Reginald Hyatte, *The Arts of Friendship: The Idealization of Friendship in Medieval and Early Renaissance Literature*. Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, 50 (Leiden, New York, and Cologne: E. J. Brill, 1994), 87–135.



sworn brothers clearly were), but by pure affection and a sense of honor. Brotherhood in literature, in short, functions as the epitome of a virtuous male friendship. The second important feature of the literature of brotherhood is that it puts sworn brothers in contact with women, who are almost entirely absent from historical records pertaining to brotherhood. Women provide vital foils for sworn brothers, variously aiding or threatening male friendship, and offering a fascinating way to study how the male microcosm of brotherhood functions within a larger familial and social setting.

In many literary works, as in the historical sources already mentioned, sworn brotherhood is referred to in passing, with little or no explanation, existing simply as a part of the fabric of the world inhabited by the characters. But there is a subgenre of medieval literature in which brotherhood takes center stage. These literary works appear to have been inspired by the ideal of brotherhood, by the perfect unity and fidelity between men that the code of brotherhood claimed to achieve. Leach succinctly articulates the central fantasy of this fraternal ideology: "[s]uch brotherhood meant faithfulness to death; it could never be broken or repudiated."<sup>17</sup> That, at least, was the theory. In fact, historical brotherhoods were far from unbreakable. The brotherhood that Gregory of Tours described in 587, for instance, was notably unsuccessful: initiated to end a blood feud between two families, it resulted in one "brother" killing the other for revenge, stripping the body, and "[hanging] the corpse on a stake."<sup>18</sup> But, by the late Middle Ages, sworn brotherhood had come to assert a strong imaginative power largely independent of the vicissitudes of its social practice. As Bray puts it, sworn brotherhood had the "ability to articulate a world of fantasies and fears" long after it ceased to be a living social institution.<sup>19</sup>

There is no better example of the fantasy world of unassailable brotherhood than the legend of Amis and Amiloun, which was well known throughout Europe from at least the eleventh century until well into the Renaissance.<sup>20</sup> Originating in folktales, mainly those categorized by folklorists under the motifs of the "Two Brothers" and the "Faithful Servitor," the legend developed into a story of brotherhood triumphant, as two oath-bound knights find their friendship tested in often shocking ways. In a testament to its popularity, the tale of Amis and Amiloun survives in dozens of versions representing a wide variety of medieval European literatures, including Latin, Old French, Anglo-Norman, Middle English,

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<sup>17</sup> Leach, "Introduction," lxx.

<sup>18</sup> Quoted in Shaw, "Ritual Brotherhood," 337.

<sup>19</sup> Bray, *The Friend*, 33.

<sup>20</sup> For a detailed study of the German tradition, see Albrecht Classen, "Friendship in the Middle Ages: A Ciceronian Concept in Konrad von Würzburg's *Engelhard* (ca. 1280)," *Mittelalterliches Jahrbuch* 41.2 (2006): 227–46.

Welsh, Dutch, Old Norse, and German.<sup>21</sup> This story, which argues powerfully that idealized brotherhood takes precedence over other social institutions such as law, religion, and especially marriage, can provide important insight into what kind of relationship medieval audiences might have expected when they encountered literary characters described as sworn brothers—and it can help us better understand what is at stake in the dissolution of such a brotherhood in Chaucer's *Knight's Tale*. In what follows, I will focus on the Middle English *Amis and Amiloun*. A copy of this anonymous late thirteenth-century tail-rhymed romance appears in the Auchinleck manuscript, which Chaucer may have known. Whether or not he knew this particular version, it is very likely that he and his audience would have been familiar with the story of the famous knights in some form.

Because *Amis and Amiloun*, in spite of its medieval popularity, is not well known today, a brief synopsis is in order. Amis and Amiloun are both conceived on the same night and born on the same day—like twins, but to different mothers. They grow up together and become so alike that others (including their parents) have difficulty telling them apart. The young men excel at the court of a powerful duke, where they are knighted, and their friendship grows until they swear a formal oath of brotherhood. After Amiloun leaves court to inherit his father's lands, a jealous steward, who had been rejected as a sworn brother by Amis, gets his revenge by revealing a pre-marital affair between Amis and Belisaunt, the daughter of the duke. Amis, though guilty, denies the accusation and challenges the steward to judicial combat, but then he becomes fearful of perjuring himself. When Amiloun hears of his friend's dilemma, he switches places with his look-alike and undertakes the combat, in spite of a voice from heaven warning of dire consequences.

Meanwhile, Amis impersonates Amiloun for a fortnight at his friend's court. Amiloun kills the steward in combat and wins Belisaunt for Amis, who marries her. But soon Amiloun is stricken with leprosy—a divine punishment for his deception in combat. Amiloun's leprosy is the final straw for his wife, who was already unhappy to learn that she had been duped by the friends during their mutual substitution. She casts Amiloun out of the house and he wanders as a beggar until he happens upon the court of Amis and Belisaunt, who take him in and care for him.

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<sup>21</sup> Leach, ix–xiv. Following Leach, scholars typically distinguish between the “romantic” and “hagiographic” versions of the legend, which appears in a variety of generic forms: romance (both poetry and prose), a *chanson de geste*, a miracle play, didactic works and *exempla*, etc. While the Middle English versions are usually seen as “romantic,” Ojars Kratins questions this view in “The Middle English *Amis and Amiloun*: Chivalric Romance or Secular Hagiography?” *Publications of the Modern Language Association* 81 (1966): 347–54.

A year later, both Amis and Amiloun are shown in a dream how Amiloun's leprosy may be healed. The cure, however, is no less than the blood of Amis's infant children. Reluctant to kill his children but willing to do anything for his sworn brother, Amis cuts his babes' throats in the nursery and bathes Amiloun in their blood. The next morning, Amiloun's leprosy is gone and the children are found miraculously restored to life. After a brief excursion to punish Amiloun's cruel wife, Amis and Amiloun live together for the rest of their lives—presumably with Belisaunt, though she is not mentioned at the conclusion of the Middle English version.<sup>22</sup> The two friends die on the same day and are buried together.

As this summary shows, the plot is closely focused on the experience of the friends. They are always the center around which the fictional world rotates. One of the most striking aspects of *Amis and Amiloun* is the complete similarity of the friends, who can be distinguished only by their clothes. Sworn brothers are often described as identical on the level of spirit, courage, or virtue, but Amis and Amiloun's sameness extends to the physical.<sup>23</sup> The absolute mutuality required by medieval sworn brotherhood was usually imagined as achievable only by members of the same sex, and ideally only between men, since women were traditionally seen not only as social and legal inferiors, but intellectually, sexually, and morally lacking as well.<sup>24</sup> Same-sex bonds were seen as "natural" by the principle of "like-to-like." In the *Fabula duorum mercatorum*, a fifteenth-century celebration of male friendship, John Lydgate explains:

Tweyne of o kynde togidre drawe neere,  
So strong of nature is the myhty corde . . . .  
Vnto his semblable thus euery thing can drawe,  
And nothing bynde hem, but natur by hir lawe.<sup>25</sup>

[Two of a kind draw near together,  
(For) the mighty cord of nature is so strong . . . .  
Every thing knows to draw thus to its likeness,  
And nothing binds them except nature's law.]

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<sup>22</sup> In the Old French *chanson de geste*, the two friends, having left Belisaunt in charge of their lands, journey to the Holy Sepulcher, kiss the True Cross, and die peacefully on their way home from the Holy Land. See *Ami and Amile: A Medieval Tale of Friendship, Translated from the Old French*, trans. Samuel N. Rosenberg and Samuel Danon. Stylus: Studies in Medieval Culture (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), 129–30.

<sup>23</sup> The friends' material, corporeal resemblance is reinforced by the matching gold cups which they exchange as tokens of their brotherhood and which the poet describes as "as liche, ywis, / As was Sir Amiloun & [S]ir Amis" (250–51; as similar, indeed, / As was Sir Amiloun and Sir Amis).

<sup>24</sup> On female friendship, and on friendship between men and women, see the Introduction to this volume and the essay by Sara Deutch Schotland.

<sup>25</sup> John Lydgate, *Fabula duorum mercatorum* in *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, vol. 2 (Secular Poems), ed. Henry Noble MacCracken. Early English Text Society (o.s.), 192 (London: Oxford University Press, 1934), 73–74, 83–84.

*Amis and Amiloun's* celebration of similitude is equally a celebration of maleness. As an intense male friendship presented as bringing out the noblest behavior in each friend, the brotherhood of Amis and Amiloun provides an example of what C. Stephen Jaeger calls "ennobling love," the passionate but non-erotic love that a lover forms as a response to the excellence and virtue of the beloved.<sup>26</sup> In Jaeger's account, ennobling love, the exclusive province of men prior to the eleventh century, is an elaborate public performance of affection rather than a private feeling. The open display of such love, no less meaningful or sincere for its theatricality, honors both the lover and the beloved. The poet of the Middle English *Amis and Amiloun* unquestionably sees brotherhood as an ennobling form of male love. Although Amis and Amiloun's friendship has an element of public performance, there is a fascinating twist: because the men's physical similarity confuses their identity in the eyes of onlookers, we find the friends more often impersonating rather than displaying affection for one another in the presence of others. In other words, instead of performing brotherhood, Amis and Amiloun perform each other. Moreover, the performance occurs not only in the public sphere, but extends even to the private domestic world.

While the story focuses squarely on the men, women also have a key role to play—but, significantly, at no point do they interfere with sworn brotherhood. Both Amis and Amiloun marry, but in a very real sense they are married before either meets his wife. Another term for sworn brothers in Middle English is "wedded bretheryn," and the linguistic connection to matrimony is not coincidental since both brotherhood and marriage involve the exchange of a "wed" or pledge. In stories such as *Amis and Amiloun*, brotherhood functions as a kind of male marriage: it offers a vision of union that would be the envy of any husband and wife. The language of brotherhood and nuptial love becomes as interchangeable as the brothers themselves. John Ford notes the similarity between Amis and Amiloun's troth-pledge and that of the fourteenth-century wedding liturgy, which contains phrases familiar from many Christian wedding ceremonies even today:

Y .N. [*nomen*] take the .N. to myn wedded wyf,  
to haue and to holde from þis day forward,  
for beter, for wers, for richer, for porere,  
for fayrere, for fowlere, in seknes and in helthe,  
til deth vs departe, ȝif holy chirche it wil ordeyne:  
and therto I plithe þe myn trewthe.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>26</sup> C. Stephen Jaeger, *Ennobling Love: In Search of a Lost Sensibility*. The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 6–7.

<sup>27</sup> See John C. Ford, "Merry Married Brothers: Wedded Friendship, Lovers' Language and Male Matrimonials in Two Middle English Romances," *Medieval Forum* (on-line), 2003 (last accessed on

[I (name) take thee (name) as my wedded wife,  
 To have and to hold from this day forward,  
 For better, for worse, for richer, for poorer,  
 For fairer, for fouler, in sickness and in health,  
 'Til death sever us, if holy church will ordain it.  
 And thereto I pledge thee my faith.]

Now compare the language used to describe Amis and Amiloun's bond:

On a day þe childer war & wízt  
 Treweþes to-gider þai gun plízt  
 While þai mízt líue & stond  
 Þat boþe bi day & bi nízt,  
 In wele & wo, in wrong & rízt,  
 Þat þai schuld freely fond  
 To hold to-gider at eueri need,  
 In word, in werk, in wille, *in* dede,  
 Where þat þai were in lond,  
 Fro þat day forward neuer mo  
 Failen oþer for wele no wo :  
 Þer-to þai held vp her hond. (145–56)

[One day the young men, shrewd and strong,  
 Pledged faith to one another  
 For as long as they should live,  
 That both day and night,  
 In good and ill, in wrong and right,  
 They should strive completely  
 To support each other in every necessity,  
 In word, in action, in will, in deed,  
 Wherever they might be on earth, (and)  
 From that day forward never again  
 To fail the other for good nor ill:  
 To this they held up their hands (in pledge).]

The troth-pledge between these identical men becomes the model for subsequent oaths in the poem, including the one between Amis and his wife Belisaunt. While Amis and Amiloun each make two troth-pledges—one to each other, one to their wives—it is clear which is the more important. As Ford writes, “Despite any matrimonial vows of loyalty, the relationships with a ‘wedded wife’ are uniformly

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Aug. 1, 2010 at: <http://www.sfsu.edu/~medieval/Volume3/Brothers.html>). The quotation comes from *English Fragments from Latin Medieval Service-Books*, ed. Henry Littlehales. Early English Text Society (e.s.), 90 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1903), 6.

portrayed as secondary in importance to those with 'wedded brethren.'"<sup>28</sup> It is here that the question of sameness is again important. Amis, who rejects an offer of sworn brotherhood from the steward who attempts to replace Amiloun, is able to pledge himself to Belisaunt only because the poem considers a marriage to be a relationship of a lesser order than same-sex friendship. This inferior position to which brotherhood relegates even powerful women is underscored in *Athelston*, a fourteenth-century romance of brotherhood, when a queen says, of one of the king's sworn brothers, that her husband "wole doo more for hym, I wene, / Panne for me, þouȝ I be qwene" (will do more for him, I know, / Than for me, though I be queen).<sup>29</sup>

The masculine ethic of sameness and mutuality also contributes to the vexed place of sexuality in brotherhood romances. By extension of the logic of like-to-like, sexual relations between men should be theoretically preferable to marital relations. But the medieval belief in the naturalness of same-sex bonds stopped short when it came to homosexuality, the ill-defined but officially abhorred sin *contra naturam*. Licit, "natural" sex could take place only between husband and wife (and even then with strict regulation). Since wives could never be fully equal to their husbands, sexuality necessarily signified as the realm of inequality and, as a result, fit poorly into the egalitarian idyll of brotherhood. I would argue that Amis and Amiloun, for instance, have no legible sexual desire, either for each other or for their wives—and this in spite of the more than 300 lines the poet devotes to the affair between Belisaunt and Amis. The only real sexual desire expressed in the poem comes from the women, and it is uniformly problematic. It is Belisaunt who falls in love with Amis and bluntly offers herself. Amis, who worries that "no þing bot wo . . . wil com of þis dede" (612, 611; nothing but woe . . . will come of this deed), actually requires blackmail before he will sleep with Belisaunt. And the sexual encounter does indeed lead to woe as it provides the vengeful steward with an opportunity to make trouble. The only other articulation of sexual desire comes from Amiloun's wife after the substitution episode, when she takes issue with what she thinks is her husband's refusal to make love to her (her bedmate had really been Amis, of course). By the end of the poem, she is clearly marked as an evil character whose desires are suspect. The sexual component of marriage, in *Amis and Amiloun* at least, serves as yet another mark of marriage's inferiority to same-sex brotherhood.

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<sup>28</sup> Ford, "Merry Married Brothers."

<sup>29</sup> *Athelston*, ed. Trounce, 306–07.

### III. Women and Children First:

#### *Amis and Amiloun, Sir Amadace, and the Vexed Ethic of Brotherhood*

In *Amis and Amiloun*, then, brotherhood and marriage can coexist only because they are unequal. And, as the major episodes of the story show, the friends are fully prepared to sacrifice their marital (and parental) obligations for one another. While *Amis and Amiloun* is clearly meant as a hymn to exemplary brotherhood, the ethic of that brotherhood is troubling. What happens when the duty to aid and comfort a brother conflicts with other important obligations? Can one commit evil in the name of brotherhood? Or does brotherhood reframe traditional questions of morality? As part of their formal oath, Amis and Amiloun swear to stand by each other “boþe bi day & bi niȝt, / In wele & wo, in wrong & riȝt” (148–49). “In wrong & riȝt” — this phrase is key to understanding the ethical system that governs the masculine world of sworn brothers. Though the phrase, versions of which appear frequently in medieval romance, can mean simply “in all things,” the literal sense has special resonance in this tale where Amis and Amiloun commit several acts that are hard to describe as anything other than “wrong.” The rigged judicial combat, the defiance of a divine warning, the deception of Amiloun’s wife, and, finally, the infanticide all happen in the name of friendship and together serve to create a sense of a self-justifying and self-referential morality in *Amis and Amiloun*. The very categories of “right” and “wrong” become redefined with respect to the friendship-driven motivations of the protagonists. And while this has obvious benefits for the men at the center of the story, the code of brotherhood supports men at the considerable expense of women, validating female characters only to the extent they validate masculine ethics.

In philosophical terms, brotherhood ethics are teleological rather than deontological. That is, brotherhood defines right behavior with an eye toward the goodness or value of the ends of any action (teleological ethics) rather than treating right action as an absolute duty independent of the action’s motives or the desirability of its ends (as in deontological ethics). Brotherhood privileges certain ends—namely “aiding a friend,” however broadly that end may be conceived—above specific actions that would normally be construed as always “wrong” (e.g., manipulating a trial by combat, disobeying God, killing one’s children). The powerful exculpatory function of brotherhood can be clearly seen in the confrontation between Amiloun and his wife after she learns of the substitution and judicial combat. Amiloun’s wife accuses him of “wrong & michel vnriȝt” (1492; wrong and great injustice) for killing the steward, who, we should remember, was in fact telling the truth about Amis and Belisaunt’s affair. Completely unruffled, Amiloun replies with almost child-like innocence: “Y no dede it for non oþer þing / Bot to saue mi broþer fro wo” (1496–97; I did it for no other thing / But to save my brother from woe). Saving a brother from woe

becomes a universal justification, regardless of the particular circumstances. Notably, Amiloun's wife is the sole proponent of deontological ethics in the poem; she is the only one to suggest that brotherhood does not provide moral *carte blanche*, and her refusal to subscribe to the poem's guiding ethic marks her as an obstacle to be overcome in the tale's conclusion.

By contrast, the most powerful—and surprising—voice for masculine teleological ethics is Belisaunt, whose reaction to the murder of her children shows her to be considerably more open-minded about “vnriȝt” done in the name of friendship. When Amis tells his wife that he slew their children so that “[his] broþer schuld passe out of his wo” (2386), Belisaunts responds:

God may sende ous childer mo,  
Of hem haue þou no care.  
ȝif it ware at min hert rote,  
For to bring þi broþer bote,  
My lyf y wold not spare. (2393–97)

[God may send us more children,  
Have no concern over them.  
If it were at my heart's root,  
In order to bring your brother aid,  
I would not spare my life.]

Such a blasé attitude about the lives of her just-murdered children, as well as her own life, may seem astonishing, but Belisaunt's words are not her own. She is in fact unwittingly echoing her husband's words to Amiloun, just five stanzas earlier, when Amis presented the basin of fresh blood as a cure for his brother's leprosy. Amiloun reacted in horror, but Amis reassured him:

Be now stille;  
Ihesu, when it is his wille,  
May send me childer mo.  
For me of blis þou art al bare;  
Ywis, mi liif wil y nouȝt spare,  
To help þe now þer-fro. (2335–40)

[Hush now;  
Jesus, when it is His will,  
May send me more children.  
You are completely stripped of joy because of me;  
Indeed, my life I will not spare  
To help you now out of (your misery).]

Belisaunt serves as a mouthpiece for this same reasoning, and the poem holds her up as the ideal woman and wife. It is clear, however, that in contrast to the mutual bond between sworn brothers, the marital bond is characterized by difference and



inferiority. Within such a rigid gender hierarchy, women's worth comes from sustaining male bonds.

Belisaunt is not a unique case. Another wife ready to die in order to prevent her husband from breaking an oath can be found in the fourteenth-century Middle English romance *Sir Amadace*. Like *Amis and Amiloun*, *Sir Amadace* has its roots in folklore, in this case the widespread European tradition of "grateful dead" stories. G. H. Gerould's description of the grateful dead archetype essentially summarizes the plot of *Sir Amadace*:

[The hero] finds a corpse lying unburied, and out of pure philanthropy procures interment for it at great personal inconvenience. Later he is met by the ghost of the dead man, who in many cases promises him help on the condition of receiving, in return, half of whatever he gets. The hero obtains a wife (or some other reward), and, when called upon, is ready to fulfill his bargain as to sharing his possessions.<sup>30</sup>

In *Sir Amadace*, the hero is a knight who becomes destitute after arranging for the burial of a debt-plagued merchant. He encounters the ghost of the dead man in the form of a mysterious white knight who provides Amadace with everything necessary to win a princess in a tournament and become a wealthy man. Sir Amadace and the white knight are not friends in any traditional sense, but they have a "covenant" (745, 755, 761) between them which is put, like the friendship oath in *Amis and Amiloun*, to the test.<sup>31</sup> Here again, what is at stake includes not only one's material goods, but also one's wife and children. When the white knight comes to claim his share of the wealth, he demands that Amadace physically divide all his possessions—including his wife and only son, who are to be ritualistically cut in two. Because Amadace identifies his wife as his greatest object of affection, she is to be vivisected first. Like Belisaunt, Amadace's lady subscribes to a value system in which the integrity of male oaths takes precedence over all else, and so she cheerfully insists that her husband kill her rather than break his word: "Loke yaure covandus holdun be," she says, "Goddess forbotte ye me spare!" (755–56; See that you uphold your covenants . . . God forbid that you spare me!). The wife is in fact spared, in the end, but the poet applauds her for being "meke" (790, 821) and "myld" (771, 791) and, underscoring the coalescence of her will and her husband's, comments pointedly that she

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<sup>30</sup> G. H. Gerould, *The Grateful Dead* (London: Publications of the Folk-Lore Society, 1908), x. On *Sir Amadace* and the grateful dead tradition, see Elizabeth Williams, "Sir Amadace and the Undisenchanted Bride: the Relation of the Middle English Romance to the Folktale Tradition of 'The Grateful Dead,'" *Tradition and Transformation in Medieval Romance*, ed. Rosalind Field (Woodbridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 1999), 57–70.

<sup>31</sup> Line numbers refer to *Sir Amadace* in *Amis and Amiloun, Robert of Cisyle, and Sir Amadace*, ed. Edward E. Foster. TEAMS Middle English Texts Series (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1997).

did wele that hur aghte to do;  
 All that hur lord lufd wurschipput ho;  
 All suche wemen wele myghte be. (694-96)

[did well what she ought to do;  
 She worshipped all that her lord loved;  
 All such women well might be (like her).]

*Sir Amadace* and *Amis and Amiloun*, then, establish identically prioritized hierarchies of relationships: obligations between men come first, followed by duties of wives to husbands, and finally of children to parents.

#### IV. Brotherhood Dethroned: Chaucer's *Knight's Tale*

Chaucer's sworn brothers, on the other hand, subscribe to a very different hierarchy. If sworn brotherhood represents the strongest voluntary bond between men in the Middle Ages, and if, by making Palamon and Arcite sworn brothers in *The Knight's Tale*, Chaucer is invoking the kind of indestructible male loyalty found in stories such as *Amis and Amiloun* and *Sir Amadace*, what should we make of the suddenness with which brotherhood disintegrates in Chaucer's tale? In popular stories of brotherhood from *King Horn* to *Guy of Warwick* to *Amis and Amiloun*, wedded brothers simply do not sacrifice their friendship for women. The key to Palamon and Arcite's behavior lies in the powerful code of courtly *fin'amors* that Chaucer sets against the code of brotherhood in *The Knight's Tale*.

The moment when Palamon and Arcite first see Emelye is charged with language reflecting the conventions of aristocratic love: they fall in love with her beauty at first sight; their love causes them intense emotional suffering; they immediately adopt the conventional language of service, according to which the knight figures himself as the humble "servant" of his lady. Since he saw her first, Palamon claims precedence in love; Arcite, however, points out that Palamon first mistook Emelye for the goddess Venus and that therefore he may be entitled to worship her, but that Arcite was the first to love her "as to a creature" (in other words, erotically). This prompts Palamon to charge Arcite with infidelity:

"It nere," quod he, "to thee no greet honour  
 For to be fals, ne for to be traitour  
 To me, that am thy cosyn and thy brother  
 Ysworn ful depe, and ech of us til oother,  
 That nevere, for to dyen in the peyne,  
 Til that the deeth departe shal us tweyne,  
 Neither of us in love to hyndre oother,  
 Ne in noon oother cas, my leeve brother,

But that thou sholdest trewely forthren me  
 In every cas, as I shal forthren thee . . . .” (I 1129–38)

[“It were,” he said, “no great honor to you  
 To be false, nor to be traitor  
 To me, who am your kinsmen and your brother  
 Sworn very solemnly, and each of us to the other  
 (Pledged) that never, though we were to die of torture,  
 Until death shall sever the two of us,  
 Neither of us should hinder the other in love,  
 Nor in any other thing, my dear brother,  
 But (rather) that you should truly aid me  
 In every situation, as I shall aid you . . . .”]

This passage is the very first mention that Palamon and Arcite are sworn brothers, immediately conjuring up for Chaucer’s audience the host of duties entailed by the brotherhood oath. The legendary brotherhood of knights such Amis and Amiloun suggests what is truly at stake in the love triangle of *The Knight’s Tale*—and it makes the triumph of *fin’amors* all the more significant. Palamon appeals to the solemn obligations of sworn brotherhood to accuse Arcite of personal betrayal, expressed here in the strongest possible terms: *false*, *traitor*—absolutely damning epithets within the chivalric context of oath and honor. Unlike Boccaccio, Chaucer carefully structures this scene as a clash of opposing models of desire and duty, for in virtually the same breath Palamon appeals to the discourse of brotherhood and injects the language of *fin’amors*, describing Emelye as “my lady, whom I love and serve” (I 1143).

Chaucer is clearly less interested in Palamon and Arcite as brothers per se than he is in enlisting the conventions of supposedly indissoluble brotherhood to comment on the power of erotic love. The poet achieves maximum dramatic effect by revealing Palamon and Arcite’s sworn brotherhood only *after* the kinsmen have spied Emelye—at the very moment, in fact, when the masculine bond is shattered by male-female love. Arcite counters Palamon’s claims upon his duty with an appeal to the primacy of love:

Love is a gretter lawe, by my pan,  
 Than may be yeve to any erthely man . . . .  
 A man moot nedes love, maugree his heed;  
 He may nat fleen it, thogh he sholde be deed. (I 1165–66, 1169–70)

[Love is a greater law, by my head,  
 Than may be given to any mortal man . . . .  
 A man must love, in spite of himself;  
 He may not avoid it, even if it should be mortal.]

But the primacy of male-female love, given the context of sworn brotherhood, is (at least briefly) an open question in *The Knight's Tale*. To my knowledge, Arcite is the first sworn brother in medieval literature to make such a claim. By presenting a love rivalry between formally sworn brothers, Chaucer crystallizes the more general atmosphere of tension between the public world of male action and the private world of male-female love that fascinated early romance writers such as Marie de France and Chrétien de Troyes. What makes Chaucer unique is his putting the most extreme form of male obligation (ritual brotherhood) into the most volatile amatory setting (love rivalry). Arcite's appeal to the "lawe" of love, a familiar move in courtly literature, has a hollow ring in the mouth of a knight who has already devoted himself to a highly codified life-long brotherhood. The supreme irony of Arcite's legalistic defense is that it reminds us that he is casually dismissing the laws of brotherhood under which he has been indicted.<sup>32</sup> It is important to recognize that while sworn brotherhood and *fin'amors* were both very popular subjects of medieval romance, they are largely parallel literary traditions prior to the fourteenth century. Not until Chaucer do they come into conflict in such explicit fashion. Consequently, the failure of sworn brotherhood in *The Knight's Tale*, far from being inevitable, would likely have been shocking to many in Chaucer's audience.<sup>33</sup>

In the world of *Amis and Amiloun*, where women have no power to destroy male oaths, the climax of Palamon and Arcite's first argument over Emelye would be absolutely unthinkable. After repeatedly calling Palamon his "brother" in the course of his self-justifying speech, Arcite concludes:

Ech man for himself, ther is noon oother.  
 Love, if thee list, for I love and ay shal;  
 And soothly, leeve brother, this is al. (I 1182–84)

[Each man for himself, there is no other (way).  
 Love, if you like, for I love and always shall;  
 And truly, dear brother, this is all.]

That final "leeve brother" is a bitter jab, reminding Palamon (and Chaucer's audience) once again of the duties of sworn brotherhood at the very moment when Arcite abandons them.

The ease with which Emelye's presence destroys the bond of brotherhood points either to a debasement of that bond or an elevation of the ideological power of women—or a combination of both. That Chaucer had a far-from-idealistic view of

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<sup>32</sup> On Arcite's betrayal of the code of brotherhood, see Catherine A. Rock, "Forsworn and Fordone: Arcite as Oath-Breaker in *The Knight's Tale*," *The Chaucer Review* 40.4 (2006): 416–32.

<sup>33</sup> I explore this issue in greater detail in Robert Stretter, "Rewriting Perfect Friendship in Chaucer's *Knight's Tale* and Lydgate's *Fabula duorum mercatorum*," *The Chaucer Review* 37.3 (2003): 234–52.

the power of male oaths can be seen from the other instances of dysfunctional brotherhood in *The Canterbury Tales*. The sworn relationships of *The Shipman's Tale*, *The Friar's Tale*, and *The Summoner's Tale* all involve deception and betrayal, and in the case of *The Pardoner's Tale*, the betrayal extends to murder.<sup>34</sup> Tellingly, the only instance of lasting sworn brotherhood in *The Canterbury Tales* is that between the summoner and the devil in *The Friar's Tale*. It seems that for Chaucer, "true brotherhood" is possible only in Hell. This merciless undercutting of the authority of sworn brotherhood in *The Canterbury Tales* has led Paul Strohm to assert that Chaucer sees "sworn ties . . . as wholly subject to negotiation in the quest for personal aggrandizement."<sup>35</sup>

## V. Malory, the Crisis of "Trouthe," and the Rise of Romance

Chaucer's cynical take on the durability of male oaths is of a piece with the many laments one finds in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century English literature for the perceived loss of truth and honor. One anonymous fourteenth-century writer complains,

Men hem bimenin of litel trewthe,  
It is ded and ȝat is rewthe;  
Lesing livet, and is above,  
And now is biried trewthe and love!<sup>36</sup>

[Men mourn the scarcity of truth,  
It is dead and that is a pity:  
Lying lives and is above (all),  
And now is buried truth and love!]

The poet of the anonymous Middle English romance *Ywain and Gawain* echoes these sentiments: "[T]rowth, and luf, es al bylaft — / Men uses now another craft" (Truth and love are entirely abandoned — / Men now use another craft).<sup>37</sup> By the fifteenth century, we find Malory's *Morte Darthur* shot through with this elegiac tone, which expresses itself primarily in Malory's concern about what he calls

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<sup>34</sup> Surprisingly little work has been done on brotherhood in *The Canterbury Tales* as a whole. An exception is the interesting recent discussion of the topic, from the perspective of sexuality studies, by Tison Pugh, "'For to Be Sworne Bretheren til They Deye': Satirizing Queer Brotherhood in the Chaucerian Corpus," *The Chaucer Review* 43.3 (2008): 282–310.

<sup>35</sup> Paul Strohm, *Social Chaucer* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1994), 100.

<sup>36</sup> Quoted in Richard Firth Green, *A Crisis of Truth: Literature and Law in Ricardian England*. The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 6–7.

<sup>37</sup> *Ywain and Gawain* in *Middle English Romances: A Norton Critical Edition*, ed. Stephen A. Shepherd (New York and London: W. W. Norton, 1995), 35–36.

"unstable love." "[I]n many persones there ys no stabylité . . ." Malory laments. "But the olde love was nat so" (649).<sup>38</sup>

Some scholars have linked these pessimistic assessments of fidelity, honor, and sworn brotherhood to what R. F. Green has called a "crisis of *trouthe*" in late medieval England, a widespread cultural anxiety about personal integrity as oath-based oral traditions increasingly gave way to document-based legal systems. Green examines the semantic shift in the ubiquitous and ambiguous Middle English word "*trouthe*" from a meaning along the lines of "fidelity, integrity, dependability," to the more modern sense of "conformity to fact." Around the same time, Green points out, "treason" (the antonym of "*trouthe*"), "was shifting its semantic focus from personal betrayal" — the sense in which Palamon uses it when he calls Arcite "*traitour*" for loving Emelye — "to a crime against the state"; Green argues that the shift in the meaning of these words coincides with the social shift "from the communally authenticated troth-plight to the judicially enforced written contract, from a truth that resides in people to one located in documents."<sup>39</sup> From this point of view, the destruction of Palamon's and Arcite's bond with each other can be read as a sign of the end of the age of brotherhood, as a Chaucerian comment on the social realities of fourteenth-century England. The same might be said about the traitorous sworn brother in *Athelston*, or about Malory's poignant if clearly naïve nostalgia for the time when love meant "*trouthe and faythefulnes*" (649).

The historical crisis of *trouthe* unquestionably helps explain the debased state of sworn relationships in much medieval English literature. But I'd like to suggest an additional explanation—a literary one—for brotherhood's loss of prestige: the breaking of an oath typically has more narrative interest than the keeping of an oath. Writers like Chaucer saw potential in the discrepancy between the kind of superhuman behavior celebrated by stories of brotherhood such as *Amis and Amiloun* and the reality of human imperfection. This gap creates a dramatically interesting tension at the heart of sworn relationships; it is a tension that can manifest itself as anxiety about the connection between the making of an oath and its fulfillment, between the rhetoric and the performance of fidelity.

A bond as strong as sworn brotherhood can be broken only by something equally powerful. For Chaucer and Malory, as for Marie de France and Chrétien de Troyes before them, the ascendancy of an intergender sensibility in courtly romance—that is, the privileging of male-female affective relationships in as forceful a way as homosocial male relationships are privileged in brotherhood

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<sup>38</sup> All Malory quotations are from *Malory: Works*, ed. Eugène Vinaver, 2nd ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1954; Oxford, New York, and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1971), cited by page number in the text.

<sup>39</sup> Green, *Crisis of Truth*, xiv.

romances—provided a way to stage an ideological battle, a clash between two very different ways of understanding relationships between the sexes and between public and private duties.<sup>40</sup> These writers play with a tension that is implicit in chivalric romance as a genre. Defining medieval romance is a notoriously dicey business, but as a working definition, we might say that a chivalric romance is a tale that “discourseth of the deeds of Armes and the love of Ladies,” which is how Thomas Speght described *The Knight's Tale* in his 1602 edition of *The Canterbury Tales*.<sup>41</sup> The twin concerns of romance—“deeds of arms” and “love of ladies,” one martial, the other erotic—can place a knight in a conflict of duty. His responsibility to exhibit military prowess, to maintain his reputation, to win “worship,” places him under the demands of a highly public world of male action. “Love of ladies” is not inherently incompatible with this world—after all, impressive “deeds of arms” are an important aspect of the wooing of ladies. And, in medieval romance, love is regularly conceived of as a ritualized, public affair. But there is also a sense in which love functions as a private, individualized, secret world of man and woman. This can be seen from the earliest days of romance—for instance, Marie de France's *Lanval* can be read as a validation of the secret love of Lanval and his faerie mistress over the comradeship of the Round Table, which is portrayed as deeply corrupted. By the time Malory writes the *Morte Darthur*, this more interior type of love is well established; we are still far from psychological realism, but love nevertheless figures as a largely private world set against the public masculine world of arms.<sup>42</sup>

The Lancelot-Guinevere-Arthur love triangle in *Morte Darthur* can be read as enacting a crisis of gendered obligations similar to that of *The Knight's Tale*. While Lancelot and Arthur are not specifically sworn brothers, they are two men bound by oath, and The Knights of the Round Table as a group represent an extension of the kind of masculine, homosocial, public bond that unites ritual brothers.<sup>43</sup> Of

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<sup>40</sup> One of the best in-depth explorations of this tension is Jaeger's *Ennobling Love*, which sees the clash between public and private spheres, and between male-focused and female-focused love, as part of what Jaeger calls “the romantic dilemma,” a situation prompted by the “attempt to reconcile virtue with sex” (7).

<sup>41</sup> Geoffrey Chaucer, *The vworks of our ancient and learned English poet, Geffrey Chaucer, newly imprinted . . .*, ed. Thomas Speght (London: Printed by Adam Islip, 1602), Sig. B1r.

<sup>42</sup> The importance of the private, psychological world of love as a means for medieval romance writers to explore new notions of gender and individuality has been well established. For a particularly good account of the phenomenon in France, see Colin Morris, *The Discovery of the Individual 1050–1200* (New York, Evanston, San Francisco, and London: Harper & Row, 1972), especially his discussion of Chrétien de Troyes, 133–38.

<sup>43</sup> Maurice Keen notes that “the relationship between members of an order of chivalry” is “of the same close, familial type as that between brothers-in-arms” (“Brotherhood in Arms,” 58), and Leach discusses the legacy of the Germanic warrior band (*comitatus*), which includes English and

course, the asymmetry in rank between Lancelot and Arthur makes their relationship significantly different than that between Amis and Amiloun or Palamon and Arcite, but all of these men operate within a chivalric world ostensibly ordered by masculine priorities, all inhabit a society knit together by male "trouthe." In the introduction to "The Knight of the Cart" episode in the *Morte Darthur*, Malory establishes a hierarchy of obligations that should be observed by "every man of worship": he says that a knight is bound "firste unto God, and nexte unto the joy of them that he promysed hys feythe unto" (649). But what happens when one has engaged one's faith to several individuals and the duties to those individuals come into conflict? This is precisely Lancelot's dilemma. Lancelot is both the "hede of al Crysten knyghtes" and the "trewest lover . . . that ever loved woman" (725), a dual identity that Sir Ector emphasizes in his speech after Lancelot's death. Lancelot is doubly obligated, and this is ultimately the source of his tragedy. He is honor-bound to Arthur, but he is also honor-bound to Guinevere—as his fellow knights understand. For instance, when Guinevere has banished Lancelot in "The Poisoned Apple" episode, Sir Bors tells the queen that Lancelot will not "[fail] you in youre ryght nother in youre wronge" (616)—a phrase which, incidentally, echoes many brotherhood oaths, including the one in *Amis and Amiloun*. Likewise, Gawain knows that Lancelot is obligated to try to rescue Guinevere when she is accused of adultery: "[T]o say the trouthe he were nat of worship but if he had rescowed the quene" (686).

The fact that Lancelot is able to maintain what seems an inherently untenable situation for as long as he does can be explained by the complex nature of medieval "trouthe" that R. F. Green explores. Lancelot can maintain his "trouthe" to Arthur—that is, he can remain loyal and trustworthy in a public capacity—while at the same time hiding the truth (in the modern sense of "the facts") of his private relationship with Guinevere. The specifically personal sense of "trouthe" also explains why Agravain and Mordred are consistently labeled "traitors," even though they are "telling the truth" in a modern sense. Malory suggests that, in spite of Arthur's suspicions, his "demyng" of the affair (674), Lancelot and Guinevere's love would have posed no threat to the Round Table had it not been for the malicious truth-telling of Mordred and Agravain. Their crime consists of making the private public.

When the borders between Camelot's private and public worlds collapse, Lancelot is forced to make a choice—and he chooses Guinevere at the expense of the community of the Round Table. In short, he chooses the love of a lady over comradeship-in-arms, an expression of priorities that contrasts sharply with Arthur's. In a particularly telling passage, Arthur declares: "And much more I am

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French chivalric orders, as an analogue of sworn brotherhood ("Introduction," *Amis and Amiloun*, lxxviii–lxx).



soryar for my good knyghtes losse than for the losse of my fayre quene; for quenys I myght have inow, but such a felyship of good knyghtes shall never be togydirs in no company (685; "And much more I am sorrier for my good knights' loss than for the loss of my fair queen; for queens I might have enough, but such a fellowship of good knights shall never be together in no company," 173–74).<sup>44</sup> Here Arthur shows himself a spokesperson for the masculine ethic of brotherhood that places male fellowship and duty above all else, as in *Amis and Amiloun*, *Sir Amadace*, and *Athelston*, where the queen knew that the king would do more for a sworn brother than for her. Lancelot's attitude might be said to be more "Chaucerian" — in the sense that, like Palamon and Arcite, Lancelot elevates his identity as "lover" above his obligations as a "comrade-in-arms."<sup>45</sup> Although Malory presents the destruction of the Round Table as a tragedy, it is significant that he does not use this as a criticism of Lancelot and Guinevere's love, which in spite of everything remains a model of "virtuous love." I would suggest then that the love triangle in the *Morte Darthur* should be seen less as an instance of fractured brotherhood than as an elevation in the status of commitments between the sexes. Compared to the women in *Amis and Amiloun* and *Athelston*, Guinevere wields a formidable power within her narrative world. This does not mean that we ought to consider Malory a kind of proto-feminist; but, in the context of traditions of same-sex obligations, Malory's characterization of the love between Lancelot and Guinevere can be seen as an important way-station en route to the increasingly intersubjective and companionate visions of gender of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The shifting fortunes of brotherhood in medieval English literature reflect a complex interaction between the historical decay of sworn relationships and the literary rise of courtly romance. The increasing value attached to women in courtly literature, however incommensurate this may have been with actual changes in the social status of medieval women, necessarily complicates and, in many instances, displaces the long-standing ideal of same-sex friendship that gives sworn brotherhood its ideological power. *Amis and Amiloun* and *Sir Amadace*, though romances with strong courtly elements, are thoroughly invested in the patriarchal hierarchies of the folk traditions in which they originate, deeply masculine worlds that structure themselves around the values of their male protagonists. When the folktale world of sworn brotherhood collides with the romance world of

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<sup>44</sup> The modernized quotation is from *King Arthur and His Knights: Selected Tales* by Sir Thomas Malory, ed. Eugène Vinaver. A Galaxy Book, 434 (London, Oxford, and New York: Oxford University Press, 1975).

<sup>45</sup> Malory is of course drawing from a large body of primarily French source material, but he crafts *Morte Darthur* in a way that throws the gendered nature of Lancelot's dilemma into particularly sharp relief, made all the sharper by the treatment of love, gender, and obligation in his native English literary tradition.

courtliness, as in Chaucer or in Arthurian romance, the ideal of everlasting fellowship between oath-bound men rarely finds itself a match for the principle of love enforced by Cupid, a tyrannical figure, in the words of Chaucer's Theseus, "out of alle charitee . . . / [T]hat wolt no felawe have with thee!" (without any charity . . . / Who will have no equal partner with thee!).<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Chaucer, *The Knight's Tale*, I 1623–24.

## Chapter 13

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### Talking Bird and Gentle Heart: Female Homosocial Bonding in the Squire's Tale

Princess Canacee's friendship with a female falcon<sup>1</sup> in the fragmentary *Squire's Tale* provides a rare portrayal of female homosocial bonding.<sup>2</sup> The formel has been deceived by a faithless tercelet who left her for a "newfanged" love (610). Although the formel has the plumage of the bird, she feels a woman's pain. As Lesley Kordecki writes: "We do not seriously entertain this story as one of birds."<sup>3</sup>

I examine this fantastic friendship by considering why the bond was established and why it matters. Chaucer shows a deep sympathy for women betrayed by male infidelity and a profound appreciation of the value of female friendship as a defensive strategy.<sup>4</sup> While some scholars have dismissed Canacee as "passive"<sup>5</sup> and even "disappointing,"<sup>6</sup> I argue that Canacee expresses considerable agency in

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<sup>1</sup> According to the *OED* definition of "falcon," the male is called a tercel and is less adapted to the chase than the female. In most of the scholarship on the *Squire's Tale*, the female falcon whom Canacee befriends is called "a formel," which the *OED* defines as a female of the eagle or hawk species.

<sup>2</sup> For a useful recent collection of essays on women in the Middle Ages, see Mary C. Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski, *Gendering the Master Narrative: Women and Power in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca NY: Cornell, University Press, 2003). Erler and Kowaleski also edited a prior collection, *Women and Power in the Middle Ages* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1988).

<sup>3</sup> Lesley Catherine Kordecki, "Chaucer's *Squire's Tale*: Animal Discourse, Women, and Subjectivity," *The Chaucer Review* 36.3 (2002): 277–97; here 289.

<sup>4</sup> Christine de Pizan advocates friendship as a defensive strategy for women in the *Book of the City of Ladies* (1405); here women seek each other's company as a refuge against the various attacks on their virtue and honor to which they are subject. See also the Introduction to this volume. Kordecki, "Animal Discourse," 291.

<sup>6</sup> Kathryn L. Lynch, "East Meets West in Chaucer's *Squire's* and *Franklin's Tales*," *Speculum* 70.3 (1995 July): 530–51; here 542.

her response to the formel's tragic tale of treachery. In broader terms, the bond between Canacee and the bird suggests an ideal if not utopian world, where communication is possible across borders of species, nationality, and status.

From start to finish, the *Squire's Tale* bristles with the dangers of treachery and betrayal. In the first Part of the tale, a foreign knight comes to the Mongol court while the king is celebrating his birthday. The knight brings with him magical gifts from the king of India and Arabia: a flying horse that allows instantaneous transport, a sword that simultaneously gives deadly wounds and heals with a touch, a mirror that allows the gazer to perceive falsehood, and a magic ring that enables the bearer to talk with birds. The mirror is an especially appropriate gift since the Mongol court is a site of political and amatory treachery (283–87). The mirror and the ring are given to the Mongol king's daughter, Princess Canacee, who is at an age when she is vulnerable to male perfidy (139–40).

On the day after the celebration, Princess Canacee comes upon a horrifying sight while taking her morning walk. Canacee encounters a formel in a withered tree, crying in a piteous voice, her body covered in blood. The beautiful bird has stabbed herself with her beak. It is a sight so distressing that it would make a tiger weep:

Ther nys tygre, ne noon so crueel beest  
That dwelleth outhere in wode or in forest,  
That nolde han wept, if he that he wepe koude,  
For sorwe of hire, she shrighte alwey so loude.<sup>7</sup>

[There is no tiger, no, nor cruel beast  
That dwells in wood or forest, west or east,  
But would have wept if weep indeed it could  
In pity of her, shrieking as she stood.] (419–22)<sup>8</sup>

The formel, responding to Canacee's question whether it weeps from sorrow of death or loss of love (450–53), tells a story of seduction. She was lured by a seemingly devoted tercelet (a male hawk) into surrendering her body and her heart.

Al were he ful of tresoun and falsenesse;  
It was so wrapped under humble cheere,  
And under hewe of trouthe in swich manere  
Under pleasance, and under bisy peyne,  
That I ne koude han wend he koude feyne . . .

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<sup>7</sup> All citations to *The Canterbury Tales* and *Troilus and Criseyde* refer to *The Riverside Chaucer*, 3rd ed., ed. Larry D. Benson (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1987).

<sup>8</sup> Translations come from Nevill Coghill's modern translations of *The Canterbury Tales* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1997).

[Yet he was filled with treachery, exceeding  
 In all that's false.  
 He wore the humble cloak  
 And colour of true faith in all he spoke,  
 An eagerness to please me and to serve.  
 Who could think such a hawk had power to swerve?] (506–10)

However, the faithless tercelet left her for a kite, a “newfangled” love (610). Canacee immediately tends to the swooning formel's wounds, administering medicinal herbs and constructing an infirmary “mewe.”<sup>9</sup> The tale ends with the suggestion that Canacee's brother Cambalo achieves a reconciliation of the formel and the tercelet (654–56). However there is also an ambiguous and terrible suggestion of incest: that a man named Cambalo “faught in lystes with the brethren two / For Canacee er that he myghte hire wyne” (668–69).

Karma Lochrie writes that while the “Middle Ages is positively verbose on the topics of male friendship . . . it was relatively silent about female friendship and love.”<sup>10</sup> This neglect of exchange among females might reflect misogynistic erasure of the agency of women, but there are additional explanations: anxiety about the potential that female-female relations might trespass on taboo, erotic subjects, and even potentially lead to proto-lesbian relations.<sup>11</sup> There was a tradition among classical writers that women cannot be true friends.<sup>12</sup> Joanne Findon explores female homosociality in the fourteenth-century romance *Ywain and Gawain*, an instance where an aristocratic woman forms a bond with her servant, a friendship that arises in spite of, or perhaps because of, the difference in their social status.<sup>13</sup> Between master and servant there is no competition; thus the inequality removes a source of tension that vexed the relationship between two feuding sisters who competed with each other in the romance.<sup>14</sup>

If the rarity of portrayals of female bonding reflects the anxiety of medieval man about the dangers of female friendship, the friendship in the *Squire's Tale* is the

<sup>9</sup> The *OED* defines “mew” as a place of confinement, such as a coop, cage or prison.

<sup>10</sup> Karma Lochrie, “Between Women,” *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Women's Writing*, ed. Carolyn Dinshaw and David Wallace (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 70–90; here 70.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 73, 78–80.

<sup>12</sup> In Cicero's *De Amicitia* (Book xiii), women are weak and in need of protection but they are not considered capable of the elevated exchange that exemplifies the ideal friendship found between men. Ullrich Langer suggests that female friendship is rarely portrayed in classical sources given that friendship often has a martial character. Friendship is also associated with philosophical discourse and reflects virtue developed through civic duties. *Perfect Friendship: Studies in Literature and Moral Philosophy from Boccaccio to Corneille* (Geneva: Droz, 1994); here, 115.

<sup>13</sup> Joanne Findon, “The Other Story: Female Friendship in the Middle English *Ywain and Gawain*,” *Parergon* 22.1 (2005): 71–94; here 77–78.

<sup>14</sup> *Id.*, 94.

exception that saves the rule. Assuming that female friendship is more acceptable or at least more common when there is a gap in status, the difference in species between Princess Canacee and the formel provides a suitable space for friendship to form. The falcon was a species associated with royalty. As a bird of noble rank and with beautiful “plumage” and “gentillesse” (426), the formel is a suitable companion for a princess. Falconry was a socially-approved pastime for women of noble class in contrast to other forms of hunting that require weapons.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, the nursing care that Canacee provides to the formel represents the prototypical, unthreatening female role; there is no suggestion of indecency in the relationship.

### Female Friendship: Why It Matters

The *Squire's Tale* should dispel any misconception that female bonding is of little consequence to Chaucer. The formel warns Canacee about the dangerous trap of male deceit; in effect, the formel represents an experienced woman warning the young Canacee to beware of men. (It is certain that the tercelet symbolizes the perfidious male since the falcon lapses into describing him as a “man”) (609–10). After two years of bliss, the tercelet betrayed the formel's love, fleeing the confinement of a monogamous relationship to pursue a kite:

Men loven of propre kynde newfangelnesse  
As briddes doon that men in cages fede.

[Man by his nature seeks new-fangledness,  
As do those birds that people keep in cages.] (610–11)

However fair and silky is his cage, the male bird, like other human lovers, seizes the opportunity to flee as soon as the opportunity presents itself.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Medieval tapestries in the collections of the Metropolitan Museum as well as the Musée de Cluny show aristocratic women with their falcons. William H. Forsyth, “The Noblest of Sports: Falconry in the Middle Ages,” *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, New Series 2.9 (1944 May): 253–59; here 257–58.

<sup>16</sup> In a twelfth-century poem by the Middle High German poet Der Von Kürenberg, a woman nurses a male falcon and tries to secure him with golden fetters. Unwilling to be confined, the falcon flies away to another land. The poem ends with the plea that God bring together those who love each other (“Got sende sî zesamene die geliep gerne wellen sîn!”), II, II, stanza 7, 4 (L. 9, 8), *Des Minnesangs Frühling*. Unter Benutzung der Ausgaben von Karl Lachmann und Moriz Haupt, Friedrich Vogt und Carl von Kraus bearbeitet von Hugo Moser und Helmut Tervoooren. Vol. I: *Texte*. 38th, again rev. ed. (Stuttgart: S. Hirzel, 1988).

For though thou nyght and day take of hem hede,  
 And straw hir cage faire and softe as silke,  
 And yeve hem sugre, hony, breed and milk,  
 Yet right anon as that his door is uppe  
 He with his feet wol spurne adoun his cuppe  
 And to the wode he wole and wormes ete;  
 So newefangel been they of hire mete,  
 And loven novelries of proper kynde,  
 No gentillesse of blood ne may hem bynde.

[One cares for them day-long and one engages  
 To get them straw as fair and soft as silk  
 And gifts of sugar, honey, bread and milk,  
 Yet on the instant that the slide is up,  
 The foot will spurn away the proffered cup  
 And to the woods they fly for worms to eat,  
 Such is their longing for new-fangled meat.  
 The love for novelty their natures gave them;  
 No royalty of blood has power to save them.] (612–20)

Even as the formel bleeds, our hearts are meant to “bleed” in sympathetic response to the tercelet’s betrayal of his mate. For Susan Crane, the falcon’s pitiful self-wounding signifies “a profound helplessness in the face of events”; because “externally directed action is impossible,” she turns to self-destructive violence.<sup>17</sup> Surely the falcon’s self-wounding would have resonated with Chaucer’s readers who were familiar with the pelican as a Christian symbol and with the Philomela myth. The pelican that draws blood from her breast to nourish her young recalls the sacrifice of Jesus at the crucifixion.<sup>18</sup> Beryl Rowland quotes a hymn by St. Thomas Aquinas (translated by Richard Crashaw), in which Christ is addressed as the pelican:

Oh soft self-wounding pelican,  
 Whose breast weeps balm for wounded man!  
 Ah, this way bend thy benign flood  
 To a bleeding heart that gasps for blood.<sup>19</sup>

Dante’s Beatrice refers to Christ as “il nostro Pelicano” in canto 25 of *Il Paradiso*. Using slightly different imagery, Ovid compares Philomela after she has been

<sup>17</sup> Susan Crane, *Gender and Romance in Chaucer’s Canterbury Tales* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 76–77.

<sup>18</sup> George Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), 23.

<sup>19</sup> Beryl Rowland, *Birds with Human Souls: A Guide to Bird Symbolism* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1978), 131.

raped to a dove whose breast has been bloodied by the claws of the predatory eagle (*Metamorphoses* vv.VI.528–290).<sup>20</sup>

The formel is one of a long line of women who are the victims of male abuse in the *Canterbury Tales*. Jill Mann focuses on the similarity between “Suffering Woman / Suffering God,” discussing as her principal example Griselda who is tried beyond all reasonable limits by her husband in the *Clerk’s Tale*.<sup>21</sup> Mann writes, “Human suffering and divine patience are united in one person, as Christ united manhood and the Godhead. And it is [Griselda’s] ‘wommanede’ that is the ground of the union.”<sup>22</sup> Mann’s comment that “[p]atience, like pity, is a womanly quality,”<sup>23</sup> is spot-on as a description of the females in *Squire’s Tale*: Canacee is the epitome of pity and the formel is the embodiment of patience in its original etymological sense, the act of enduring suffering. Charles Owen, Jr. suggests that through the process of complaining the formel “experiences an emotional purgation through the experience of her suffering, emerging somewhat purified because she has indulged in her bitterness.”<sup>24</sup> The text, however, gives few clues to support the conclusion that the formel has soothed her anger; rather her injuries are palliated by Canacee’s physical aid and emotional support.

For some scholars, Canacee’s friendship with the improbable talking bird seems pointless or lacking in serious purpose. Charles Muscatine was disparaging about the tale and criticized “the clumsiness” with which Chaucer handled a return to the magical realm and prior treatments of infidelity such as Dido’s complaint in the *Legends of Good Women* and Anelia’s complaint in the *House of Fame*.<sup>25</sup> E. Talbot Donaldson suggests that the Orientalism of the tale, while charming, would not have engaged the poet in his mature years.<sup>26</sup> Derek Brewer praised the opening of the tale but found the encounter between the Princess and the formel as “pale and thin.”<sup>27</sup> More recently Kathryn Lynch compares Canacee unfavorably to “the headstrong, resourceful, and libidinous” Shahrazad who famously stayed alive by

<sup>20</sup> Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, trans. A.D. Melville (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

<sup>21</sup> Jill Mann, *Feminizing Chaucer*, *Chaucer Studies* 30 (Woodbridge, Suffolk, U.K.; Rochester, NY: D.S. Brewer, 2002), 100–28.

<sup>22</sup> Mann, *Feminizing Chaucer*, 125.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> Charles A. Owen, Jr., “The Falcon’s Complaint in the *Squire’s Tale*,” *Rebels and Rivals: The Contestive Spirit in The Canterbury Tales*, *Studies in Medieval Culture*, ed. Susanna Greer Fein, David Raybin, and Peter Braeger (Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University Press, 1991), 173–88; here 185.

<sup>25</sup> Charles Muscatine, *Poetry and Crisis in the Age of Chaucer* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), 127–28.

<sup>26</sup> E. T. Donaldson, *Chaucer’s Poetry: An Anthology for the Modern Reader*, 2nd ed. (New York: Ronald, 1975), 1086. Nevill Coghill similarly associates the tale with youthful vision in his *The Poet Chaucer*, 2nd ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), 124.

<sup>27</sup> Derek S. Brewer, *Chaucer*, 2nd ed. (1953; London: Longman, 1962), 168.



regaling the ruler with enchanting tales in the *Arabian Nights*.<sup>28</sup> Lynch characterizes Canacee as “disappointing in comparison with the women of Eastern legend.”<sup>29</sup> Granted, Shahrazad is amazing in her courage and inventiveness; in keeping herself alive through captivating tales she performs the ultimate bed trick. But I am unable to agree with Lynch that Canacee is “disappointing.” Chaucer tells an entirely different tale with an entirely different purpose. Against the threat of male perfidy, the *Squire’s Tale* suggests, women have available a defensive strategy: becoming forewarned and thus forearmed about the potential for treachery. Friendships between women provide protection in a dangerous world.

Chaucer also displays female bonding as an antidote to the poison of betrayal in the *Man of Law’s Tale*. Here, Queen Constance forms a deep friendship with the constable’s daughter Hermengyld when Constance arrives in Northumbria, escaping from the vengeance of her husband’s mother. The friendship flourishes despite a disparity in status, nationality, and initially in religion. Hermengyld “takes a liking to Constance in spite of her religion not because of it”.<sup>30</sup>

The constable and dame Hermengyld his wyf  
Were payens, and that contree everywhere  
But Hermengyld loved [Constance] right as her lyf.

[This Constable and Hermengild his wife  
Were pagans like their neighbours everywhere;  
Hermengild came to love her as her life.] (II.533–35)

As with Canacee and the “fremde” falcon, foreignness and other differences do not preclude friendship; difference allows closeness to flourish. Under Constance’s influence, Hermengyld converts to Christianity. The two women become so close as to spend the night together in bed in prayer.<sup>31</sup> Their friendship is sundered when a knight whose amatory advances Constance has rejected kills Hermengyld and then falsely accuses Constance of murder. Knowing of the love between Hermengyld and Constance, both the constable and the populace are skeptical about the knight’s charge. Hermengyld’s posthumous friendship continues to protect Constance when she stands alone accused of murder and has “no

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<sup>28</sup> Lynch, “East Meets West,” 542.

<sup>29</sup> Id., 541.

<sup>30</sup> Susan Schibanoff, “Worlds Apart: Orientalism, Antifeminism, and Heresy in Chaucer’s *Man of Law’s Tale*,” *Chaucer’s Cultural Geography*, ed. Kathryn L. Lynch (New York and London: Routledge, 2002), 248–80; here 262.

<sup>31</sup> Findon comments that the friendship was non-sexual and notes precedent for women sharing a bed in a non-sexual way. “The Other Story,” 78, note 25.

champioun" (631). As soon as the knight is called upon to swear on holy books that he is telling the truth he falls dead, giving the lie to his testimony.<sup>32</sup>

It is instructive to compare these two instances of female bonding with the far more fragile friendship between men discussed in the *Knight's Tale*, where Arcite and Palamon, sworn blood brothers, become bitter enemies when they fall in love with the same woman. As Robert Stretter comments, "the disintegration of sworn brotherhood, and all it represents, underscores the overwhelming and destructive power of erotic love in the world of the tale."<sup>33</sup> When Chaucer portrays female friendship, there is no threat to the bond in that Princess Canacee and the formel cannot compete for the same lover. Constance and Hermengyld are separated by death, but Hermengyld's love as we have seen continues to protect the Queen. Friends are not only a protection against betrayal but also a bulwark against the temptation to instigate betrayal. Consider the precarious situation of Criseyde after she is bartered away from Troy in an exchange of prisoners. She is "with wommen fewe, among the Grekis stronge . . ." (*Troilus and Criseyde*, V.688); "Ther was no wight to whom she dorste hire pleyn" (V.728); "she was allone and hadde need / Of frendes help . . ." (V.1026–27). As David Aers comments, "Whereas Troilus at least has Pandarus to talk with and is in his own customary milieu, a powerful figure with friends and public identity, Criseyde is frighteningly alone."<sup>34</sup> In contrast to Criseyde, the falcon has someone to whom she can "pleyne" as she laments her anguish to Canacee. The formel has been unlucky in love but is most fortunate in friendship.

Female friendship is so important because betrayal is so common. Throughout the *Canterbury Tales*—as illustrated by the wife in the *Manciple's Tale*, Alisoun in the *Miller's Tale*, and the tercelet in the *Squire's Tale*—those who are caged seek to escape confinement. As the narrator comments in the *Manciple's Tale*, no one wants to be deprived of liberty:

Taak any bryd, and put it in a cage,  
And do al thyn entente and thy corage  
To fostre it tendrely with mete and drynke,

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<sup>32</sup> Alcuin Blamires, "Fellowship and Detraction in the Architecture of the *Canterbury Tales*: from 'The General Prologue' and 'The Knight's Tale' to 'The Parson's Prologue,'" id., *Chaucer Ethics and Gender* (Oxford, New York, et al.: Oxford University Press, 2006), 36–37, dismisses the friendship: "The intimacy of these two is required by the plot in order that Constance can be held suspect for Hermengyld's murder . . .". Although any passage can be explained as required by the necessities of plot, such an explanation obfuscates Chaucer's choice.

<sup>33</sup> Robert Stretter, "Rewriting Perfect Friendship in Chaucer's *Knight's Tale* and Lydgate's *Fabula Duorum Mercatorum*," *The Chaucer Review* 37.3 (2003): 234–52; here 239. See also his contribution to this volume.

<sup>34</sup> David Aers, "Criseyde: Woman in Medieval Society," *Chaucer Review* 13.3 (1979): 177–200; here 194.

Of alle deyntees that thou kanst bithynke;  
 And keepe it al so clenly as thou may,  
 Although his cage of gold be nevere so gay,  
 Yet hath this bryd, by twenty thousand foold,  
 Levere in a forest that is rude and coold  
 Goon ete wormes, and swich wrecchednesse;  
 For evere this bryd wol doon his bisynesse  
 To escape out of his cage, whan he may.  
 His libertee this brid desireth ay.

[Take any bird and put it in a cage  
 And let your heart's intention then engage  
 To foster it tenderly with food and drink,  
 With every dainty mess that thought can think,  
 And keep it clean as nearly as you may,  
 Caged in a cage of gold however gay,  
 That bird would rather twenty thousand fold  
 Be in a forest which is rough and cold,  
 Feeding on worms and other wretched trash.  
 It's on the watch, and ready in a flash  
 To escape out of the cage and to be gone.  
 Freedom is what it sets its heart upon.] (163–74)

But the desire to escape confinement does not justify infidelity regardless of the gender. The narrator in the *Manciple's Tale* immediately follows his description of the wife's adultery with criticism of the lecherous appetite of men who are too ready to forsake their wives (189). In *Troilus and Criseyde*, the poet rebukes the woman who betrays her lover; but in the final lines reminds the women in the audience "Beth war of men, and herkeneth what I seye" (V.1785).

John Fyler argues that while the Squire purports to condemn the treachery of men, yet perhaps we should not trust the narrator, since discourse that praises women may provide an entry into women's favor, and may reflect ulterior motives.<sup>35</sup> From the *General Prologue*, we know the Squire to be a lady's man who delights in love, and sleeps no more than does a nightingale (I.97–98). However, I disagree with Fyler's suggestion that we should not trust him: there is no indication that he would desire any woman among the Canterbury Pilgrims or gain social advancement by flattery or duplicity. Throughout his œuvre, Chaucer attacks those who betray the trust of love: here the Squire speaks with the poet's voice.

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<sup>35</sup> John M. Fyler, "Domesticating the Exotic in the *Squire's Tale*," *ELH* 55.1 (1988 Spring): 1–26; here 18–19.

## Beyond Words: Expressing Outrage Through Art

How does Chaucer portray the friendship between Princess and formel? Does Canacee have a voice? Kordecki identifies several instances of marginalization in the tale: the Oriental other, the magical other, the feminine other, and the animal other.<sup>36</sup> "The woman is aligned with the animal as other" in a "realm of magic where talking animals are very comfortable, because of their freedom of voice . . ."<sup>37</sup> Kordecki reads this as a very negative story: the tale ends with a "silent woman" and a "tragic birdcage," a tale of "discourses abbreviated and circumscribed."<sup>38</sup> The falcon "cannot be allowed to be more than a woman and the woman must conform to the passive marginality of the lady of romance."<sup>39</sup> As I read the tale, there is more going on than the marginalization of the Princess that Kordecki suggests. Canacee is praised for her "pitee," "compassion," "gentillesse" and "benignytee." Far from subordinating women, the tale celebrates the Princess's quick sympathy and generous response.

The tercelet deceived the formel with art and artifice. By falsely depicting himself as a devoted lover, the tercelet concealed his true indifference just as cosmetics conceal a blemish. While the tercelet "seemed welle of alle gentillesse / al were he ful of treson and falseness . . . So depe in greyn he dyed his coloures / Right as a serpent hit hym under floures" ["seemed a very well of gentle breeding; / Yet he was filled with treachery . . . Dyed in the grain they were, those treacherous powers / Just as a serpent hides itself in flowers"] (505–06, 511–12). Not only did he dye his colors, he "painted" his words and his countenance:

His manere was an hevene for to see  
 Til any womman were she never so wys,  
 So peynted he and kembde at point-devys  
 As wel his wordes as his couテナunce.

[And yet his manner was a heaven to see  
 For any woman, be she ne'er so wise,  
 Painted and trim and barbered to the eyes  
 Both in his words and in his countenance.] (558–61)

Far from being silenced, Canacee speaks to the formel through both words and art. Canacee immediately responds to the formel by sympathizing with her plight: "Ye sle me with youre sorwe verrailly, I have of yow so great compassioun" (462–63). The Princess invokes divine aide to help the formel "as wisly help me

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<sup>36</sup> Kordecki, "Animal Discourse," 278.

<sup>37</sup> Id., 281.

<sup>38</sup> Id., 294.

<sup>39</sup> Id., 293.

grete God of kynde" (469), thereby appealing to a God that oversees relations between species and acts kindly to those in need. Canacee weeps "as she to water wolde" (496); "Greet was the sorwe fro the haukes harm, / That Canacee and alle hir women made . . ." (632–33). In Part One of the tale, there are notable instances of *occupatio*, most famously, the narrator's inability to describe Canacee's beauty: "To telle yow al hir beautee, / It lyth nat in my tonge . . ." (34–35).<sup>40</sup> In Part Two on the other hand, there is an open channel of clear communication between Princess and bird.

But Canacee's most powerful expression of her sympathy is pictorial rather than verbal. Canacee replies to the tercelet's abuse of art and artifice—his dyed colors and painted words and countenance—by creating her own language through art. The painted mewe represents an alternative discourse by which Canacee voices her outrage at the suffering of her friend the formel. On the walls of the infirmary mewe, Canacee creates a damning counternarrative of the faithlessness shown by false male fowls:

And by hire beddes heed she made a mewe  
 And covered it with veluettes blewe,  
 In signe of trouthe that is in wommen sene  
 And all withoute, the mewe is peynted grene,  
 In which were peynted all thise false fowles,  
 As ben this tidyves, tercelettes and owls;  
 Right for despit were peynted him bisyde  
 Pyes, on hem for to crie and chide.

[Beside her bed she made a little mew  
 To house the falcon, hung with velvet blue  
 To signify fair faith, so often seen  
 In women, and the mew was painted green  
 Without, with pictures of these treacherous fowls  
 Like tytyfers and tercelets and owls,  
 And there were magpies painted too, to chide  
 Them spitefully, to chatter and deride.] (643–50)

The paintings in Canacee's mewe depict deception, the ultimate communication gap, where avian males have falsely promised love to their female partners.<sup>41</sup> I

<sup>40</sup> For a thorough description of *occupatio*, see Alan S. Ambrisco, "'It Lyth Nat in my Tong,' *Occupatio* and Otherness in the *Squire's Tale*," *The Chaucer Review* 38.3 (2004): 205–28.

<sup>41</sup> Donald C. Baker has identified as likely sources for the *Squire's Tale* medieval beast fables, *the Owl and the Nightingale*, and *the Arabian Knights*. *The Squire's Tale* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990); here 15–20. Of special interest is the tale of Princess Dunya who comes across pigeons caught in a trap. The female bird helps to rescue the male. Later when the males are again ensnared, the male bird flies off without making any effort to help his mate escape. Lest the Princess assume from this experience that men are inevitably perfidious, her suitor shows her a

suggest that those critics who read the *Squire's Tale* as a slight, juvenile work that lacks the seriousness of purpose of Chaucer's later work have failed to consider the message of Canacee's mewe. Ekphrasis functions here to illustrate a moral lesson.<sup>42</sup>

Ekphrastic writing represents by its nature a contest between the power of image and the rival power of language.<sup>43</sup> Inevitably the ekphrastic narration is one of verbal silence because the pictures do the talking. The ekphrastic medium by its nature liberates the silent painting or sculpture because through the author, the written word gives a voice to visual representation. From early Ovidian myth, women turned to art to speak when there was no other way to express their outrage at male treachery; thus Philomela, after her ravisher has cut out her tongue, weaves a tapestry to communicate that her brother-in-law has raped her.<sup>44</sup> In the *Squire's Tale*, Canacee "speaks" her grief and outrage against faithless males through means of visual representation. The ekphrastic form is inherently unstable and elides boundaries between the written word and the pictorial medium. How appropriate that Chaucer invokes this genre to recount cross-species communication between woman and feminized bird.

The program of murals on the walls of the formel's mewe can be compared to another ekphrastic display, the Temple of Diana in the *Knight's Tale*.<sup>45</sup> As James Heffernan observes, often ekphrasis involves a gendered contest, where there is conflict between the male gazer and the beautiful, desired female object.<sup>46</sup> The murals in the Temple of Diana display scenes from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in which

pavilion where three scenes are depicted: one in which the female rescues her mate, another in which the male deserts her, and a third in which the male attempted to rescue his mate but was prevented by a huge raptor that seizes him in his talons. Ibid, 16. Thus this potential source for the paintings on the wall of Canacee's mewe also employed ekphrasis in the context of a discourse on fidelity.

<sup>42</sup> As Haiko Wandhoff notes, the technique of *Biledensatz* operates as a proleptic device, presenting the reader with a picture that anticipates the moralizing maxim that will be developed by the text. Wandhoff, "Founded in a Picture: Ekphrastic Framing in Ancient, Medieval, and Contemporary Literature," *Framing Borders in Literature and Other Media*, ed. Werner Wolf and Walter Bernhart. *Studies in Intermediality*, 1 (Amsterdam and New York: Rodolpi, 2006), 209–28; Haiko Wandhoff, *Ekphrasis: Kunstbeschreibungen und virtuelle Räume in der Literatur des Mittelalters*. *Trends in Medieval Philology*, 3 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2003).

<sup>43</sup> James A.W. Heffernan, *Museum of Words: The Poetics of Ekphrasis from Homer to Ashbery* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 1.

<sup>44</sup> *Met.*, VI. 573–87.

<sup>45</sup> Other medieval authors utilized ekphrasis. In "Guigemar," one of the *lais* of Marie de France (ca. 1165), a woman is locked in a tower by her jealous husband. On the walls of her chamber, there is a mural depicting Venus throwing into the fire Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. In a reversal of the usual meaning of excommunication, Venus threatens to excommunicate any one who considers repressing love in favor of engaging in the artificial, protracted dance of courtship. See *Les Lais de Marie de France*, ed. Jean Rychner (Paris: Champion, 1983). For an English translation, see *The Lais of Marie de France*, trans. Glen S. Burgess and Keith Busby (London: Penguin, 1999), 46.

<sup>46</sup> Heffernan, *Museum of Words*, 1.

men pursue women who were devoted to the cult of the virgin Diana with the intent to ravish them (*Knight's Tale* IV.2056–66). Jupiter, who has disguised himself as Diana, pursues Callisto. After Callisto's futile struggle to escape his violence, she is overpowered and raped (*Met.* II.453–90). As a result of Juno's jealousy, Callisto is turned into a bear and set among the heavens with the son whom Jupiter engendered. In another well-known myth, Apollo pursues Daphne as relentlessly as a hunter tracks a hare. Daphne makes her escape by appealing to her father, the river god Penneus, to transform her into a laurel tree (*Met.* I.531–63), literally surrendering her personhood to save her virginity.

Heffernan draws a convincing parallel between Emelye's initial devotion to virginity and Callisto and Daphne, who are pursued by men against their wishes. Emelye is directed by her brother-in-law Theseus to marry Arcite or Palamon, whichever knight wins the duel.<sup>47</sup> Emelye dutifully complies with Theseus's order, first agreeing to marry the apparent victor Arcite, then accepting Palamon after Arcite is killed as a result of divine intervention. There are obvious parallels between the portrayal of violence on the murals of the temples in the *Knight's Tale* and the plot of the *Squire's Tale*. Given that the formel talks like a woman, cries like a woman, and beats her breast like a woman, we can compare her to an Ovidian heroine, a woman transformed into an animal as a result of male violence. Princess Canacee, like Emelye, is vulnerable to the marriage arrangements imposed on her by the patriarchy, even if the king should order that she marry her own brother. While Theseus controls the construction and decoration of the Temples of Venus, Diana, and Mars, apparently without consulting Emelye, Canacee is the artist who designs the formel's mewe. In fashioning the mewe, Canacee decides on its structure, selects the colors (for example the blue of fidelity), and supplies soft velvet bedding. As artist, Canacee exercises creative agency not so different from that of the poet himself.

### Beyond Words: Canacee's Caregiving

Canacee's kindness provides balm that soothes the wounded formel both in her status as female and in her status as bird. The formel movingly thanks Canacee for her "gentillesse," "compassion," and "benignytee":

That pitee renneth soone in gentle heret . . .  
Is proved al day . . .  
For gentil herte kitheth gentillesse.  
I se wel that ye han of my distresse

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<sup>47</sup> Id., 63–64.

Compassioun, my faire Canacee,  
Of verray wommanly benignytee  
That Nature in youre principles hath set.

[That pity is swift to course in noble heart,  
Feeling the likeness of another's smart,  
Is daily proved, as anyone can see,  
Both by experience and authority,  
For gentleness of birth and breeding shows  
Itself in gentleness; you feel my woes  
As I can see, and sure it is a fashion  
Well fitting a princess to show compassion  
As you have done, my lovely Canace,  
In true and womanly benignity  
That nature planted in your disposition.]

(479, 481, 483–87)

Carolynn Van Dyke raises the question of whether the mew that Canacee offers the injured bird is a cage in which the formel "is defined as a pet."<sup>48</sup> Chaucer followed Boethius in his disapproval of keeping birds in a cage against their nature. I agree with Crane's visualization of the mew not as a cage with a door but rather as a breezy nest, a "wonderfully complex attempt at hosting without taking hostage."<sup>49</sup> Thus we can hope that the formel, once she has recovered physically and psychologically, may exercise the freedom desired by all living things to fly away.

The care that Canacee provides her injured friend remains an ideal of behavior for ethicists today. Carol Gilligan describes a woman's "conception of morality" as one that is "concerned with the activity of care . . . responsibility and relationships," in contrast to a male "conception of morality as fairness," one that is more concerned with "rights and rules."<sup>50</sup> Gilligan's Ethics of Care has been criticized on several grounds, including whether the concept applies outside of the domain of family care relationships and whether it is essentialist, confining women to subordinate domestic roles.<sup>51</sup> However, as Eva Kittay argues, someone must care for disabled dependents: "if men do not take up the role, women will

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<sup>48</sup> Carolynn Van Dyke, *Chaucer's Agents: Cause and Representation in Chaucerian Narrative* (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson Press, 2005), 85.

<sup>49</sup> Susan Crane, "For the Birds," The Biennial Chaucer Lecture. *Studies in the Age of Chaucer: The Yearbook of the New Chaucer Society* 29 (2007): 23–41; here 38. Caged birds by their nature desire to return to nature. *Riverside Chaucer*, Boece, Book III, Metrum 2, 423.

<sup>50</sup> Carol Gilligan, *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), 13.

<sup>51</sup> Ann Diller, "Review: The Ethics of Care and Education: A New Paradigm, its Critics and its Educational Significance," *Curriculum Inquiry* 18.3 (1988 Autumn): 325–42; here 331–33.



not simply abandon it."<sup>52</sup> To the extent that we see the formel as a disabled woman, there is a modernity to this tale, with one woman giving care to another in need.

Feminist advocates of animal rights suggest that human beings have a moral responsibility to care for all creatures with which we can communicate.<sup>53</sup> We are urged to struggle against abuse of all life forms and to improve the status of animals as well as human beings. Martha Nussbaum has articulated a vision of a world, perhaps utopian, which fully empowers the disabled, extends citizenship to all individuals regardless of nationality, and incorporates animals into notions of social justice.<sup>54</sup> Canacee's care of the formel anticipates this call to attend to those who are impaired, those who are foreign, and those who are non-human. In recent years, anthropomorphosis has received bad press, as a simplistic or excessively sentimental genre. Lynch complains that the "talking bird, which ought to seem a strange and exotic thing, becomes comically indistinguishable from any swooning courtly maiden."<sup>55</sup> However, as Onno Dag Oerlemans points out, it is difficult to escape portraying animals as having human characteristics:

Abstractly considered, the problem of how we are to view animals neutrally, to see them as they are and not as they are like us, probably has no solution. We cannot, finally, distinguish those features of their being (emotions, desires, etc.) which are truly theirs from those with which we are familiar because we experience them ourselves.<sup>56</sup>

Van Dyke reads the *Squire's Tale* as anthropomorphizing to a greater extent than other stories that Chaucer populates with birds and beasts. She sees the formels as "virtual people" and argues that in other texts where Chaucer places more emphasis on zoological reality, he breaks down differences between species.<sup>57</sup> I disagree with Van Dyke's suggestion that we are estranged from the formel by virtue of the anthropomorphosis; rather, Chaucer uses the anthropomorphosis to invite us to sympathize with "the other," whether species, nationality, or gender.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Eva Kittay, "Love's Labor Revisited," *Hypatia* 17.3. Feminism and Disability, Part 2 (2002 Summer): 237–50; here 238.

<sup>53</sup> Josephine Donovan and Carol J. Adams, *The Feminist Tradition in Animal Ethics: A Reader* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 3.

<sup>54</sup> Martha C. Nussbaum, *Frontiers of Justice: Disability, Nationality, and Species Membership*. The Tanner Lectures on Human Values (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2006), 17–18.

<sup>55</sup> Lynch, "East Meets West," 542.

<sup>56</sup> Onno Dag Oerlemans, *Romanticism and the Materiality of Nature* (Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 68.

<sup>57</sup> Van Dyke, *Chaucer's Agents*, 106.

<sup>58</sup> See Albrecht Classen, *The Power of a Woman's Voice in Medieval and Early Modern Literatures: New Approaches to German European Women Writers and to Violence Against Women in Premodern Times*. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 1 (Berlin and New York: Walter de

As John Fyler observes, the *Squire's Tale* addresses "three interrelated attempts to imagine the other: a man imagining a woman, a Christian European imagining a heathen Tartar, and a human being imagining a formel."<sup>59</sup>

Both the "strange knight . . . of Arabe and of Inde" and the "faucon pergryn . . . of fremde land" are foreign (89, 110, 428–29). As Fyler notes, these efforts at imagination involve comparison of similarities as well as of differences.<sup>60</sup> Herbert Leicester comments that the *Canterbury Tales* involve the "attempt, continually repeated, to see from another person's view, to stretch and extend the self by learning to speak in the voices of others."<sup>61</sup> Because this formel is a peregrine "wandering" falcon, she is also a pilgrim.<sup>62</sup> Of course Chaucer's project is not about a fictional pilgrimage to Canterbury, it is about the pilgrimage of life that represents the human condition. We can read the *Squire's Tale* as a discussion of the challenges in communication among those of different status.<sup>63</sup>

Even if the relationship between Canacee and the formel seems to represent an ideal in communication, we cannot read the tale as an idyll. The exchange between the Princess and the formel lasts only a brief shining moment. The narrator does not linger on the moving story, but returns abruptly to the world of chivalry, which we surmise attracts the Squire more than the world of women's complaints. The Squire leaves "Cancee hir hauk kepyng" to rejoin the narrative of "aventures and of batailes" (vv.651, 658–59).<sup>64</sup> More seriously, at the end there is anxiety whether the Princess, the epitome of beauty, measure, and "gentillesse," may end

Gruyter, 2007). Chapter 6, 187–230, provides an extensive discussion of violence against women and female suffering.

<sup>59</sup> Fyler, "Domesticating the Exotic," 12.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> H. Marshall Leicester, Jr., "The Art of Impersonation: A General Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*," *PMLA* 95.2 (1980 March): 213–24; here 221.

<sup>62</sup> Bernie Witlieb suggests in a July 23, 2009 entry on the Chaucer ListServ that there is a connection between Mongols, Genghis Khan, and the falcon. The Mongols had hawks and falcons in great numbers. According to legend, one of Genghis's ancestors had survived in a mountain massif because of heaven-sent food brought by a falcon. Witlieb cites Harold Lamb, *The March of the Barbarians* (New York: Doubleday, 1940), 70, and Michael Prawdin, *The Mongol Empire: Its Rise and Legacy* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1963), 33; see also Antti Ruotsala, *Europeans and Mongols in the Middle of the Thirteenth Century: Encountering the Other*. The Finnish Academy of Science and Letters. Humaniora, 314 (Helsinki: The Finnish Academy of Science and Letters, 2001).

<sup>63</sup> For recent animal-related criticism of interest to scholars of the medieval and early modern period, see Laurie Shannon, "The Eight Animals in Shakespeare; or, Before the Human," *PMLA* 124.2 (March 2009): 472–79; and Bruce Holsinger, "Of Pigs and Parchment: Medieval Studies and the Coming of the Animal," *PMLA* 124.2 (March 2009): 616–23.

<sup>64</sup> Carol F. Heffernan comments that "to the squire-narrator, the male world of chivalry is more full of marvels than the one we have just left," even though "it was provided with a woman who could speak with birds." "Chaucer's *Squire's Tale*: Content and Structure," *The Orient in Chaucer and Medieval Romance*. Studies in Medieval Romance (Woodbridge, Suffolk, U.K.; Rochester, NY: D. S. Brewer, 2003), 63–82; here 74.

up in an incestuous union with her brother. The evidence is inconclusive because Chaucer's ending is so elliptical.<sup>65</sup> Perhaps our fear for Canacee's future renders her friendship with the formel all the more poignant and precious.

Canacee is capable of a friendship with a bird because she can transcend differences. It is not only her magic ring but also her "gentil herte" (479) that gives her the ability to listen to, and empathize with, one who is different from herself, literally "other." Perhaps apparently insurmountable differences in gender, race, species, class, and national origin are not insuperable if one has the heart to try to communicate.

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<sup>65</sup> For a discussion of the question, see Ambrisco, *Occupatio*, 221, and Elizabeth Scala, *Absent Narratives, Manuscript Textuality, and Literary Structure in Late Medieval England*. The New Middle Ages (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 71–96.



## Chapter 14

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### The Lure of Mastery: Sovereign Fathers and Sovereign Friends in *Hamlet* and Michel de Montaigne's "Of Friendship"<sup>1</sup>

If it were true that sovereignty and freedom are the same, then indeed no man could be free, because sovereignty, the ideal of uncompromising self-sufficiency and mastership, is contradictory to the very condition of plurality. No man can be sovereign because not one man, but men, inhabit the earth—and not, as the tradition since Plato holds, because of man's limited strength, which makes him depend upon the help of others. All the recommendations the tradition has to offer to overcome the condition of non-sovereignty and win an untouchable integrity of the human person amount to a compensation for the intrinsic "weakness" of plurality. Yet, if these recommendations were followed and this attempt to overcome the consequences of plurality were successful, the result would be not so much sovereign domination of one's self as arbitrary domination of all others, or, as in Stoicism, the exchange of the real world for an imaginary one where these others would simply not exist.

—Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition*<sup>2</sup>

Drawing attention to the discourses of ideal friendship in the Renaissance and their articulation of an alternative form of sovereignty to monarchic rule and patriarchal authority, recent scholarship implicates a notion of friendship that emerged toward the end of the sixteenth century in a broader cultural movement that attempted to establish stable boundaries between public and private

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<sup>1</sup> For their willingness to read this essay and to offer suggestions toward its completion, I would like to thank Theodore Leinwand and Jonathan Auerbach of the University of Maryland.

<sup>2</sup> Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1958), 234.

identities.<sup>3</sup> Early modern writers utilized the term “sovereign” when describing the domain of friendship, not only to refer to what at least since Plato had been considered the superlative quality of homosocial relationships but also to highlight the possibility for friendship to establish a non-hierarchical *polis* insulated and independent from the rest of the political economy.<sup>4</sup> As an alternative to the compulsory bonds of kinship and kingdom, friendship represented an arena of free choice.<sup>5</sup>

Following classical formulations, the humanist vision of ideal friendship imagined the friend as “another self.”<sup>6</sup> Thomas Elyot, for example, described friendship as “a blessed and stable connexyon of sondry wylles, makyng of two persons one, in hauynge and suffrynge.”<sup>7</sup> This image of one soul in two bodies corresponded to a desire for an absolute identification between partners that could serve as a potential shield against the sullyng interactions of commercial and political action.<sup>8</sup> In an early modern world of class hierarchies, it is not difficult to imagine how such an idealization—one that attempted “to make men the same”<sup>9</sup>—would have encouraged the resurrection of a form of individual

<sup>3</sup> See Tom Macfaul, *Male Friendship in Shakespeare and his Contemporaries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2007), 1–29, and especially Laurie Shannon, *Sovereign Amity: Figures of Friendship in Shakespearean Contexts* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago, 2002), 1–53. Though I depend heavily on the work of many other scholars in the writing of this paper, the title of my essay conveys a particular indebtedness to Shannon’s book.

<sup>4</sup> This does not in any way suggest that the discourses of early modern friendship were not often deeply bound up with notions of public political life. But if we accept C. Stephen Jaeger’s assertion that “[m]edieval poets and historians were largely indifferent to what we call private life,” then the early modern affective possibility of bracketing public and private life with regard to friendship reveals a quite different political and emotional topography; indeed, Jaeger himself finds Shakespeare’s *King Lear* symptomatic of a western culture that had “increasingly privatized” the experience of love and friendship. C. Stephen Jaeger, *Ennobling Love: In Search of a Lost Sensibility*. The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1999), 4.

<sup>5</sup> As Macfaul, *Male Friendship*, 5, argues, by the time Shakespeare was writing toward the end of the sixteenth century, “the Protestant Church of England was clearly beginning to impose ideas of the nuclear family as the foundational unit of society. With the destruction of other modes of allegiance, the family became an increasingly monolithic commitment for the individual—and friendship, the one remaining alternative mode of allegiance, therefore came to be presented in stark opposition to family.”

<sup>6</sup> Laurie Shannon, “Monarchs, Minions, and ‘Sovereigne’ Friendship,” *Friendship*, special issue, *South Atlantic Quarterly* 97.1 (1998): 91–112; here 92.

<sup>7</sup> Thomas Elyot, *The Boke Named the Governour* (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1537), 135. <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/> (last accessed on January 30, 2010).

<sup>8</sup> Macfaul, *Male Friendship*, 5, suggests that Shakespeare’s plays were performed at a crucial moment in the western history of friendship, “as older feudal modes of allegiance gave way to modern friendship of affection.” Without completely disappearing, the medieval conception of friends as those who were materially attached to one as neighbors and as family members began to compete with an emerging form of “noninstrumental friendship, based in affinity, that d[id] not (and should not) obtrude on a wider world of public affairs.”

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 83.

sovereignty, however paradoxically dependent it was upon mutual support; the constant friend impervious to fortune could bolster the Stoic's fantasy of an "inner citadel" of thought.<sup>10</sup> And even when the rhetoric of sovereign friendship, wherein identity is "an antidote to the politics of hierarchical difference," was self-consciously recognized as a fantasy, it could still remain in place as an ideal for early moderners to pursue.<sup>11</sup> Thus, Laurie Shannon correctly diagnoses sovereign friendship in the early modern period as a manifestation of "the private subject's sovereign aspirations."<sup>12</sup>

As my epigraph suggests, to Hannah Arendt all forms of sovereignty are founded on escapist fantasies that attempt to deny the fundamental plurality of public life, the *non-sovereignty* of all human action within the context of boundless language and an inevitable dependence on the unpredictable reactions of others.<sup>13</sup> It may at first seem counterintuitive to apply Arendt's concept of non-sovereignty to a critique of early modern sovereign friendship—a relationship of interdependence between two persons might appear to necessitate abandoning the notion of individual sovereignty. And yet, if the figure of the monarch symbolizes

<sup>10</sup> The seventeenth century Neostoic reflections of the English clergyman Joseph Hall reproduce in a Protestant context the early Roman Stoic conception of the mind as another polis: "Everie man hath a kingdome within himselfe: Reason as the Princesse dwells in the highest and inwardest room . . . violent passions are as rebels to disturb the common peace." Joseph Hall, *Meditations and Vowes* (London: Humfrey Lownes, 1605), 97–98. <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/> (last accessed on January 30, 2010). It should be noted, however, that Christian Neostoicism in the sixteenth century often transformed the early Roman Stoical belief in reflection as a retreat from the uncertainty of worldly affairs into programs for practical political action, tempering where necessary the "pagan" belief in self-sufficiency as a doctrine antithetical to dependency on a Christian God. See Adriana McCrea, *Constant Minds: Political Virtue and the Lipsian Paradigm in England, 1584–1650*, *The Mental and Cultural World of Tudor and Stuart England* (Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 3–39. Perhaps best exemplified by the life of Justus Lipsius, friendship in this context more closely resembles the later Roman Stoicism of Cicero, which was "adapted to the practical requirements of the Roman senatorial class," and often extended friendship "beyond the inner circle of two or a few friends to widening circles of humanity . . ." Mark Morford, *Stoics and Neostoics: Rubens and the Circle of Lipsius* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1991), 14–51; here 15, 25. See also Jacqueline Lagrée, "Constancy and Coherence," *Stoicism: Transitions and Transformations*, ed. Steven K. Strange and Jack Zupko (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2004), 148–76. For the purposes of this essay, though, the term "Stoicism" will not be explicitly linked with any particular offshoot of early modern Neostoic philosophy. Rather, it will be deployed as a way of harnessing Arendt's conception of the term and its history in the west in order to suggest similarities with the privatized friendships articulated by Montaigne's *Essais* and Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. One final note: Montaigne is often viewed as an example of early modern Neostoic thought only after a considerable number of qualifications are made about his idiosyncrasies as an individual thinker. If analysis is limited to Montaigne's discussion of friendship, though, the term "Stoic" as Arendt defines it will prove an appropriate label. For more on Arendt and Stoicism, see note 14.

<sup>11</sup> Shannon, "Monarchs, Minions," 92.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid, 93.

<sup>13</sup> Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 234.

what Arendt outlines as the first mode of sovereignty — “the arbitrary domination of all others” — sovereign friendship occupies the mode of “Stoicism” with a minimal difference: it is indeed “the exchange of the real world for an imaginary one where these others” — with the sole exception of the ideal friend — “would simply not exist.”<sup>14</sup>

What I want to suggest is that there is something of a shared assumption between the otherwise distinct modes of thought that I will be calling “sovereign fathers” and “sovereign friends,” and it can be located in their mutual refusal to acknowledge plurality, vulnerability, and inevitable dependence, and in their collaboration as a Scylla and Charybdis of sovereignty between which the early modern (masculine) subject oscillates. By reading Michel de Montaigne’s essay “Of Friendship” alongside *Hamlet*, this exploratory essay will examine two different early modern articulations of the movement away from sovereign fathers and toward sovereign friends. The question I will pose is whether or not *Hamlet*, having thoroughly considered both notions of sovereignty, finally adopts a posture of non-sovereignty by risking a further shift to what we could call non-sovereign friendship.

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid, 234. Though it is beyond the scope of this paper to give a full account of Arendt’s reflections on what she considered the western tradition’s tendency to embrace Stoic forms of thought and its pernicious effects on the viability of a public political sphere, a few summary remarks seem appropriate. First, Arendt locates a link between two western concepts of sovereignty in the emergence of Stoic philosophy during the late Roman Empire. Against a notion of political life in which men could participate as citizens only through the mastery of others, Stoicism raised thought itself to the position of the sovereign: “Epictetus transposed these worldly relationships into relationships within man’s own self, whereby he discovered that no power is so absolute as that which man wields over himself, and that the inward space where man struggles and subdues himself is more entirely his own, namely, more securely shielded from interference, than any world home could ever be.” Hannah Arendt, “What is Freedom?” *The Portable Hannah Arendt*, ed. Peter Baehr (New York: Penguin, 2000), 438–61; here 442. Thus, for Arendt, freedom as a political concept is logically prior to the metaphoric translation of freedom to an inner, non-political realm and its understanding in Christian thought as the question of the freedom of the will. For further evidence, see Arendt’s posthumously published *The Life of the Mind*, in which she provides examples of the recurrent influence of Stoical thought; Hannah Arendt, *The Life of the Mind* (New York and London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1977), 151–66. Also see Serena Parekh, *Hannah Arendt and the Challenge of Modernity* (New York and Abingdon: Routledge, 2008), 111–15. Because this paper draws heavily upon both Arendt and Hegel, it is also important to point out that Arendt’s interpretation of Stoicism is being read here as a rearticulation of Hegel’s well-known account of the master-slave dialectic and of the unhappy consciousness, which also treat Stoicism as a form of revolt against the material conditions of slavery. See Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *The Phenomenology of Spirit*, trans. A.V. Miller (Oxford: Oxford University, 1977), 119–23. Finally, for a discussion of the similarities between Hegel’s and Arendt’s diagnoses of Stoicism as “an inner withdrawal from political conflict,” see Andrew Shanks, *Hegel’s Political Theology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 155–60.



## Montaigne and La Boétie

Well before Hamlet believes he has sufficiently demonstrated the legitimacy of the ghost that resembles his father, the prince already appears guilty to himself for having delayed revenge. Having failed to restore the image of the absolute authority of his father—an image tarnished first and foremost by Old Hamlet's own mortality but also through Gertrude's subsequent infidelity and its threat to young Hamlet's inheritance—the demands of the paternal sovereign return to Hamlet in the form of an emasculating insult: "Who calls me villain, breaks my pate across, / Plucks off my beard and blows it in my face." (2.2.567–68).<sup>15</sup> That now the reappearance of the injunction to "Remember me" (1.5.91) issues from a "who" suggests that for Hamlet, moral law is itself a sort of dead father perpetually reminding him of his promise to "wipe away all trivial fond records" from the "table" of his memory (1.5.98–99). A world where memory seems almost universally to have failed makes it into an "unweeded garden," under Claudius' rule (1.2.135). As the agent of his father's will, Hamlet is left to remember on behalf of sovereignty itself. Cast as a hendiadys embodied, both "scourge and minister," Hamlet finds himself in the kingly role of pursuing justice and reformation (4.3.177). But while upholding the demands of patriarchal authority, a fantasy of lost sovereignty's return is preserved.<sup>16</sup> This quest for the restoration of an ideal

<sup>15</sup> All references to the play are from *Hamlet*, ed. Harold Jenkins, The Arden Shakespeare, 2nd ser. (Walton-on-Thames: Methuen and Co., 1997).

<sup>16</sup> The above summary draws upon the work of a host of critics, but most notably on John Kerrigan, *Revenge Tragedy: Aeschylus to Armageddon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 170–92, who identifies the role of memory in *Hamlet* and its problematic relation to revenge, observing that "An Orestes-figure," like Hamlet, "so devoted to the past will find it hard to avenge" (182); "Even when comfort is found in the past, that only makes the present more desolate, 'an unweeded garden'" (183). On Hamlet's internalization of his father's desire for revenge see, for example, Joanna Montgomery Byles, "Tragic Alternatives: Eros and Superego Revenge in *Hamlet*," *New Essays on Hamlet*, ed. Mark Thornton Burnett and John Manning. The Hamlet Collection, 1 (New York: AMS Press, 1994), 117–34, who suggests: "The superego, then, is a revengeful force which seeks to punish. Hamlet tries to become his father's superego, but because he cannot act on it, his own superego takes revenge on him — tortures him, kills him eventually" (129). Though this paper will attempt to establish a fundamental connection between the sovereignty of patriarchal hierarchies and the sovereignty of private, ideal friendships, the role of Hamlet's mother should not be obscured. For instance, Janet Adelman, *Suffocating Mothers: Fantasies of Maternal Origin in Shakespeare's Plays, Hamlet to The Tempest* (New York: Routledge and London, 1992), 11–37, makes use of psychoanalytic perspectives in an attempt to restore the role of Hamlet's mother to the center of the drama: "[T]he fathers in *Hamlet* keep threatening to collapse into one another, annihilating in their collapse the son's easy assumption of his father's identity. . . . The initiating cause of this collapse is Hamlet's mother: her failure to serve her son as the repository of his father's ideal image by mourning him appropriately is the symptom of her deeper failure to distinguish between his father and his father's brother. . . . as she forgets, he inherits the burden of differentiating, of idealizing and making static the past; hence the ghost's insistence on remembering . . . and the degree to which Hamlet registers his failure to avenge his father as a failure of memory" (13). See also Jacques Lacan, "Desire and the Interpretation of Desire in

world of dead fathers resembles what Nietzsche would later identify as the potential for political violence in what he calls monumental history, wherein, "Hass gegen die Mächtigen und Grossen ihrer Zeit für gesättigte Bewunderung der Mächtigen und Grossen vergangener Zeiten ausgiebt . . . ob sie es deutlich wissen oder nicht, sie handeln jedenfalls so, als ob ihr Wahlspruch wäre: lasst die Todten die Lebendigen begraben" (302; "hatred of present power and greatness masquerades as an extreme admiration of the past . . . whether they wish it or no, they are acting as though their motto were: 'Let the dead bury the living.'"<sup>17</sup>

Before exploring any possible alternatives to revenge that friendship might offer Hamlet, I want to examine the case of Michel de Montaigne as an example of a late sixteenth century shift away from the sovereign commands of the father to the sovereignty of private friendship. In "Of Vanity," Montaigne relates the regret he experiences when observing the diminished quality of the plot of ground that his own dead father had cultivated and that he has inherited, the French estate which bears the family name. Published with the final volume of the *Essais* in 1588, twenty years after the death of his father, the essay records a sort of confession: "Et accuse ma faineance de n'avoir passé outre à parfaire les beaux commencements qu'il a laissez en sa maison; d'autant plus que je suis en grans termes d'en estre le dernier possesseur de ma race et d'y porter la dernière main" (3.9.419; "And I blame my indolence that I have not gone further toward completing the things he began so handsomely in his house; all the more because I have a good chance of being the last of my race to possess it, and the last to put a hand to it," 3.9.726).<sup>18</sup> Even while Montaigne writes, "Je me glorifie que sa volonté s'exerce encores et agisse par moy" ("I glory in the fact that his will still operates and acts through me"), he also suggests, to borrow Hamlet's words, "what a falling off there was"

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*Hamlet*," *Literature and Psychoanalysis*, ed. Shoshana Felman (Baltimore: John Hopkins University, 1982), 11–52. As I move to discuss ideal friendship in the play, I want to preserve the link that Adelman establishes between the act of avenging the father and the attempt to reform the mother, but I will not take a side with regard to their priority in psychoanalytic terms. The important matter here will be that if the mother-father dynamic is sutured together in the play by Hamlet's desire for revenge, ideal friendship emerges as a possibility opposed to that vexed familial dynamic in its totality.

<sup>17</sup> Friedrich Nietzsche, *Unzeitgemässe Betrachtungen*, vol 1., *Nietzsche's Werke* (Leipzig: C. G. Naumann, 1905); the English translation is taken from Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Use and Abuse of History*, trans. Adrian Collins (New York: Liberal Arts Press, 1957), 17. Editor's note: the translation, to be more precise, would have to read: hatred against the powerful and great ones of the own time . . . masquerades as a complacent admiration of the powerful and great ones of the past . . .

<sup>18</sup> All Montaigne citations are taken from the author's 1588 Bourdeaux Copy, made available as digital images by *The Montaigne Project*, <http://www.lib.uchicago.edu/efts/ARTFL/projects/montaigne/> (last accessed on January 30, 2010). The English translations are from Michel de Montaigne, *The Complete Works of Montaigne: Essays, Travel Journal, Letters*, trans. Donald Frame (1958; Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1967). Citations are listed in my text by book, essay, and page number.

from his father to himself. Deficient in two filial responsibilities, he has both neglected the upkeep of the estate and failed to produce a male heir who will inherit his father's land.

But where Hamlet's ethical relationship to the dead is dominated by the commands of his father, Montaigne transmutes fidelity to his dead father into an ethics of friendship. In the preface to his "Apology for Raymond Sebond," Montaigne relates that his earlier vernacular translation of Sebond's *Theologia Naturalis* was carried out at the request of his dying father: "C'estoit une occupation bien estrange et nouvelle pour moy; mais, estant de fortune pour lors de loisir, et ne pouvant rien refuser au commandement du meilleur pere qui fut onques, j'en vins à bout comme je peus . . ." (2.12.177; "It was a very strange and a new occupation for me; but being by chance at leisure at the time, and being unable to disobey any command of the best father that ever was, I got through it as best I could . . ." 2.12.320). As for Hamlet, the memory of his own dead father is fashioned into an ideal image whose commands cannot be resisted. But if the passage of time lacerates the guilty conscience of the Prince of Denmark ("I do not know / Why yet I live to say this thing's to do," 4.4.43–44), Montaigne leisurely creates space between himself and the will of his father by means of a strategic delay. Further, the "Apology," as readers of Montaigne have long noted, does not live up to its name; defending Sebond from the critical attacks of other writers does not prevent Montaigne from criticizing the presumptions of natural theology as an intellectual overreaching that cannot be sustained.<sup>19</sup> In more ways than one, then, Montaigne undermines the will of his father by perpetuating the memory of Sebond on his own terms.

In "Of Friendship," Montaigne shifts attention away from a sovereign patriarchy that is subservient to the model of the (e)state and toward the "souveraine et maistresse amitié" (1.28.72; "sovereign and masterful friendship," 1.28.140), that, in its utter particularity, is subservient to no model. "[P]arfaicte amitié" (1.28.72; "perfect friendship," 1.28.141), as he also terms it, is in no way to be confused with more common types of friendship; whether "naturelle, sociale, hospitaliere, venerienne" ("natural, social, hospitable, erotic"), those forged by "la volupté ou le profit" ("pleasure or profit"), or for "le besoin publique ou privé" ("public or private needs"), cannot equal it. (1.28.70; 1.28.136). Friendships "si entiere et si parfaite" (1.28.70; "so entire and so perfect," 1.28.136) emerge from a free choice and bestowal of affection, and are best conceived of in opposition to the affections due to blood relations: "Le pere et le fils peuvent estre de complexion entierement esloignée, et les freres aussi . . . à mesure que ce sont amitez que la loy et l'obligation naturelle nous commande, il y a d'autant moins de nostre chois et liberté volontaire" (1.28.70; "Father and son may be of entirely different

<sup>19</sup> See Hugo Friedrich, *Montaigne*. 2nd ed. (1949; Bern and Munich: Francke, 1967), 91–103, and Jean Starobinski, *Montaigne en Mouvement*. Bibliothèque des Idées (Paris: Gallimard, 1982), 88–90.

dispositions, and brothers also . . . the more they are friendships which law and natural obligation impose on us, the less of our choice and free will there is in them," 1.28.137). And since sovereign friendship must be governed by two equal partners, the "trop grande disparité" (1.28.70; "too great inequality," 1.28.136) between fathers and sons inhibits its cultivation.

Despite Montaigne's political conservatism and his desire to contain the revolutionary potential of friendship, his essay reveals the impossibility of an ideal harmony between patriarchal sovereignty and mutual sovereignty and, indeed, the potential for outright antagonism between the two. As Montaigne notes: "L'unique et principale amitié descoust toutes autres obligations" (1.28.73; "A single dominant friendship dissolves all other obligations," 1.28.142). Departing significantly from his source material in Cicero's *De amicitia*, Montaigne offers the Roman pair Tiberius Gracchus and Gaius Blossius as the prime example of a sovereign friendship. In Cicero, for whom friendship is virtuous only insofar as it is compatible with the duties of Roman citizenship, the two men are an example of a friendship that extended well beyond its proper bounds.

In the dialogue, Laelius informs his interlocutors about the time when Gaius Blossius had come to him to receive pardon for actions disloyal to the state. Attempting to justify what he had done, Blossius claimed he had been bound by loyalty to his friend Tiberius Gracchus. Hearing this, Laelius proceeded to investigate just how far these bonds of friendship might have extended:

"Etiamne si te in Capitolium faces ferre vellet?" "Numquam," inquit, "voluisset id quidem; sed si voluisset, paruissem." Videtis quam nefaria vox! Et hercule ita fecit, vel plus etiam quam dixit; non enim paruit ille Tiberii Gracchi temeritati, sed prae fuit, nec se comitem illius furoris sed ducem prae bu it . . . Nulla est igitur excusatio peccati si amici causa peccaveris; nam cum conciliatrix amicitiae virtutis opinio fuerit, difficile est amicitiam manere si a virtute defeceris.

["Even," I said, "if he wanted you to set the Capitol on fire?" "He would never have wanted that," he answered "but if he had, I would have complied." You can see what a pernicious thing to say that was; and, in fact, he put it into practice, or even did more than what he said: he did not simply follow the rash designs of Tiberius Gracchus, but was the author of them . . . it is no excuse for wrongdoing if one does wrong for the sake of a friend, for, since the belief in each other's good character was the agent that brought the friends together in the first place, it is difficult for friendship to remain if one leaves the path of goodness.]<sup>20</sup>

That Blossius remained loyal to Gracchus during the revolutionary activity he undertook for popular land reforms is unequivocally referred to as a form of wickedness. While Montaigne mentions that Blossius admitted he would have

<sup>20</sup> The original Latin and English translation are from Cicero, *Laelius: On Friendship*, trans. J. G. F. Powell (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1990), 45–47.

burned Roman temples if Gracchus had requested it, he softens the statement by claiming that Blossius had “la volonté de Gracchus en sa manche” (1.28.71; “Gracchus’ will up his sleeve,” 1.28.140) and completely omits their revolutionary solidarity. In Cicero, no friendship is so perfect that it cannot be broken: “they ought not to consider themselves under any obligation to stand by friends who are disloyal to the republic.” In Montaigne, though, sovereign friendship exceeds citizenship: “Ils estoient plus amis que citoyens, plus amis qu’amis et qu’ennemis de leur païs (1.28.71; “They were friends more than citizens, friends more than friends or enemies of their country,” 1.28.140).<sup>21</sup> All that keeps Montaigne’s notion of sovereign friendship politically conservative is his assertion of its perfection and rarity.<sup>22</sup> In the case of Gracchus and Blossius, for example, the Platonic union of the two men’s wills ensures that “ils tenoient parfaitement les renes de l’inclination l’un de l’autre” (1.28.71; “they held absolutely the reigns of each other’s inclinations,” 1.28.140).

So rare is sovereign friendship, in fact, that Montaigne can cite no contemporary example that even approaches it: “entre nos hommes, il ne s’en voit aucune trace en usage” (1.28.69; “among men of today you see no trace of it in practice,” 1.28.136). The impossibility of an incarnation of fraternal mutuality that escapes private interests absolutely—in which “il n’y a affaire ny commerce, que d’elle mesme” (1.28.71; “there are no dealings or business except with itself,” 1.28.138)—is occluded by the fantasy given flesh by the essay itself and by its nostalgia for the relationship Montaigne claims to have shared with the late Etienne de La Boétie. Perhaps, as Tom Macfaul argues: “Death . . . provides a form of reconciliation, by sublimating . . . past feeling into an ideal which can no longer be altered.”<sup>23</sup> Unlike familial and commercial bonds of obligation that yoke individuals together but preserve their separate identities, the ideal friendship that Montaigne and La Boétie experienced effaced the distinction between self and other:

En l’amitié dequoy je parle, elles se meslent et confondent l’une en l’autre, d’un melange si universel, qu’elles effacent et ne retrouvent plus la couture qui les a jointes.

<sup>21</sup> Powell notes in his commentary that “Montaigne, *Essai* 1.28, takes issue with Cicero over his judgment on Blossius” (98). But Montaigne’s changes are better categorized as muted, even surreptitious, alterations that are representative of an early modern tension between monarchical and amity-based forms of sovereignty. At once declaring the priority of friendship over every other obligation and concealing the potential for political rupture by denying the radical possibilities made explicit in Cicero, Montaigne presents the private sphere of friendship as an innocuous retreat from public life.

<sup>22</sup> For a discussion of the wider Renaissance cultural belief in true friendship as an anomaly, see Ulrich Langer, *Perfect Friendship: Studies in Literature and Moral Philosophy from Boccaccio to Corneille*, *Histoire des Idées et Critique Littéraire*, 331 (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1994); for relevant discussion of Montaigne in this context, 14–20.

<sup>23</sup> Macfaul, *Male Friendship*, 65.

Si on me presse de dire pourquoy je l'aymois, je sens que cela ne se peut exprimer, qu'en respondant: Par ce que c'estoit luy; par ce que c'estoit moy. (1.28.71)

[In the friendship I speak of, our souls mingle and blend with each other so completely that they efface the seam that joined them, and cannot find it again. If you press me to tell why I loved him, I feel that this cannot be expressed, except by answering: Because it was he, because it was I.] (1.28.139)

If the praise of friendship is a praise that includes the former self, it turns the present self into an uncanny thing—neither here nor there, neither now nor then. The persistence of the self in the absence of the other gives the lie to any absolute intersubjective union and lowers the self even as it idealizes the other: “Car, de mesme qu’il me surpassoit d’une distance infinie en toute autre suffisance et vertu, aussi faisoit-il au devoir de l’amitié” (1.28.73; “For just as he surpassed me infinitely in every other ability and virtue, so he did in the duty of friendship,” 1.28.143). The inadequacy of language to represent textually this friendship nonpareil emerges as another form of guilt for spectral images inadequately memorialized; shifting sovereignty from dead fathers to dead friends does not purge the subject of the superego. Montaigne remarks in a letter to Paul de Foix that he possesses “peu de moi en et de suffisance pour . . . render” (1368; “little means and ability to render,” 1063) faithfully the memory of La Boétie.<sup>24</sup> Shortcomings appear here as an individual’s limited capacity for expression, rather than, as in Hamlet, external “maimed rites” of remembrance.<sup>25</sup>

Though Montaigne is committed elsewhere in the *Essais* to a depiction of the ephemeral and ever-shifting qualities of a mutually constituting world and self, in “Of Friendship” he produces a unique memory of wholeness. And yet, even though his tone can be categorized as nostalgic, in grasping for a type of stabilizing force in a singular friendship rather than in family coats of arms that “n’ont de seurté non plus que les surnoms” (1.46.116; “have no more security than

<sup>24</sup> Michel de Montaigne, *Oeuvres Complètes de Montaigne*, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 14 (Paris: Gallimard, 1962). The English translation is Donald Frame’s; see Montaigne, *The Complete Works of Montaigne*.

<sup>25</sup> “[M]aimed rites” refers to Hamlet’s reaction to witnessing a body—a body that he soon after discovers is Ophelia’s—being brought to the graveyard without the benefit of proper Christian burial (“Who is this they follow? / And with such maimed rites? This doth betoken / The corse they follow did with desp’rate hand / For do its own life. ‘Twas of some estate,” 5.1.11–14). As David Bevington has argued, *Hamlet* presents a series of uncompleted or improperly performed ceremonies that deserve the same title: “The ‘o’erhasty marriage’ of Gertrude and Claudius before the play begins is a maimed rite; so is the awkward public scene at court in which the marriage is announced in the presence of Gertrude’s inconsolable son, the dramatic entertainment presented by the players to Claudius but broken off by his sudden rising, Claudius’ abortive attempt at prayer, the ‘obscure funeral’ of old Polonius, the substituting of a forged death warrant sent by Claudius to the King of England, and the burial of Ophelia without the singing of the ‘service of the dead.’” See “‘Maimed Rites’: Violated Ceremony in *Hamlet*,” *Critical Essays in Shakespeare’s Hamlet*, ed. David Scott Kastan (New York: G. K. Hall, 1995), 126–38; here 127.

surnames," 1.46.203) Montaigne idealizes the past in a way that exceeds the parameters of Nietzsche's notion of monumental history. Monumental history, like revenge, seeks the restoration of an ideal past: "Er entnimmt daraus, dass das Grosse, das einmal da war, jedenfalls einmal möglich war und deshalb auch wohl wieder einmal möglich sein wird (297; "It is the knowledge that the great thing existed and was therefore possible, and so may be possible again," 14).<sup>26</sup> As a cultural anomaly, something that happens only "une fois en trois siècles" (1.28.70; "once in three centuries," 1.28.136)—and even then only through mere fortune or coincidence—sovereign friendship is an absence to be mourned, not a political project that can actively be pursued.<sup>27</sup> For Montaigne, if not for Hamlet, the "unweeded garden" can never again be cultivated.

Such a relation to the past, though, produces a malaise in the present. With the death of La Boétie, the "amitié qui possède l'âme et la regente en toute souveraineté" (1.28.73; "friendship that possesses the soul and rules it with absolute sovereignty," 1.28.143) persists only to cast a pall over the present: "ce n'est que fumée, ce n'est qu'une nuit obscure et ennuyeuse" (1.28.73; "it is nothing but smoke, nothing but dark and dreary night," 1.28.143). All the pleasures of life, Montaigne writes, "au lieu de me consoler, me redoublent le regret de sa perte" (1.28.73; "instead of consoling me, redouble my grief for his loss," 1.28.143). Because the Platonic union of Montaigne and La Boétie meant that they went "à moitié de tout" ("halves in everything"), it thus now seems to Montaigne as if he is "luy desrobe sa part" (1.28.73; "robbing him of his share," 1.28.143). Preserving for the reader the idea of a sovereignty and plenitude achieved through friendships of the past, the essay passes on as its own legacy a feeling of dispossession.

## Hamlet and Horatio

As does Montaigne, Thomas Churchyard ascribes priority to the free choice of friendship over the givenness of family relations in his *A Sparke of Frendship* (1588), describing it as choosing "by election and privy liking."<sup>28</sup> Hamlet uses the same language to describe the free act of determining his own sovereign friendship when he confesses to Horatio: "Since my dear soul was mistress of her choice, and

<sup>26</sup> Nietzsche, *Unzeitgemässe Betrachtungen*.

<sup>27</sup> It should be noted that Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 242, identifies that discussions of the rarity of ideal love have a tendency to obfuscate the political problems that the concept of ideal love itself introduces: "Love, by its very nature, is unworldly, and it is for this reason rather than its rarity that it is not only apolitical but antipolitical, perhaps the most powerful of all antipolitical human forces."

<sup>28</sup> Thomas Churchyard, *A Sparke of Frendship* (London: T. Orwin, 1588), D2, see online at: <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/> (last accessed on Aug. 1, 2010).

could of men distinguish her election / Sh'hath seal'd thee for herself . . ." (3.2.63–65). Escaping the constraints Hamlet might experience should he select a bride where, as Laertes remarks, "his greatness weigh'd, his will is not his own" (1.3.17), the private election of a singular and sovereign friendship operates in pronounced opposition to a polity governed by a sovereign monarch, particularly because the monarchy Shakespeare has produced is itself an elective one; Claudius, Hamlet later claims, has "popp'd in between th'election," and his own opportunity for the crown (5.2.65). But with regard to friendship Hamlet identifies the soul as monarch. By "having seal'd for herself," the soul produces an obligation that competes for priority with the King's signet ring, the ring which itself will "seal" the death of the false friends Rosencrantz and Guildenstern in the name of the father (5.2.48).<sup>29</sup>

Unlike Montaigne's "Of Friendship," though, the play gestures toward a form of friendship that has been blocked by Hamlet's destiny as the namesake of a dead king. When Claudius informs the prince that he is heir to the throne, he also makes clear that the political world is not one from which Hamlet can attempt a retreat:

You are the most immediate to our throne,  
And with no less nobility of love  
Than that which dearest father bears his son  
Do I impart toward you. For your intent  
In going back to school in Wittenberg,  
It is most retrograde to our desire.

(1.2.109–14)

Prior to the action of the play, then, Hamlet has expressed a desire to leave Denmark for Wittenberg in Germany; is it merely coincidence that this would mean escaping from the realm of his father and of public election to reach the place where the object of his private election happens to reside? Margreta de Grazia has argued persuasively that "the language of the play itself upholds the attachment of persons to land," rather than, as much criticism after Hegel

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<sup>29</sup> Even though *Hamlet* is among the most thoroughly mined literary artifacts in the English language, the play's concern with friendship has been much less of a critical focus than might be expected. As Robert C. Evans remarks, "friendship—a crucial concern of classical and Renaissance thinkers—has not received much explicit or systematic attention as an important and pervasive theme in Shakespeare's great tragedy." See Robert C. Evans, "Friendship in *Hamlet*," *Comparative Drama* 33.1 (Spring 1999): 88–124; here 88, for a detailed analysis of the play's treatment of friendship, and in which Horatio appears as one of the play's "best examples of friendship." The best recent account is Michael Neill, "'He that thou knowest thine': Friendship and Service in *Hamlet*," *A Companion to Shakespeare's Works: The Tragedies*, ed. Richard Dutton and Jean E. Howard, Blackwell Companions to Literature and Culture, 17 (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), 319–38; see also Macfaul, *Male Friendship*, 141–68, and Keith Doubt, "*Hamlet* and Friendship," *Hamlet Studies* 17 (1995): 54–62. For the influence of classical notions of friendship in *Hamlet*, see James I. Wimsatt, "The Player-King on Friendship," *The Modern Language Review* 65.1 (1970): 1–6.



supposes, produces an interiorized consciousness representative of modernity that is striving to be independent from the land in the wake of a disinheritance: "Framed by territorial conflict, [*Hamlet*] stages one contest over land after another . . . . The language of the play itself upholds the attachment of persons to land, humans to humus."<sup>30</sup> But even if, as she argues, "it is not clear that personal identity can survive deracination or disentitlement," this is precisely the crisis with which Hamlet is forced to cope.<sup>31</sup> And while revenge, the dominant logic of the play, seems to offer the possibility of clinging to an identity that is based on land and inheritance, the image of Horatio serves as an example of a Stoic resolve that might stave off the loss of identity in a different register<sup>32</sup>:

for thou hast been  
 As one, in suff'ring all, that suffers nothing,  
 A man that Fortune's buffets and rewards  
 Hast ta'en with equal thanks; and blest are those  
 Whose blood and judgment are so well commedled  
 That they are not a pipe for Fortune's finger  
 To sound what stop she please. Give me that man  
 That is not passion's slave, and I will wear him  
 In my heart's core, ay, in my heart of heart,  
 As I do thee. (3.2.65–74)

We do not learn exactly what it is that Horatio has endured at the hands of fortune but, as with almost everything that Hamlet says, his encomium offers clues about his own inner conflicts. If filial identity is bound to land and inheritance, sovereign friendship attempts to fashion an identity out of itself by making the impossible break from land and from subjection to fortune that is the Stoic's fantasy. Here I want to suggest that, *pace de Grazia*, a fully historicized Hegelian reading remains available as a way of diagnosing Hamlet's conflicted stance toward his own situation, not as a symptom of an emerging teleological movement toward modernity and absolute spirit, but rather of a specific early modern preoccupation with two modes of sovereignty. What this more modest reading would suggest is

<sup>30</sup> Margreta de Grazia, *Hamlet without Hamlet* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2007), 2–3.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid, 43.

<sup>32</sup> Perhaps another reason that the friendship of Horatio and Hamlet is not explored in criticism as often as it might be is that Horatio is nearly always read as a character whose main function is to serve as an objective arbiter of the events in question during the play. Bert States, *Hamlet and the Concept of Character* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1992), 147–56 calls him "Our man in Elsinore," and compares his role in the play to that of a Greek chorus, a species of ideal spectator; John Halverson, in "The Importance of Horatio," *Hamlet Studies* 16 (1994): 57–70, makes the somewhat dubious claim that "[i]t is Horatio's unimpeachable witness that, virtually alone, confirms Hamlet's essential integrity and nobility of soul; without this confirmation, Hamlet would be an almost intolerably ambiguous figure" (57). Christopher Warley, "Specters of Horatio," *English Literary History* 75 (2008): 1023–50, has recently used these critical assumptions about Horatio to explore the general problem of all claims of impartiality.

only that sovereign friendship as a cultural phenomenon must be read as a development that arises in opposition to a preexisting form of political sovereignty. As de Grazia suggests, the first mode of sovereignty is concerned with the mastery of land and the mastery of others; the other mode, the fantasy of Stoic self-sufficiency, emerges as a reaction to this first mode in the guise of sovereign friendship.<sup>33</sup>

Indeed, it is Hegel himself who still provides the best analysis of the Stoic mode of consciousness as a fantasy: what constitutes Stoicism is "... weder ein Anderes als es, noch die reine Abstraktion des Ich ... sondern Ich, welches das Anderssein, aber als gedachten Unterschied an ihm hat, so daß es in seinem Anderssein unmittelbar in sich zurückgekehrt ist ..." (134; "... neither an other than itself, nor the pure abstraction of the 'I,' but an 'I' which has otherness within itself, though in the form of *thought*, so that in its otherness it has directly returned to itself," 121–22).<sup>34</sup> Is this not precisely what Hamlet articulates when, seeing in Horatio his model of a Stoic self impervious to fortune ("thou has been as one, in suffering all"), he internalizes him ("I will wear him in my heart's core") as an ideal friend? The idea of sovereignty reemerges for Hamlet, then, as a contradictory partnership that asserts each member's absolute independence from the external world—from the "thousand natural shocks / That flesh is heir to" (3.1.62–63)—while at the same time it depends on the image of the other. The Stoic friend who is "not passion's slave" appears to be master of himself, a projection that provides an alternative to the revenger whose pre-scripted identity supplies "the motive and cue for passion" in abundance (2.2.555). As Hamlet's representation of absolute self-mastery, here Horatio merely seems to serve as an exemplar of the prince's own desires for individual sovereignty.

And yet, Hamlet himself seems to rehearse this possibility of an alternate sovereignty from an ironic distance, as if painfully aware that—in contrast with the demands of Hamlet's father—his vision of ideal friendship is a sort of tautology that, in its absolute separation from material reality, is an unsustainable fantasy. "Something too much of this," Hamlet tells Horatio, abruptly shifting the conversation back to the topic of revenge (3.2.74). Indeed, the prevailing model of friendship foregrounded in *Hamlet* more closely corresponds with those less

<sup>33</sup> The important implications that de Grazia's groundbreaking study has for my own reading of the play should not be ignored. As if for the first time, her book shows us how the long-standing generic categorization of *Hamlet* as a "pure tragedy" obscures its proximity to Shakespearean history plays: "The critical tradition that has identified *Hamlet* with the onset of the modern period has ignored the centrality of land. For this tradition, it makes little or no difference that Claudius, 'a cutpurse of the empire' (3.4.99), has dispossessed Hamlet of the realm to which his birth all but entitled him" (43).

<sup>34</sup> Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Phänomenologie des Geistes*, Philosophische Bibliothek, 114 (Leipzig: Dürr'sche Buchhandlung, 1907); for the English translation, see Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Phenomenology of Spirit*.

exalted types that Montaigne writes “mix into friendship another cause and object of reward than friendship itself” (1.128.136). When Hamlet asks Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, “. . . in the beaten way of friendship, what make you at Elsinore?” their response, “To visit you, my lord, no other occasion” (2.2.269–71), might, if true, appear to fulfill the condition of sovereign friendship that it “have no other dealings except with itself” (1.128.138). But the audience (and Hamlet, too, as it turns out) knows that it is “the sovereign power” of Claudius, not sovereign friendship, that has brought them to Denmark (2.2.26).

Since we do not know which “dozen or sixteen lines” (2.2.535) inserted into the *The Mousetrap* are Hamlet’s, he may himself be author of the Player King’s speech that articulates—and anticipates—a betrayal of love in terms of the fragility of friendships in the political world:

This world is not for aye, nor ’tis not strange  
That even our loves should with our fortunes change . . . .  
The great man down, you mark his favorite flies;  
The poor advanc’d makes friends of enemies;  
And hitherto doth love on fortune tend:  
For who not needs shall never lack a friend,  
And who in want a hollow friend doth try  
Directly seasons him his enemy. (3.2.195–204)

Read alongside the lines spoken to Horatio earlier in the very same scene, the image of the Stoic friend begins to appear a ridiculous and naïve exception that has nevertheless been retained as an ideal to be achieved. As Michael Neil observes: “for all its rhetoric of equality and the intense emotion Hamlet invests in it, royal friendship remains a painfully one-sided thing: Hamlet may garland Horatio with the pronouns of intimacy, ‘thee’ and ‘thou,’ but Horatio can never use the same intimate voice . . .”<sup>35</sup> Thus, if the notion of sovereign friendship now seems unsustainable, it is not yet because a realization about the inevitable non-sovereignty of all human action has taken place, but rather because the material reality dominated by the sovereignty of kingship and hierarchy appears to prevent its fulfillment.

Recall that earlier, in act 2, Hamlet discloses to Rosencrantz and Guildenstern his conviction that “Denmark’s a prison” (2.2.243). Even though by this point in the play Hamlet’s desire to leave the country has been complicated by the appearance of the ghost and the command to remember his father, we should not entirely lose track of his earlier “intent” to return to Wittenberg (1.2.113). Consistent with Margaret Ferguson’s observation that the language of Hamlet has the “curious effect of *materializing* the word” such that the distinction between literal and figurative meaning becomes unclear, both “Denmark” and “prison”

<sup>35</sup> Michael Neill, “‘He that thou knowest thine,’” 333.

become unstable in precisely this way when we recall two sets of details: Denmark is both a place Hamlet has been prevented from leaving and a word that also functions as a synecdoche in the play, with the father-king standing in for the nation.<sup>36</sup> In the opening scene, for example, the ghost takes the form of “the majesty of buried Denmark” (1.1.51). Not long after, Gertrude urges Hamlet to conceal any enmity he harbors—both for the realm he wishes to depart from and for the person of his uncle—by *appearing* to be a friend: “let thine eye look like a friend on Denmark” (1.2.69). Denmark is a place where one can “look like a friend” rather than actually become one. This corresponds with Laurie Shannon’s suggestion that: “For the royal subject, friendship proposes an idealized world apart, a world magnifying that subject’s ‘sovereign prerogative’ as an individual.”<sup>37</sup> And as *Hamlet* demonstrates, prohibitions often maximize the idealization of desires: escaping back to Wittenberg represents an escape from Denmark and from fathers to friends, from an economy of the sovereign patriarch that demands an impossible revenge for love to an economy of sovereign friendship whose requirement for love—mere arrival—is, perhaps, equally impossible.

When Hamlet claims, “I could be bounded in a nutshell and count myself king of infinite space,” we again witness the Stoic illusion of sovereignty that is salvaged by a refusal to acknowledge a dependency on others (2.2.254–55). As Arendt points out, the desire to deny the fundamental condition of non-sovereignty may very well result in an “abstention from the whole realm of human affairs.”<sup>38</sup> A loss of kingship in *Hamlet* generates Stoic thought as an alternate form of self-mastery. Here we can read the mutually reinforcing dialectic between the competing notions of sovereignty that Hamlet is, that we are all to some extent, caught between—between Alexander and Plato, between mastery of others and mastery of self. Hamlet cannot choose but be heir to the throne; he desires to elect but has been elected. As the son of Denmark, Hamlet is a psyche bound by a material world of political sovereignty and patriarchal love, yet he still claims he would be free, “were it not that I have bad dreams” (2.2.256). But exactly what it is that restricts the achievement of sovereign friendship has become uncertain. The language of the prison outlines a moment of aporia as Hamlet oscillates between two forms of sovereignty; in condemning both Claudius’s external prohibition against his physical freedom as well as his own inability to will a mastery over himself that would make him resemble Horatio, I would suggest that Hamlet remains unable to confront the non-sovereign quality of the human condition.

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<sup>36</sup> Margaret Ferguson, “Hamlet: Letters and Spirit,” *Shakespeare and the Question of Theory*, ed. Patricia Parker and Geoffrey Hartman (New York and London: Routledge, 1990), 292–309; here 292.

<sup>37</sup> Laurie Shannon, *Sovereign Amity*, 125.

<sup>38</sup> Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 234.

## The Abdication of Sovereignty

If deflecting the sovereign will of fathers means, for Montaigne, maintaining fidelity to a sovereign friendship once possessed in an Edenic past, and for Hamlet, futilely gesturing toward an impossible, Stoic identification with Horatio, what might an abdication of sovereignty look like? Is such an achievement even possible for self-conscious life? Is it desirable? Or are we forever destined, to some extent at least, to ignore our own vulnerability and dependence upon others? To these most difficult of questions, I can only offer two inconclusive suggestions, each of which is supplied by the fifth act of *Hamlet*. First, another dead end. Knowledge of the finitude inherent in mortality is *not* a sufficient condition to compel Hamlet to relinquish the aspiration toward self-mastery. Even after Hamlet's imagination discovers the possibility of tracing "the noble dust of Alexander till a find it stopping a bung-hole" (5.1.197–98), he is still compelled to demand public recognition for his own nobility and stakes this claim in a willingness to die:

Dost come here to whine,  
to outface me with leaping in her grave?  
Be buried quick with her, and so will I. (5.1.272–74)

But this offer to sacrifice the self by risking death is merely the last, desperate stand of an individual consciousness that, try as it might, cannot completely isolate itself from public life. Identity cannot ultimately be founded on an inner world that precedes all forms of social engagement; at the most basic level, though, this is the trap set by every dream of absolute mastery. No, if Hamlet finally realizes the futility lodged within every claim to sovereignty, it is not because he accepts finitude as mortality, but finitude as intersubjectivity. As Arendt argues, such an acceptance would entail a person's acknowledgment of "the impossibility of remaining unique masters of what they do . . . [this] is the price they pay for plurality and reality, for the joy of inhabiting together with others a world whose reality is guaranteed for each by the presence of all."<sup>39</sup> In order for Hamlet to give up the illusions of self-mastery in which sovereign friendship participates, he must realize that others are always involved in defining the meaning of an individual's life.

Having killed Claudius and having said farewell to Laertes, Hamlet turns to the audience in one last desperate attempt at sovereign self-representation:

You that look pale and tremble at the chance,  
That are but mutes or audience to this act,  
Had I but time—as this fell sergeant, Death,

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<sup>39</sup> Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 244.

Is strict in his arrest—O, I could tell you—  
But let it be.

(5.2.340–44)

The breath between, “O, I could tell you,” and, “But let it be,” presents what I take to be a crucial interpretive crux. Does Hamlet mean to say he really *could* tell us, tell us *all*, only to pass the responsibility on to Horatio because there is not enough life left in him, not enough time, in which to do so? If this is our, the play’s, expectation, then John Kerrigan is right to ask, with no small degree of skepticism, how “can Horatio report either Hamlet or his cause aright?” a concern that is reminiscent of Montaigne’s anxiety about his inability to render an adequate representation of La Boétie.<sup>40</sup> What of all the soliloquies to which Horatio has not been privy, the theatrically conscious Hamlet might wonder? But if, “let it be,” signals a realization, not that there aren’t enough words left *in him*, but that there could never be enough words, then the instructions to Horatio take a very different form. After all, in his notoriously protracted death throes, Hamlet speaks for another twenty lines or so. In what we witness, then, perhaps there is a movement toward the abdication of sovereign friendship, a giving up of the desire to assert mastery over the self and its identity; Hamlet may now willingly embrace what we are all always compelled to do anyway: we must place our story, not in the hands of “another self,” but in the hands of an other.

And perhaps this is also what Hamlet means to say when he claims that, “there is a special providence in the fall of a sparrow” (5.2.215–16), a realization that would accord with Arendt’s own observation that “Providence” is just one more attempt to “solve the perplexing problem that although history owes its existence to men, it is still obviously not made by them.”<sup>41</sup> If we credit Hamlet with this sort of knowledge near the end of the play, then the “readiness is all” (5.2.218) is not merely a readiness for death but also a readiness for his “play” to be read by others, by Horatio and by the audience. We might risk calling the friendship invoked at Hamlet’s end a non-sovereign one, then, if we accept the possibility that the request for his friend to “tell my story” (5.2.354) is not a replication of the ghost’s sovereign injunction to “Remember me.” Instead, it represents the paradoxical freedom that emerges from the subjection of one’s actions to the *mythos* of another who will speak, not as you would have him, but only as he will.

<sup>40</sup> John Kerrigan, *Revenge Tragedy*, 189.

<sup>41</sup> Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 185.

## Chapter 15

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### Die zwei Freunde des Leonardo da Vinci. Eine kunsthistorische Fallstudie

#### Abstract

Based on Leonardo's drawing of an old and a young man from 1500–1503 in the Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe in the Galleria delle Uffizie (Florence), this article raises the question of Leonardo's relations (maybe friendships) with men. We can view the depicted scene as a representation of a homoerotically inspired 'forbidden friendship' (Michael Rocke) and the drawing therefore as what is known in art history as 'Freundschaftsbildnis.' Unfortunately this is the only example of this genre in Leonardo's œuvre. Therefore in this paper I work with heuristic analogies and deductions, first of all identifying two of Leonardo's companions as his 'friends' —Francesco Melzi and the so-called Salai. With the help of written and visual sources pertaining to Leonardo as well as to the two 'friends,' a differentiated approach to these relations is reconstructed. I also consider further historical sources that inform us about the two persons. My leading questions will be how Leonardo describes, visualizes, and defines these 'friendships' and how these relationships are viewed not only by Melzi and Salai, but also by other contemporaries. The study will also analyze the structures and behaviors that mark them and the motivations behind their relations and behaviors. On the basis of this examination it is possible to draw conclusions about Leonardo's concept of the abstract term 'friendship.'

As scholarship has confirmed, the terms of 'friendship' and 'love' were—especially in the homosocial Cinquecento Italy—closely related, yet also not unproblematic and could have been in conflict with each other.<sup>1</sup> In light of this

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<sup>1</sup> Editor's Note: See the comments on this issue by Robert Stretter in his contribution to this volume.

observation the question regarding Leonardo's 'friendships' must also include a discussion of love and (homo-)sexuality as well. For this reason in this paper I additionally analyze Leonardo's erotically charged pictures from his later period, such as *John the Baptist*, as well as those that display topoi of androgynous elements.

I will conclude by suggesting that we can recognize these personal relationships as two different types of friendships. Following the Aristotelian term of *philia*, the relation to Salai was a friendship based on pleasure, more specifically reciprocally predicated on mutual advantages. The friendship between Leonardo and Francesco Melzi, on the other hand, was based on goodness, or virtues, which both developed as a consequence of their relationship, and especially intellectual and artistic respect for each other. Furthermore, the friendship to Salai is characterized as passive and 'female,' while the one to Melzi as active and 'male,' if we can use these traditional gender terms for personality roles. This gendering of attributes corresponds with the sexualization of literature and the theory of art that became widely accepted in sixteenth-century Italy; accordingly the intellect, the procreative idea of a concept, is male; the executing material, however, female. Thus, one can differentiate between a male- and a female-constructed friendship embraced by Leonardo and his friends. Definitive and contrasting gender attributions were not yet determined during the sixteenth century.

As scholarship has demonstrated, the ideal Cinquecento artist usually unites male and female qualities in one person, even though the female part is ultimately subsumed under the male. Just as Leonardo could be male and female at the same time during the genesis of a piece of art, without being accused of a contradiction, he could cultivate two kinds of friendship, one conceived of as male; the other as female. As much in the production of art as in the types of friendship, the 'male' one enjoys priority. The abstract noun of 'friendship' is not chosen in a random or detached manner as a topos, but proves to be one that was actually lived out by Leonardo in these two different types of friends.

Aug' in Auge zeichnet Leonardo um 1500–1505 die Profilfiguren eines alten und eines jungen Mannes auf einem Blatt, welches sich heute im Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe in der Galleria degli Uffizi in Florenz befindet (Abb. 1). Der glatzköpfige und runzlige Alte, der durch eine große Hakennase und ein ausgeprägtes Kinn auffällt, scheint ein wenig kleiner als sein Gegenüber zu sein. Er muss den Blick ein wenig anheben, um den jungen Mann wohlgefällig zu mustern. Dessen Blick schweift jedoch in die Ferne und blickt durch den Älteren hindurch oder aber linker Hand an ihm vorbei. Er hat ebene Gesichtszüge. Die zarte, gerade Nase, die wohlgeformte Mund- und Kinnpartie sowie der träumerische Blick unter den langen Wimpern wirken fast feminin. Dieser



Eindruck wird von der fast schulterlangen, mit einem dünnen Reif geschmückten Lockenpracht unterstützt. Beide Männer stehen sehr nah voreinander, fast Brust an Brust. Während Leonardo die Gesichter—besonders das des Jüngeren—detailliert zeichnete, skizzierte er die Gewänder der Männer nur grob.<sup>2</sup> Der bloß noch angedeutete rechte Arm des Jungen scheint im Ärmel des Älteren zu verschwinden. Im Vergleich des Blattes mit anderen Zeichnungen dieser Serie konnte Johannes Nathan feststellen, dass es sehr sorgfältig gearbeitet wurde. So vermutet er auch, dass die Zeichnung für "eine besondere Gelegenheit, vielleicht als Geschenk oder Präsentationszeichnung"<sup>3</sup> gefertigt wurde. Durch die Gegenüberstellung von alt und jung versuche Leonardo die Bildwirkung zu steigern. So habe er Malern zu diesem Zweck zur Kombination von alten und jungen Menschen geraten. Die Zeichnung stelle also lediglich eine "nüchterne Überlegung zur Bildwirkung" dar.<sup>4</sup> Zweifelsohne handelt es sich bei dieser Szene jedoch um eine vertraute, intime Situation, deren Zeuge Leonardo den Betrachter werden lässt. Die Blickregie und das Ineinander der Arme verraten dieses. So könnte es sich um eine Darstellung von Vater und Sohn oder um die zweier Freunde unterschiedlichen Alters handeln. Die beiden Männer stehen fast Brust an Brust, eine vielleicht zu körperlich-intime Begegnung für einen stolzen Vater mit seinem Sohn. Die Blickkommunikation scheint einseitig zu verlaufen. Der Ältere mustert den Jüngeren, begutachtet ihn, während dieser seinen Blick nicht erwidert, sondern gleichgültig durch ihn hindurch sieht.

Die Darstellung zweier Männer in körperlich-intimer Situation verweist so auf den Topos von Männerfreundschaft. Diese kann bei genauerer Betrachtung der Zeichnung differenziert gesehen werden. Die intime Begegnung zwischen altem und jungem Mann und das aktive Verhalten des Alten und passive Geschehenlassen des Jüngeren zählen zu den Kriterien einer 'verbotenen Freundschaft',<sup>5</sup> einer mann-männlichen sexuellen Begegnung oder zumindest eines dergestalt motivierten Interesses des Alten an dem Jüngling. Der Alte weist eine erstaunliche Ähnlichkeit mit einer Reihe grotesker Köpfe wie z.B. der mittleren Figur mit dem Blätterkranz auf dem Blatt *Fünf groteske Köpfe* (um 1494)

<sup>2</sup> Der Mantelüberwurf (und die Lockenfülle) sprechen Emil Möller folgend "für eine idealisierte Bildung"; Emil Möller, "Salai und Leonardo da Vinci," *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* n.s. 2 (1928): 139–61; hier 147.

<sup>3</sup> Johannes Nathan, "Profilstudien, Charakterköpfe und groteske Köpfe," *Leonardo da Vinci. 1452–1519. Sämtliche Gemälde und Zeichnungen*, Hrsg. Frank Zöllner (Hong Kong, Köln, et al.: Taschen, 2007), 362.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Der Terminus ist Michael Rockes gleichnamiger Dissertationsschrift, die 1996 erschien, entnommen. Er bezeichnet—wie bereits der Untertitel spezifiziert—'homosexuelle' mann-männliche Beziehungen; vgl. Michael Rocke, *Forbidden Friendships: Homosexuality and Male Culture in Renaissance Florence*. Studies in the History of Sexuality (New York und Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

in der Royal Library in Windsor Castle<sup>6</sup> auf. Bezüglich des Jünglings wird gerätselt, ob eventuell ein junger Mann, den Leonardo mit dem Spitznamen Salai bedachte, für ihn Modell gestanden habe.<sup>7</sup> Die Zeichnung könnte demnach eine 'verbotene,' gleichgeschlechtlich-sexuell motivierte 'Freundschaft' zwischen einem grotesken Alten und dem Jüngling Salai darstellen, es würde sich also um ein 'Freundschaftsbildnis' handeln.

Diesen Begriff entwickelte die kunsthistorische Forschung für die Darstellung von befreundeten Personen. Er umfasst Doppel- oder Gruppenporträts von Künstlern und Gelehrten, in letzter Zeit wurde er jedoch auch für die Darstellungen Angehöriger weiterer sozialer Gruppen angewandt.<sup>8</sup> So definiert das *Lexikon der Kunst* den Begriff 1989 wie folgt:

Freundschaftsbildnis. Darstellungen miteinander befreundeter Personen, meist Künstler oder Wissenschaftler, gab es schon in der Kunst der Renaissance und des Barocks. Von einem F[reundschaftsbildnis] kann nur gesprochen werden, wenn die freundschaftl[iche] Verbundenheit vorherrschendes Motiv der Darstellung ist, um es von anderen Formen des Doppel- oder Gruppenbildnisses zu unterscheiden. Das humanist[ische] Freundschaftsideal hat zu derartigen Bildern jedoch kaum vor dem 16. Jh. geführt. Auch dann kann noch nicht von einer geläufigen Bildgattung gesprochen werden.<sup>9</sup>

Die Zeichnung stellte somit Leonardos einzigen Beitrag zu den Freundschaftsbildnissen der Renaissance dar. Aus diesem Grund muss für eine Untersuchung mann-männlicher Freundschaften bei Leonardo da Vinci auf heuristische Hilfsmittel zurückgegriffen und die Herangehensweise erweitert werden. Zunächst ermittele ich deshalb, welche Personen aus Leonardos Umkreis geeignete Kandidaten für das Prädikat 'Freund' darstellen, um dann an Hand von schriftlichen Äußerungen über und von visuellen Darstellungen von diesen 'Freunden' ein differenziertes Bild des jeweiligen Verhältnisses zu gewinnen. Zunächst unternehme ich den Versuch, die Beziehungen objektiv zu bestimmen. Wann und wie kam der Kontakt dieser 'Freunde' zu Leonardo zustande und

<sup>6</sup> Abb. z.B. in *Leonardo da Vinci: 1452–1519: Sämtliche Gemälde und Zeichnungen*, Hrsg. Frank Zöllner (Hong Kong, Köln, et al.: Taschen, 2007), Abb. 221.

<sup>7</sup> Z.B. Möller, "Salai," 147 (siehe Anm. 2); Roy McMullen, *Mona Lisa: The Picture and the Myth* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1977), 16.

<sup>8</sup> Dazu u.a. Esther P. Wipfler, "Amicitia in der Kunst des Mittelalters—Die Personifikation und ihre Rezeption," *Freundschaft: Motive und Bedeutungen*, Hrsg. Sibylle Appuhn-Radtke und Esther P. Wipfler. Veröffentlichungen des Zentralinstituts für Kunstgeschichte, 19 (München: Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte, 2006), 155–79; hier 155. Zum Freundschaftsbild siehe vor allem Klaus Lankheit, *Das Freundschaftsbild der Romantik*. Heidelberger Kunstgeschichtliche Abhandlungen, N. F. 1 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1952).

<sup>9</sup> "Freundschaftsbildnis," *Lexikon der Kunst: Architektur, bildende Kunst, angewandte Kunst, Industrieformgestaltung, Kunsttheorie*, 2, Hrsg. Harald Olbrich und Gerhard Strauss (Leipzig: Seemann, 1989), 595–96; hier 595.

welche 'Funktionen' (also Schüler, Diener, Modell o.ä.) übernahmen sie? In einem zweiten Schritt untersuche ich das Quellenmaterial auf die Perspektive Leonardos auf diese 'Freunde' und ihr Verhältnis zu ihm. Durch einen weiteren Wechsel des Blickwinkels strebe ich eine Bestimmung des Charakters des Verhältnisses aus der Sicht der 'Freunde' an. Dazu werte ich – wenn vorhanden – Äußerungen dieser sowie ihr Œuvre bezüglich des Verhältnisses zu dem Künstler aus. Leitend sollen Fragen, wie Leonardo diese zu untersuchenden 'Freundschaften' beschreibt, darstellt und definiert und wie sie wiederum nicht nur von den jeweiligen 'Freunden,' sondern auch von Zeitgenossen rezipiert und beurteilt wurden, sein. Welche Strukturen und welches Verhalten zeichnete diese Beziehungen aus und wie waren sie motiviert? Die in dieser Form analysierten Beziehungen erlauben dann wiederum induktiv Rückschlüsse auf Leonardos Auffassung des Abstraktums 'Freundschaft.'

Gleichzeitig arbeite ich einen bestimmten Typ des Konzeptes von (homoerotischen) Künstlerfreundschaften heraus. Darüber hinaus soll diese Fallstudie einen Beitrag zur Klärung des Verhältnisses und gegebenenfalls zur Differenzierung der Konzepte von 'Freundschaft,' 'Liebe' und 'Sexualität' im Italien an der Schwelle vom Quattro- zum Cinquecento leisten. Bisherige Studien haben nämlich gezeigt, dass die Begriffe 'Freundschaft' und 'Liebe' besonders im stark homosozial ausgerichteten Italien des Cinquecento eng beieinander lagen.<sup>10</sup> So muss hinsichtlich der Frage nach 'Freundschaft' bei Leonardo auch zugleich stets jene nach Liebe und (Homo-)Sexualität gestellt werden. So werde ich auch erotisch aufgeladene Spätdarstellungen Leonardos wie z.B. *Johannes der Täufer* (um 1513–1516?) und damit einhergehend der Topos des Androgynen betrachten. Abschließend überprüfe ich, ob über die Erweiterung der heuristischen Grundlage nicht doch 'Freundschaftsbilder' im Anschluss an die erweiterte Definition Ulrich Pfisterers gefunden werden könnten. Pfisterers Untersuchung von 2006 veränderte die bislang gültige Definition von Freundschaftsbildern als Darstellung von zwei oder mehr Freunden. Er stuft diese sogar als Sonderfall der Bildgattung ein. In den meisten Fällen handle es sich um Porträts, die oft nicht einmal durch Attribute auf ihre Funktion als Freundschaftsbild verwiesen, sondern lediglich durch Berücksichtigung ihres performativen Kontextes diesem Bereich zugeordnet werden könnten.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Dazu zuletzt in der Kunstgeschichte Ulrich Pfisterer, "Freundschaftsbilder – Liebesbilder: Zum visuellen Code männlicher Passionen in der Renaissance," *Freundschaft: Motive und Bedeutungen*, Hrsg. Sibylle Appuhn-Radtke und Esther P. Wipfler. Veröffentlichungen des Zentralinstituts für Kunstgeschichte, 19 (München: Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte, 2006), 239–59; hier 240.

<sup>11</sup> Vgl. *ibid.*, 240–41. Bereits 1992 hatte Wolfgang Kemp durch die Analyse der inneren Rezeptionsvorgaben des Selbstporträts Nicolas Poussins von 1650, das sich heute im Musée du Louvre in Paris befindet und für seinen Freund und Gönner Paul Fréart de Chantelou gefertigt wurde, gezeigt, dass Auftraggeber und Adressat dieses Tafelbildes hier als 'Freund' eine Personalunion bilden. Der Freund außerhalb des Bildes stelle eine Leerstelle dar, die der

Die Suche nach 'Freunden' beginne ich in Leonardos Testament,<sup>12</sup> denn in der Regel berücksichtigt der Verstorbene als Erben solche Verwandte und Personen, denen er sich zu Dank verpflichtet oder denen er sich in anderer Weise verbunden fühlte. In Leonardos 'letztem Willen' werden Messer Francesco Melzi,<sup>13</sup> ein

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Betrachter selbst ergänzen müsse. Seine Anwesenheit werde durch seine mehrfache Ansprache durch das Bild evoziert: "Was könnte man mehr verlangen," so schlußfolgert Kemp, "ein Partner, der in seiner Situation (Bilderwand, Sammlung), in einer Person (Adressierung durch den Blick) und in seiner hervorstechenden Eigenschaft (Liebhaber der Malerei) formuliert ist—und dies durch ein Selbstporträt: Haben wir da nicht das wahre, komplette Freundschaftsbild?" Wolfgang Kemp, "Teleologie der Malerei: Selbstporträt und Zukunftsreflexion bei Poussin und Velázquez," *Der Künstler über sich in seinem Werk: internationales Symposium der Bibliotheca Hertziana Rom 1989*, Hrsg. Matthias Winner (Weinheim: VCH, Acta Humaniora, 1992), 407–33; hier 423.

<sup>12</sup> Vgl. *The Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci: in 2 Vols.*, 3. Ausg., übers. und hrsg. von Jean-Paul Richter, 2 (New York: Phaidon, 1970), Nr. 1566, 388–91.

<sup>13</sup> Zu Francesco Melzi: Giorgio Vasari, *Vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori con nuove annotazioni e commenti di Gaetano Milanesi*, 4 (Florenz: Sansoni, 1879), 17–86, dt. *Leben der ausgezeichnetesten Maler, Bildhauer und Baumeister: von Cimabue bis zum Jahre 1567 beschrieben von Giorgio Vasari, Maler und Baumeister*, 3,1 Hrsg. Ludwig Schorn und Ernst Förster, neu hrsg. und eingeleitet von Julian Kliemann (Worms: Wernersche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1983), 1–48; *La memoria su Leonardo da Vinci di Don Ambrogio Mazenta*, Hrsg. D. Luigi Gramatica (Mailand: Alfieri & Lacroix, 1919 [zuerst 1635]); Antonio Francesco et al. Albuizzi, *Memorie per servire alla storia de' pittori, scultori e architetti milanesi: vi si aggiunge una copiosa raccolta di antichi documenti inediti relativi alla detta storia cavati dal corpo delle ordinazioni capitolari esistenti nell'archivio dell veneranda fabbrica del duomo di Milano*, Hrsg. Giorgio Nicodemi (Mailand: Industrie grafiche italiane Stucchi, 1956); Felice Calvi, "Storia della famiglia Melzi," *Famiglie notabili milanesi: cenni storici e genealogici*, 2, Hrsg. ders. et al. (Mailand: A. Vallardi, 1879), 10; Giulio Carotti, *Capi d'arte appartenenti a S.E. la Duchessa Joséphine Melzi d'Eril Barbò* (Bergamo: Istituto d'arti grafiche, 1901); Luca Beltrami, *Documenti e Memorie riguardanti la vita e le opere di Leonardo da Vinci* (Mailand: Treves, 1919); Mario Salmi, "Una mostra di antica pittura lombarda," *L'Arte* 26 (1923): 149–60; hier 158; *Prima Mostra degli Antichi Pittori Lombardi* (Mailand: Circolo d'Arte e d'alta Culture, 1923); Wilhelm Suida, *Leonardo und sein Kreis* (München: Bruckmann, 1929); Lionello Venturi, *Italian Paintings in America*, 3, (New York und Mailand: E. Weyhe und U. Hoepli, 1933); Kenneth Clark, *The Drawings of Leonardo da Vinci in the Collection of His Majesty the King at Windsor Castle* (London: Phaidon, 1935), 2 Bände; Wilhelm R. Valentiner, *Leonardo da Vinci: Loan Exhibition, 1452–1519* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum, 1949); André de Hévésy, "Un compagno di Leonardo: Francesco Melzi," *Emporium* 116 (1952), 243–57; Carlo Pedretti, *Studi Vinciani: documenti, analisi e inediti leonardeschi* (Genf: Droz, 1957); M. A. Gukovsky, *Kolumbina* (Leningrad: Izdatelstvo Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha, 1963); *Leonardo da Vinci on painting: A Lost Book 'Libro A'*, Hrsg. Carlo Pedretti et al. California Studies in the History of Art 3 (Berkeley und Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1964); Kenneth Clark, "Francesco Melzi as Preserver of Leonardo da Vinci's Drawings," *Studies in Renaissance and Baroque Art Presented to [Sir] Anthony Blunt on his 60th birthday*, Hrsg. Michael Kitson und John Shearman et al. (London und New York: Phaidon, 1967), 24–25; Kenneth Clark, *The Drawings of Leonardo da Vinci in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen at Windsor Castle*, 2. Ausg. überarbeitet mit der Hilfe von Carlo Pedretti, (London: Phaidon, 1968–1969), 2 Bände; Anna Maria Brizio, "Review of K. Clark and C. Pedretti," *The Art Bulletin* 53, 4 (1971), 529; Sidney Joseph Freedberg, *Painting in Italy: 1500 to 1600* (Harmondsworth Middlesex, et. al.: Penguin Books, 1971); Giulio Bora, *I disegni del Codice Resta* (Mailand: Credito italiano, 1976); Mirella Levi d'Ancona, *The Garden of the Renaissance: Botanical Symbolism in Italian Painting*. *Arte e archeologia* 10 (Florenz: Olschki, 1977); Everett Fahy und Adrian Butash, *The Legacy of Leonardo:*

“Gentilomo da Milano,” seine Diener (*servitore*) Battista de Vilanis und Salai,<sup>14</sup>

*Italian Renaissance Paintings from Leningrad* (New York: Knoedler, 1979); Fern Rusk Shapley, *Catalogue of the Italian Paintings*, 2 Bde. (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1979); Giulio Bora, *I disegni lombardi e genovesi del Cinquecento*. Il disegno italiano: serie sodalizio del libro (Treviso: Libreria ed. Canova, 1980); *I leonardeschi in Lombardia*, Hrsg. Maria Teresa Fiorio und Renzo di Cagno (Mailand: n.p., 1982); Pietro C. Marani, “Girolamo Figino,” *Disegni lombardi del Cinque e del Seicento della Pinacoteca di Brera e dell’Arcivescovado di Milano* Hrsg. Pietro C. Marani (Florenz: Cantini edizioni d’arte, 1986), 56–57; Federico Zeri und Elisabeth E. Gardner, *Italian Paintings: A Catalogue of the Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, North Italian Schools*, 4 (New York: New York Graphic Society, 1986); Maria Teresa Fiorio, “Una traccia per la sezione di pittura e qualche proposta,” *Disegni e dipinti leonardeschi dalle collezioni milanesi*, Hrsg. Giulio Bora et al. (Mailand: Electa, 1987), 20–27; Pietro C. Marani, “Attribuito a Francesco Melzi,” *Disegni e dipinti*, 94–95; David Alan Brown, “Some Observations about the Exhibition ‘Disegni e dipinti leonardeschi dalle collezioni milanesi,’” *Raccolta Vinciana* fasc. 23 (1989): 27–32; Pietro C. Marani, “A New Date for Francesco Melzi’s Young Man with the Parrot,” *The Burlington Magazine* (1989): 479–81; Giovanni Agosti, *Bambaia e classicismo lombardo* (Turin: Einaudi, 1990); Hannlore Nützmänn, *Staatliche Museen in Berlin. Gemäldegalerie. Malerei 13.–18. Jahrhundert im Bodemuseum*, 4. Aufl. (Berlin: Henschel Verlag, 1990), 115; Janice Shell und Grazioso Sironi, “Salai and Leonardo’s Legacy,” *The Burlington Magazine* 133 (1991): 95–108; Marco Carminati, *Cesare da Sesto: 1477–1523* (Mailand und Rom: Jandi Sapi Editori, 1994); Tatyana K. Kustodieva, *The Hermitage. Catalogue of Western European Painting. Italian Painting Thirteenth to Sixteenth Centuries* (Moskau und Florenz: Giunti, 1994); *Leonardo da Vinci: Libro da Pittura*, Hrsg. Carlo Pedretti, kritische Übersetzung von Carlo Vecce (Florenz: Giunti, 1995); Janice Shell, *Pittori in bottega: Rinascimento a Milano*. Studi sull’arte in Italia (Turin: Allemandi, 1995); Francesco Frangi, “Maestro della Pala Solomon, metà sec. XVI,” *Dalla Banca al Museo. La collezione d’arte del Credito Bergamasco*, Hrsg. Francesco Rossi (Mailand: Skira, 1996), 21–31; *Gemäldegalerie Berlin: Gesamtverzeichnis*, Hrsg. Henning Bock und Gesine Asmus (Berlin: Nicolai, 1996); Francesco Frangi, “Girolamo Figino ritrovato,” *Nuovi Studi* 3 (1997), 31–40; Pietro C. Marani, “Francesco Melzi,” *The Legacy of Leonardo: Painters in Lombardy 1490–1530*, Hrsg. Giulio Bora, David Alan Brown und Marco Carminati (Mailand: Skira, 1998), 371–84.

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Gian Giacomo Caprotti da Oreno. Leonardo erwähnt ihn in seinen späteren Aufzeichnungen jedoch stets mit dem Spitznamen ‚Salai.‘ Alternative Schreibweisen sind ‚Salay,‘ (u. a. im Testament; *The Literary Works*, 2, Nr. 1566, 388–91 [siehe Anm. 12]; aber auch bei Luigi Pulci) oder ‚Salaij‘ (in Dokumenten vgl. Möller, “Salai,” 139 [siehe Anm. 2]). So verwende ich hier und folgend zur Bezeichnung Caprottis seinen Spitzname. War Salai Giorgio Vasari, Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo und anderen Schriftstellern des Cinquecento noch bekannt, verschwand er in den nächsten vier Jahrhunderten. In dieser Zeit wurde angenommen, dass sein richtiger Name Andrea Salaino gewesen sei. Paolo Morigia war für diese Annahme verantwortlich. Er verband den in Leonardos Papieren gefundenen Beinamen Salai mit der Person des Andrea Salimbeni da Salerno, eines Schülers Cesare da Sesto (Paolo Morigia, *La nobiltà di Milano: diuina in sei libri* (Mailand: nella stampa del quon. Pacifico Pontio, 1595), 277). Erst zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts wurde die Identität Salais durch die Forschungen Gerolamo Calvis und Luca Beltramis wieder rekonstruiert und von weiteren Forschern bestätigt und aktualisiert (“Giov. Giacomo Caprotti, detto Salai: 1480–1524. Con questo nome e queste date, intendo designare per la prima volta, e senza alcuna riserva, l’allievo che trascorse la vita al fianco di Leonardo (Giov. Giacomo Caprotti, genannt Salai: 1480–1524. Mit diesem Namen und diesen Daten beabsichtige ich das erste Mal und ohne jeglichen Vorbehalt den Schüler, der das Leben an der Seite Leonardos verbrachte, zu bezeichnen)”) schreibt Beltrami 1919. Damit nimmt er die These Calvis, dass Salai der Drittgeborene von Pietro da Oreno und Caterina Scotti sei, auf und entwickelt diese weiter, vgl. Gerolamo Calvi, “Contributi alla Biografia di Leonardo da Vinci (periodo sforzesco),” *Archivio*

seine Dienstmagd (*fantescha*) Maturina und seine Brüder besonders bedacht. Als erster Erbe wird in dem am 23. April 1519 in Cloux in Amboise aufgesetzten Testament Francesco Melzi genannt. Er solle „tutti et ciaschaduno li libri, che il dicto Testatore ha de presente et altri Instrumenti et Portracti circa l'arte sua et industria de Pictori (alle übrigen Werkzeuge und Entwürfe, welche seine Kunst und die Kunstschöpfungen der Maler betreffen)“<sup>15</sup> erhalten, d.h. die Werkstattmaterialien, Zeichnungen,<sup>16</sup> Manuskripte und vielleicht die Maschinen und *modelli* (die Gemälde, die Leonardo mit nach Frankreich brachte, werden im

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*Storico Lombardo* 43,3 (1916): 417–508; ders., „Il vero nome di un allievo di Leonardo: Gian Giacomo de Caprotti detto 'Salai',“ *Rassegna d'Arte* (1919); ders., *I Manoscritti di Leonardo da Vinci dal punto di vista cronologico, storico e biografico*. Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto Vinciano in Roma, 6 (Bologna: 1925); Luca Beltrami, „L'enigma di Andrea Salai risolto,“ *Il marzocco* 14 (7. September 1919); Ders. *La vigna di Leonardo da Vinci* (Mailand: Allegretti, 1920); Pio Rajna, „Appendice alla soluzione di un enigma vinciano,“ *Il marzocco* 20 (14. Juni 1925). Die These wurde z.B. von Möller aufgenommen, erweitert und durch weitere Quellen bestätigt; Möller, „Salai,“ 139–44 (siehe Anm. 2); vgl. auch Janice Shell, „Gian Giacomo Caprotti, detto Salai,“ *Legacy*, 397–406; hier 397 (siehe Anm. 13). Zu Salai: Vasari/Milanesi, 4 (siehe Anm. 13); Vasari/Kliemann, 3,1, 29 (siehe Anm. 13); Morigia, *La nobiltà* (siehe oben); Albuzzi, *Memorie* (siehe Anm. 13); Gerolamo Calvi, „Contributi“ (siehe oben); Beltrami, *Documenti* (siehe Anm. 13); Beltrami, „L'enigma“ (siehe oben); Calvi, „Il vero nome“ (siehe oben); Beltrami, *La vigna* (siehe oben); Rajna, „Appendice“ (siehe oben); Pascal Bonetti, „Un grand maître oublié: André Salaino. Le plus grand élève de Léonard de Vinci,“ *Le Figaro artistique* (21. Oktober 1926): 19–22; Möller, „Salai“ (siehe Anm. 2); Suida, *Leonardo* (siehe Anm. 13); Maurice H. Goldblatt, *Leonardo da Vinci: A Newly Identified Head of Leda. A Newly Identified Design for a Standing Leda. How the Paintings of Salai Were Identified* (New York: The Citadel Press, 1961); Costantino Baroni, *Documenti per la storia dell'Architettura a Milano nel Rinascimento e nel Barocco*, 2, (Rom: Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, 1968), Nr. 2, 39–40; Michele Caffi, „Di alcuni maestri di arte nel secolo XV in Milano poco noti o male indicati,“ *Archivio Storico Lombardo* 5 (1878): 82–85; Angela Ottino Della Chiesa, *L'opera completa di Leonardo pittore* (Mailand: Rizzoli, 1978); Mario Motta, Gian Giacomo Caprotti detto Il Salaino, (Oreno: n.p., 1979); Grazioso Sironi, *Nuovi documenti riguardanti la 'Vergine delle Rocce' di Leonardo da Vinci* (Florenz: Giunti Barbèra, 1981); André Chastel, Paolo Galluzzi und Carlo Pedretti, *Leonardo* (Florenz: Giunti Editore, 1987); Pietro C. Marani, *Leonardo e i leonardeschi a Brera* (Florenz: Cantini, 1987); Janice Shell und Grazioso Sironi, „Bernardinus dictus Barnazanus de Marchixelis dictus de Quagis de Inzago,“ *Arte Christiana* 78 (1990): 363–66; Dies., „Salai and Leonardo's Legacy,“ Dies., „Salai and the Inventory of His Estate,“ *Raccolta Vinciana*, fasc. 24 (1992): 109–53; Michel Tournier, *Il vento Paracleto* (Mailand: Garzanti Libri, 1992); Michel Tournier, „L'altra metà di Leonardo,“ *Il Messaggero* (1992); Carlo Vecce, *Leonardo* (Rom: Salerno, 1998); *Il Cinquecento lombardo: da Leonardo a Caravaggio*, realisiert und kuratiert von Flavio Caroli (Mailand: Skira u.a., 2000); Michele Mauri, *Trittico vimercatese: Gian Giacomo Caprotti detto Salai. Gaspere da Vimercate. Gian Giacomo Gallarati Scotti* (Missaglia: Bellavite, 2002); Shell, „Caprotti“ (siehe oben).

<sup>15</sup> *The Literary Works*, 2, Nr. 1566, 389 (siehe Anm. 12), dt. Hugo Graf von Gallenberg, *Leonardo da Vinci: mit Leonardos Bildniß und vier Steintafeln* (Leipzig: Friedrich Fleischer, 1834), 151.

<sup>16</sup> Durch die Aufzeichnungen Vasaris ist bekannt, dass Melzi anatomische Zeichnungen erbt; dazu S. 7. Auch Alberto Bendidio, ein Korrespondent Alfonso d'Estes, berichtet, dass Melzi 1523 die Aufzeichnungen Leonardos mit den anatomischen Studien und „molte altre belle cose (viele andere vortreffliche Dinge)“ in seinem Besitz hatte; Beltrami, *Documenti*, Nr. 251 (siehe Anm. 13), 160; Marani, „Melzi,“ 372 (siehe Anm. 13).

Testament nicht erwähnt<sup>17</sup>). Ein Weingarten vor Porta Vercellina (vor den Toren Mailands) wird zwischen Leonardos Dienern Baptist de Vilanis und Salai aufgeteilt. Es wird jedoch angenommen, dass Salai darüber hinaus die Gemälde Leonardos überlassen wurden, die er mit nach Mailand zurücknahm, wo sie auch nach seinem Tod 1524 zunächst blieben.<sup>18</sup> Die Magd Maturina erhält—dem Testament weiter folgend—ein Kleid, Tuch und etwas Geld. Darüber hinaus sollen die Halbbrüder Leonardos in Italien Geld erben. Melzi—so verfügt Leonardo—solle weiter sein Gehalt und des Künstlers Kleider erhalten. Melzi wird außerdem als Testamentsvollstrecker eingesetzt. Zudem muss er beim Aufsetzen des Schriftstückes zugegen gewesen sein, wird er doch im Dokument als Zeuge genannt. Das Testament schließt mit zwei weiteren, den Diener Battista de Vilanis bedenkenden Punkten: er solle außerdem die Wasserrechte, die Leonardo für den Kanal Santo Cristoforo in der Grafschaft Mailand besaß, sowie seine Möbel und seinen Hausrat erben.<sup>19</sup>

Der Adelige aus Mailand nimmt zweifelsohne eine herausragende Stellung in dem Dokument ein. Er wird nicht nur als Vollstrecker des letzten Willens, sondern auch als erster der Erben genannt, ohne dass aus dem Testament hervorgeht, in welchem Verhältnis er zu Leonardo steht. Er erbt neben Geld und Kleidungsstücken die 'beruflichen' Hinterlassenschaften und zwar sowohl aus dem künstlerischen wie auch aus dem 'wissenschaftlichen' Bereich. Leonardo begründet die Erbschaft mit den Worten "per remuneratione de' servitii ad epso grati a lui facti per il passato (als Lohn für Dienste und Gefälligkeiten an ihm [dem Testator—M. S. Marotzki] in der Vergangenheit)." Diese Zeilen geben jedoch nicht nur keine Auskunft über das Verhältnis zwischen Leonardo und Melzi, sondern ähneln auch den Begründungen, die Leonardo für die Erbschaft der Diener und der Magd anführt.<sup>20</sup> Die genaue Rolle Melzis bleibt also unklar und gibt so Anlass zu der Vermutung, dass es sich (auch) um einen 'Freund' handeln könne. Im

<sup>17</sup> Marani, "Melzi," 372 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>18</sup> Das Inventar von Salais Besitz wurde erstmals publiziert in: Shell und Sironi, "Salai and Leonardo's Legacy," 106–08 (siehe Anm. 14); vgl. auch Shell und Sironi, "Salai and the Inventory of His Estate," 141–51 (siehe Anm. 14). In diesem wird eine Reihe von Werken mit Preis gelistet. Der extrem hohe Wert, der den ersten fünf Werken zugemessen wird, lässt den Schluss zu, dass dieses Originale Leonardos und keine Kopien Salais waren. Es handelt sich um "Quadro dicto una Ledda, numero 1. . . . scuti 200, libre 1010 [. . .] Quadro de Santa Anna, numero 1. . . . scuti 100; libre 505[. . .] Quadro di una donna aretrata, numero 1. . . . scuti—; libre— [. . .] Quadro [am Rand:] dicto la Joconda [gestrichen: dicto la honda C°] numero 1. . . . scuti 100; libre 505 [. . .] Quadro cum uno Santo Johanne grandio, numero 1. . . . scuti 80; libre 404 [. . .]." Es ist anzunehmen, dass Salai die Gemälde nach Leonardos Tod aus Frankreich zurück nach Mailand brachte; Shell, "Caprotti," 402 (siehe Anm. 14).

<sup>19</sup> *The Literary Works*, 2, Nr. 1566, 388–91 (siehe Anm. 12).

<sup>20</sup> Vgl. zu Battista de Vilanis und Salai "in remuneratione di boni et grati servitii" (*The Literary Works*, 2, Nr. 1566, 389 [siehe Anm. 12]) und Maturina "in remuneratione similmente de boni servitii" (*Ibid.*, 390).

Vergleich mit den vielen schriftlichen Aufzeichnungen Leonardos fällt auf, dass der in dem Testament als Diener geführte und lediglich mit der Hälfte eines Weinberges bedachte Salai in diesen sehr oft und sehr ausführlich Erwähnung findet. Diese Vergleiche verweisen ebenso darauf, dass er nicht nur ein Diener Leonardos gewesen sein muss, sondern ebenfalls als Kandidat für die Kategorie Freund in Frage kommt.

Zeitgenössische Quellen geben außerdem Anlass zu der Vermutung, dass beide Leonardos Schüler gewesen waren.<sup>21</sup> Wegweisend zu dem Thema der künstlerischen Leonardonachfolge ist die Untersuchung Wilhelm Suidas *Leonardo und sein Kreis* von 1929. Sofort nachdem sie erschienen war, wurde der Publikation große Tragweite attestiert. Neben den präzisen Zuschreibungen war die Idee, die sogenannten Lombardischen Schüler—zu denen auch Melzi und Salai gezählt werden—als eigene Gruppe zu sehen, neu.<sup>22</sup> In dem Kapitel „Leonardos Schule und breitere Wirkung“ zählt Suida über 30 Künstler auf, unter ihnen auch Salai und Melzi, denen er jeweils ein kurzes eigenes Kapitel widmet. Im Vergleich zu den Untersuchungen über die anderen Schüler hebt er sie nicht besonders hervor. Eher gegenteilig bezeichnet Suida z.B. die Geschichte von Salai als „kleine Novelle ohne Illustrationen.“<sup>23</sup> Leonardo selbst—es finden sich häufig Anmerkungen über Schüler und Gehilfen in seinen Tagebüchern<sup>24</sup>—spricht ihnen jedoch eine prominente Stellung zu. Dieses zeigen neben dem Testament z.B. Tagebucheinträge, Briefe und nicht zuletzt visuelle Evidenzen (bereits das eingangs untersuchte Freundschaftsbildnis scheint Salai zu zeigen).

Auch die Beschreibungen Vasaris bestätigen dieses. In der ersten Fassung seiner *Vita di Leonardo* von 1550 erwähnt er als ersten der Schüler Salai (im Übrigen auch lediglich unter diesem Namen). Vasari beschreibt ihn als, „vaghissimo in grazia e di bellezza, avendo begli capegli ricci e inanellati, de' quali Lionardo si diletto molto (anmutig schön gebildeten Jüngling mit krausen lockigen Haaren, an denen Leonardo absonderliches Vergnügen fand).“<sup>25</sup> Zudem erwähnt er, dass Leonardo Salai etwas lehrte. Genauer über den Inhalt kann Vasaris Äußerungen jedoch nicht entnommen werden: „[E]d a lui insegnò molte cose dell'arte; e certi lavori, che in Milano si dicono essere di Salai, furono ritocchi da Lionardo (Er lehrte ihn

<sup>21</sup> Ausführlich ausgewertet zu Salai S. 657–70, zu Melzi S. 574–76.

<sup>22</sup> In dem Teil der Untersuchung, die sich mit Leonardos Schülern und Nachfolgern beschäftigt, revidiert Suida nicht nur die falschen Zuschreibungen seiner Vorgänger, sondern unterzog auch die einzelnen Œuvre einer strengen Revision. Zuvor waren lediglich Solario, Marco d'Oggiono und Cesare Sesto mit Monographien gewürdigt worden. Suida verargumentiert seine Zuschreibungen zeittypisch über den Stil. Mittlerweile ist es üblich, sich bei Zuschreibungen weiterer Erkenntnismittel und -methoden zu bedienen; vgl. *Legacy*, Preface (siehe Anm. 13). Zum aktuellen Stand der Leonardo-Nachfolge-Forschung vgl. ebenfalls *Legacy* (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>23</sup> Suida, *Leonardo*, 227 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>24</sup> Dazu *ibid.*, 167–68.

<sup>25</sup> Vasari/Milanesi, 4, 38 (siehe Anm. 13); Vasari/Kliemann, 3,1, 29 (siehe Anm. 13).



viele Dinge, und mehrere Bilder, die man in Mailand dem Salai beimißt, hat Lionardo überarbeitet).“<sup>26</sup> Jedoch die noch im selben Satz erwähnten Bilder Salais, die Leonardo nach Aussage Vasaris überarbeitete, weisen darauf hin, dass es sich unter anderem um Inhalte die Künftlerausbildung betreffend handelte. Die erste Fassung der *Vita di Leonardo* schließt mit der Erwähnung zweier weiterer Schüler. Zunächst Giovanni Antonio Boltraffio, der als “persona molto pratica ed intendente (sehr geübter und verständiger Meister)”<sup>27</sup> beschrieben wird. Des Weiteren erwähnt der Autor Marco d’Oggione und zwei seiner Werke.<sup>28</sup> In der zweiten Ausgabe seiner *Viten* von 1568 fügt Vasari den Verweis auf eines der Werke Boltraffios ein. Gleichzeitig erläutert er, die Erwähnung dieses einen sei ausreichend, da es das Beste sei.<sup>29</sup>

Francesco Melzi findet erst in der zweiten Ausgabe von 1568 Berücksichtigung, jedoch nicht als Schüler, sondern als Erbe eines großen Teils der sogenannten ‘anatomischen Zeichnungen.’ Des Weiteren charakterisiert Vasari ihn an dieser Stelle durch seine Schönheit, die er als Kind und auch nun als Greis noch besäße und hält außerdem fest, dass Leonardo Melzi sehr geliebt habe. Er beschreibt, dass Melzi die geerbten Schriften “come per reliquie [. . .] insieme con il ritratto della felice memoria di Lionardo (wie theure Reliquien, zugleich mit dem Bildniß Lionardo’s glückseligen Andenkens)”<sup>30</sup> verwahrte. Der Tote wird also durch sein Porträt wie auch durch sein Werk vergegenwärtigt. Vasari berichtet in der *Vita des Leonardo* lediglich von diesen vier Schülern,<sup>31</sup> wobei die Berichte über Boltraffio und d’Oggione den Lebensbericht Leonardos abschließen. Zudem nennt er sie lediglich in ihrer Funktion als Schüler und unter Bezugnahme auf ihre Werke. Dieser Aufbau einer Künstlervita ist in vielen Schilderungen Vasaris zu beobachten. Er führt die Schüler am Ende der Schilderung von Leben und Wirken des Meisters unter Bezug auf ihre Werke auf.<sup>32</sup> Die Einführungen Salais und Melzis in der Leonardovita sind hingegen in den Textkorpus eingebunden. Zu ihnen gibt Vasari weiterführende Informationen (im Fall Melzis erwähnt er diesen hier gar nicht als Schüler); nämlich, was Leonardo an ihnen schätzte, ihre Schönheit. Der Passus über Melzi verrät darüber hinaus durch den Hinweis auf die Erbschaft der Zeichnungen (die Vasari bei dem greisen Melzi einsah), wie hoch

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Vasari/Milanesi, 4, 51 (siehe Anm. 13); Vasari/Kliemann, 3,1 47 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>28</sup> Vasari/Milanesi, 4 (siehe Anm. 13); Vasari/Kliemann, 3,1, 48 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>29</sup> Vasari/Milanesi, 4 (siehe Anm. 13); Vasari/Kliemann, 3,1, 47–48 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>30</sup> Vasari/Milanesi, 4, 35–36 (siehe Anm. 13); Vasari/Kliemann, 3,1, 28 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>31</sup> Ludwig Schorn und Ernst Förster verweisen darauf, dass Vasari in der *Vita* des Lorenzetto und des Boccacino auch Bernardino Luini als Schüler des Leonardo erwähne; Vasari/ Kliemann, 3,1, 48 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>32</sup> Z.B. in der *Vita* des Piero di Cosimo (Vasari/ Milanesi [siehe Anm. 13]; Vasari/Kliemann, 3,1, 88 [siehe Anm. 13]) oder des Filippino Lippi (Vasari/ Milanesi [siehe Anm. 13]; Vasari/Kliemann, 2, 315 siehe Anm. 13)).

Leonardo ihn schätzen mochte. Auch ist zu erfahren, wie Melzi Leonardos Erbe und Andenken pflegte. Diese Informationen greife ich jedoch im Verlauf der vorliegenden Argumentation noch einmal auf und werte sie aus.<sup>33</sup>

Vasaris Rezeption dieser Verhältnisse bestätigt also die Ausnahmestellung Salaìs und Melzis unter den Schülern und nährt zudem weiter die Vermutung, dass sie sich durch eine klassische Schüler-Lehrer-Beziehung nicht ausreichend erfassen lassen. Aus diesen Gründen scheint eine Untersuchung der Beziehung Leonardos zu diesen beiden Schülern unter Berücksichtigung des Erkenntnisinteresses an Leonardos mann-männlichen 'Freundschaften' besonders vielversprechend. Neben den schriftlichen Dokumenten, in denen Leonardo über Salaì und Melzi berichtet wie seinen Tagebucheinträgen und Briefen, ziehe ich weitere (kunsttheoretisch-)historische Quellen wie Vasaris *Viten* oder Lomazzos wenig bekanntes *Libro del sogno* heran. Besondere Aufmerksamkeit widme ich dabei dem Medium der Malerei und Zeichnung. So untersuche ich Bilder und Zeichnungen Leonardos, die Aufschluss über sein Verhältnis zu Salaì und Melzi geben könnten. Nicht zu vernachlässigen ist dabei das Werk der Schüler, gibt es doch ebenso Rückschluss auf ihre Beziehung zum Meister. Zudem ist davon auszugehen, dass Leonardo viele Ideen nicht selbst verwirklichte, sondern unter Anleitung durch die Hand seiner Schüler ausführen ließ.<sup>34</sup> Als Schwierigkeit erweist sich dabei, die oft unsichere und wechselnde Zuschreibung der Werke an Leonardo oder verschiedene Schüler.

Im Folgenden betrachte ich Salaì und Francesco Melzi komparativ unter verschiedenen Aspekten ihrer Beziehung zu Leonardo. Der Frage nach ihrer Einführung bei Leonardo, ihrer 'Initiation,' folgt die nach ihrer 'Funktion.' Anschließend stehen die Perspektiven des Verhältnisses im Fokus. So untersuche ich zunächst, wie sich dieses aus Sicht des Meisters darstellte, um nachfolgend den Versuch zu unternehmen, die Rezeption Leonardos und des Verhältnisses zu ihm durch die beiden jungen Männer herauszuarbeiten. Auf der ersten Seite des *Manoscritto C*, welches heute im Institut de France in Paris aufbewahrt wird, schreibt Leonardo "Jacommo venne a stare · con meco jl dì della Maddalena nel mille 490, d'età d'anni 10 (Jacommo zog am Magdalenenstag 1490 zu mir, im Alter von zehn Jahren)"<sup>35</sup> Ende Januar 1491 notierte er auf dieser Seite, auf der sich

<sup>33</sup> Generell erstaunt die geringe Quantität, die die Informationen über die 'Schüler' im Gesamttext einnehmen. So sind jedem der vier Schüler nicht mehr als zwei Sätze gewidmet.

<sup>34</sup> Suida, *Leonardo*, 9 (siehe Anm. 13). Vgl. auch *ibid.*, 10: "Bei Leonardo aber bleiben nicht nur Umfang und Bedeutung seines Wirkens unerkannt, sondern auch seine künstlerische Entwicklung unverständlich, seine historische Rolle einfach unerklärlich, wenn nicht die erstaunliche Zahl seiner in den Werken anderer fortlebenden künstlerischen Erfindungen festgestellt wird. Von intensiven und sehr verschiedenartigen Studien erfüllt, zu Zeiten der Malerei ganz abgewandt "impazientissimo al pennello" sagen Augenzeugen, überlässt er ganz oder teilweise die Ausführung künstlerischer Ideen jüngeren Malern seiner Umgebung."

<sup>35</sup> MS. C. 15 verso; ital. *The Literary Works*, 2, Nr. 1458, 363 (siehe Anm. 12); dt. *Leonardo da Vinci*:

ansonsten hauptsächlich Anmerkungen über die Malerei und das Studium des Wassers befinden, weitere Begebenheiten aus dem täglichen Leben und insbesondere die Vergehen des Knaben:

Il secondo dì li feci tagliare 2 camicie, uno pajo di calze e vn giubbone, e qu — a — do mi posi i dinari al lato per pagare dette cose lui mi rubò *lire 4* detti dinari dalla scarsella, e mai fu possibile farli le confessare, bench' io n'avessi vera ciertezza — ladro, bugiardo, ostinato, ghiotto. — [diese Bezeichnungen wurden später von Leonardo am Rand hinzugefügt — M. S. Marotzki].

Il dì seguente andai a ciena con Iacomo Andrea, e detto Iacomo · cienò per 2 e fece male per 4, inperochè rupe 3 ampolline, versò il uino, e dopo questo venne a ciena doue me . . . .

[Am zweiten Tag darauf ließ ich ihm zwei Hemden, ein paar Hosen und ein Wams zuschneiden, und als ich mir das Geld zum Bezahlen dieser Sachen beiseitelegte, stahl er mir dieses Geld aus dem Beutel, und es gelang mir nie, ihn zu einem Geständnis zu bewegen, obwohl ich fest davon überzeugt war. (4 Lire.) (Diebisch, verlogen, trotzig, gefräßig.)

Am darauffolgenden Tag ging ich zu einem Abendessen bei Giacomo Andrea, und der bezeichnete Giacomo aß indes für zwei und machte Schaden für vier; denn er zerbrach drei Krüge, verschüttete den Wein und kam danach zu dem Abendessen, wo ich war.]<sup>36</sup>

Mit diesen Zeilen schildert Leonardo einen denkbar schlechten Einstand des Knaben. Die kurze Episode aus seinem Tagebuch skizziert jedoch schon das Spannungsfeld, in dem sich die Beziehung Salais zum Künstler verortet. Offenbar nimmt Leonardo ihn bei sich auf, der Grund hierfür klärt sich aus dem Tagebucheintrag nicht. Umso weniger ist verständlich, warum er ihm sofort Kleidung anfertigen lässt.<sup>37</sup> Als der Junge Leonardo auch noch bestiehlt, hat die Ratlosigkeit des Lesers, warum der Künstler den Knaben nicht sofort wieder vor die Tür setzt, sondern ihn gegenteilig auch noch zu einem Abendessen mitnimmt, ihren Höhepunkt erreicht. Dass Salai sich bei diesem schon wieder denkbar ungünstig verhält, erstaunt indes mittlerweile nicht mehr. Vasari bietet eine Erklärung an, wonach Leonardo den Jungen als Schüler annahm, weil ihm dessen "Anmut und Schönheit," sowie dessen "gekräuselter Lockenhaar" gefielen: "Prese

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*Tagebücher und Aufzeichnungen*, 3. Aufl., übers. und hrsg. von Theodor Lücke (Leipzig: List, 1953), 892.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Möller schließt — hochspekulativ — aus der 'Kleiderepisode,' dass der Knabe in abgerissener Kleidung kam; Möller, "Salai," 140 (siehe Anm. 2). Zur Bewertung des in diesem Beitrag viel zitierten Aufsatzes von Emil Möller möchte ich anmerken, dass die Untersuchung zwar wertvolle Beiträge zur Person und insbesondere zur 'Ikonographie' Salais beiträgt sowie ein erstes Werkverzeichnis aufstellt, jedoch oft sehr spekulativ und in der Interpretation stark dem Zeitgeist verhaftet ist. Dieses zeigt sich insbesondere in Möllers Versuch einer "Schilderung [. . .] seines [Salais — M. S. Marotzki] Charakters"; Möller, "Salai," 139 (siehe Anm. 2).

in Milano Salai Milanese per suo creato, il quale era vaghissimo in grazia e di bellezza, avendo begli capegli ricci e inanellati, de' quali Lionardo si diletto molto (Zu Mailand nahm er den Mailänder Salai in seine Schule auf, einen anmuthigen und schön gebildeten Jüngling mit krausen lockigen Haaren, an denen Lionardo absonderliches Vergnügen fand).<sup>38</sup> Salais Vater Pietro di Giovanni war Pächter des Weinguts Leonardos vor Porta Vercellina, welches Salai später erbte, und André Chastel folgend ein Freund des Künstlers.<sup>39</sup> Auf diesem Weg also könnte der Kontakt zu dem Knaben entstanden sein. Es fällt auf, dass Salai im Vergleich zu anderen Schülern Leonardos bei seinem 'Eintritt' mit zehn Jahren noch relativ jung ist und Leonardo sich so, wie Giuseppina Fumagalli anmerkt, eine für einen Maler seiner Zeit ungewöhnliche Verantwortung aufbürdet.<sup>40</sup> Dass dieser gleichwohl von einiger Bedeutung für den Meister gewesen sein muss, lässt sich aus der exakt festgehaltenen und datierten Chronologie der Ereignisse der ersten Tage schließen.

Giovan Francesco Melzi war etwa zehn Jahre jünger (er wurde um 1491–1493 in Mailand geboren<sup>41</sup>). Leonardo kannte den Sprössling einer lombardischen Adelsfamilie wahrscheinlich schon seit Sommer 1507. Einen ersten Beweis persönlicher Beziehungen liefert ein Brief von 1508, den Leonardo durch Salai an Melzi überbringen ließ. In diesem tadelt er ihn launig, dass er ihm doch schon einige Briefantworten schuldig sei.<sup>42</sup> Als sich die politischen Verhältnisse in Mailand 1511 erneut veränderten gewährten die Melzis Leonardo in Vaprio d'Adda Gastfreundschaft. In einer Notiz vom 24. September 1513 vermerkt der Maler, dass er in der Begleitung von Salai, einem Lorenzo, des Dieners *il Fanfoja* und Francesco Melzi nach Rom aufgebrochen sei.<sup>43</sup> Möller misst der von Leonardo gewählten Reihenfolge der Begleiter (Melzi, Salai, Lorenzo, Fanfoja) wertende

<sup>38</sup> Vasari/Milanesi, 4 (siehe Anm. 13); Vasari/Kliemann, 3,1, 29 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>39</sup> André Chastel, *Art et humanisme à Florence au temps de Laurent le Magnifique: études sur la Renaissance et l'Humanisme platonicien*, 2. Ausg. Publication de l'Institut d'Art et d'Archéologie de l'Université de Paris, 4 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1961), 291.

<sup>40</sup> Giuseppina Fumagalli, *Eros di Leonardo* (Mailand: Garzanti, 1952), 83–84.

<sup>41</sup> Das Geburtsdatum Melzis kann durch einen Autographen auf einer Zeichnung in der Ambrosiana in Mailand belegt werden. Dieser bezeichnet ihn als 17-jährig. Weiter unten auf der Zeichnung findet sich ein zweiter Autograph, der wahrscheinlich später hinzugefügt wurde, demzufolge Melzi "anni 19" alt ist; Cod. F 274 inf. 8; Abb. Suida, *Leonardo*, Abb. 301 (siehe Anm. 13); vgl. *ibid.*, 231; Bora, *Disegni lombardi*, Nr. 1213 (siehe Anm. 13); Marani, "Attribuito a Francesco Melzi," 92–93 (siehe Anm. 13); Marani, "Melzi," 371 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>42</sup> C. A., 372 verso a; *The Literary Works*, 2, Nr. 1350, 335 (siehe Anm. 12). Dazu auch Suida, *Leonardo*, 230 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>43</sup> MS. E 1 recto; *The Literary Works*, 2, Nr. 1465, 365 (siehe Anm. 12). In einer Namensliste von 1509/1510 sind bereits die Namen "Cecho" und "Cechino" – Koseformen von Francesco – zu finden. Eventuell handelt es sich hierbei bereits um Francesco Melzi; vgl. Royal Library 12280 recto; C. A. 65 verso b; 20 verso b.

Bedeutung bei und schließt daraus, „daß der junge Edelmann Melzi jetzt den ersten Platz bei Leonardo einnimmt.“<sup>44</sup>

Vergleichend lässt sich festhalten, dass der Einstand Salais sehr gut durch Leonardo selbst dokumentiert ist. Dagegen ist unklar, wie der Kontakt zu Francesco Melzi zustande kam und warum er Leonardo ab 1513 folgte. Salai ist mit seinen zehn Jahren noch erstaunlich jung. Melzi vergleichsweise ist etwa 17, als er Leonardo kennen lernte und Anfang 20, als er sich ihm anschloss. Auch ist schwer nachvollziehbar, warum Leonardo Salai trotz seines schlechten Verhaltens bei sich behielt. Die Interpretation Vasaris, es ginge Leonardo um das Äußere des Knaben, wird zu überprüfen sein. Diese Informationen werfen Fragen nach der 'Funktion' und dem 'Status' der jungen Männer bei Leonardo auf. Sein Tagebucheintrag des *Manoscritto C* gibt darüber im Fall Salais keinen Aufschluss, Vasari vermutet die Aufnahme als Schüler. So enthält die Palette möglicher Funktionen außerdem die Optionen Gehilfe, gelegentliches Modell, Liebhaber, Hausdiener (oder auch im fortgeschrittenen Alter Hausverwalter) und Adoptivsohn. Kam er als Kammerdiener, der eines Tages Schüler geworden war oder als Hausjunge mit der Bestimmung, Leonardo den Sohn zu ersetzen? Es schienen schon der Phantasie Fumagallis in *Eros di Leonardo* bezüglich dieses Themas keine Grenzen gesetzt. Vielleicht, so fährt sie fort, handelte es sich bei der Funktion des Kammerdieners und Hausjungen um die abgesprochenen Bedingungen, bei der Rolle des Sohnes um geheime Wünsche Leonardos, die ihm vielleicht selbst nicht ganz bewusst waren.<sup>45</sup> Janice Shell hält es für wahrscheinlich, dass Salai als „apprentice-cum-household help“ zu dem Maler gesandt worden war und seinen Schülern und ihm später oft als Modell diente.<sup>46</sup>

Eine Notiz von 1494 lässt vermuten, dass Salai sich als Gehilfe Leonardos nützlich erwiesen hatte.<sup>47</sup> Er begleitete den Meister von Mailand, über Mantua nach Venedig und Florenz. Pietro da Novellara beschreibt ihn 1501 als Leonardos *discepolo* (Schüler) und *garzone* (Geselle), und vielleicht war er einer der „*dui suoi garzoni [che] fano retrati* (beiden Gesellen, die Bilder anfertigten)“ in denen „*lui [Leonardo] a le volte in alcuno mette mano* (er [Leonardo] bei einigen selbst Hand anlegte).“<sup>48</sup> Der mantuanische Gesandte Luigi Ciocca beschreibt Salai in einem Brief vom 22. Januar 1505 an Isabella d'Este als einen für sein Alter tüchtigen Schüler: „*uno alevo de Leonardo Vinci, zovane per la sua età assai valente nominato Salai* (ein Schüler Leonardos, jung und für sein Alter sehr tüchtig, Salai

<sup>44</sup> Möller, „Salai,“ 143 (siehe Anm. 2).

<sup>45</sup> Fumagalli, *Eros*, 84 (siehe Anm. 40).

<sup>46</sup> Shell, „Caprotti,“ 397–98 (siehe Anm. 14).

<sup>47</sup> MS. H., 64 verso; 142 verso; vgl. Calvi, „Contributi,“ 55 (siehe Anm. 14).

<sup>48</sup> Beltrami, *Documenti*, Nr. 107, 66 (siehe Anm. 13); dt.—M. S. Marotzkj; Möller, „Salai,“ 142 (siehe Anm. 2); Shell und Sironi, „Salai and the Inventory of His Estate,“ 127 (siehe Anm. 14); Shell, „Caprotti,“ 398 (siehe Anm. 14).

genannt).“<sup>49</sup> Der junge Mann bot sich durch den Gesandten Isabella als Maler an: “Eso Salai haveria gran desiderio di fare qualche cosa galante per V. Ex. (Dieser Salai hätte großes Verlangen, irgend ein galantes Stück für Ihre Excellenz [sic!] zu malen).“<sup>50</sup> Isabella ging jedoch nicht auf dieses Angebot ein. Da sie Salai und sein Können bereits 1499 kennen gelernt hatte, kann ihrem Schweigen entnommen werden, dass sie dieses nicht besonders schätzte und/ oder sich ausschließlich für einen ‘echten’ Leonardo interessierte (so bemühte sie sich in den Folgejahren intensiv um ein Bild des Meisters).<sup>51</sup>

An dieser Stelle kann bereits geschlossen werden, dass Salai tatsächlich ein malerisches Œuvre bei Leonardo geschaffen hatte. Vasaris Aufzeichnungen bestätigen dieses. Ebenso lässt der Passus, Leonardo lehre Salai “viele Dinge in der Kunst,” darauf schließen, dass er also tatsächlich als dessen Schüler bezeichnet werden darf. Des Weiteren verweist die Information Vasaris, dass Leonardo Werke des Salai überarbeitete auf ein Lehrer-Schüler-Verhältnis. Lomazzo nennt ihn neben Cesare da Sesto und Boltraffio als einen der drei charakteristischen Schüler Leonardos, die ihren Meister jedoch nicht erreichen konnten.<sup>52</sup> In einem Brief von 1508 bezeichnet Leonardo Salai, der die Nachricht überbringen soll, selbst als seinen Schüler (*discepolo*).<sup>53</sup>

Der junge Mann kehrte mit seinem Meister nach Mailand zurück. Hier lebte er nachweislich in einem Haushalt mit ihm, obwohl seine Eltern und Schwestern bereits auf Leonardos Grundstück in Porta Vercellina lebten und er auch dort hätte unterkommen können.<sup>54</sup> Laut Shell scheint er ab diesem Zeitpunkt, neben einer Tätigkeit als Werkstattgehilfe, als eine Art *major domo* Leonardos Haushalt geführt zu haben – eine Tätigkeit, die für Melzi wohl nicht fein genug gewesen sei, wie sie mutmaßt.<sup>55</sup> 1507/1508 begleitet Salai den Meister zu einem Prozess mit dessen Halbbrüdern nach Florenz. Er fungiert als Briefkurier an Charles d’Amboise und

<sup>49</sup> Beltrami, *Documenti*, Nr. 157, 96 (siehe Anm. 13); dt. – M. S. Marotzki. Diese Aussage über Salais Fähigkeiten fußt in der Anekdote, er habe Perugino mit fachlichem Rat zur Seite gestanden. Möller hält dieses – meines Erachtens zu recht – für unwahrscheinlich. Perugino – zu diesem Zeitpunkt ein gestandener Meister – wird kaum die fachlichen Fähigkeiten eines 25-jährigen berücksichtigt haben. Aus diesem Grund hält Möller es für wahrscheinlich, Salai habe sich die Geschichte ausgedacht, um seinen ‚Marktwert‘ vor dem Gesandten zu steigern; Möller, “Salai,” 142–43 (siehe Anm. 2); dazu auch Suida, *Leonardo*, 228 (siehe Anm. 13); Shell und Sironi, “Salai and the Inventory of His Estate,” 129 (siehe Anm. 14); Shell, “Caprotti,” 398 (siehe Anm. 14).

<sup>50</sup> Beltrami, *Documenti*, Nr. 157, 96–97 (siehe Anm. 13); dt. Möller, “Salai,” 143 (siehe Anm. 2).

<sup>51</sup> Vgl. Möller, “Salai,” 143 (siehe Anm. 2).

<sup>52</sup> Gian Paolo Lomazzo, *Trattato dell’arte de la pittura*, 6, Kap. 50 (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1968), 437 (die Ausgabe *Gian Paolo Lomazzo: Scritti sulle arti*, 2, Hrsg. Roberto Paolo Ciardi (Pisa: Marchi & Bertolli, 1974), 381, ist zum Nachweis ungeeignet, da die entsprechende Zeile ausgelassen wurde); vgl. auch Suida, *Leonardo*, 229 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>53</sup> C. A. 372 verso a, *The Literary Works*, 2, Nr. 1350, 333 (siehe Anm. 12).

<sup>54</sup> Sironi, *Nouvi documenti*, 23–25 (siehe Anm. 14); Shell und Sironi, “Salai and the Inventory of His Estate,” 131 (siehe Anm. 14); Shell, “Caprotti,” 398 (siehe Anm. 14).

<sup>55</sup> Shell, “Caprotti,” 398 (siehe Anm. 14).

Francesco Melzi. Als Leonardo nach Frankreich ging, blieb Salai jedoch auf dem Weingut Leonardos vor Porta Vercellina. Somit folgte er seinem Meister auf allen seinen Reisen, nur auf seiner letzten nach Cloux (heute Clos Lucé) in Amboise nicht.<sup>56</sup> Allerdings belegen neuere Forschungen, dass er als Mitglied von Leonardos Haushalt nach Frankreich reiste.<sup>57</sup> Die königliche Staatskasse des französischen Hofes führte ihn als Diener Leonardos.<sup>58</sup> Eventuell war er zum Zeitpunkt von Leonardos Tod in Cloux. Hierzu können jedoch nur Vermutungen geäußert werden, da die Quellen keine genauen Informationen enthalten.<sup>59</sup> Sicher scheint lediglich, dass er nicht bei Leonardos Testamenterrichtung zugegen war, da er nicht als Zeuge erwähnt wird. In dem letzten Abschnitt von Leonardos Leben schien Salai als Schüler oder künstlerischer Gehilfe keine Rolle zu spielen. Hatte er schon vorher Dienste wie das Überbringen von Korrespondenz u. ä. für Leonardo übernommen, wird er auch im Testament als Diener (*servitore*) bezeichnet. Dennoch gehört er zu den Erben. Er kehrte wohl noch im Jahr von Leonardos Tod nach Mailand zurück, eventuell einige Werke des Meisters mit sich führend. 1524 starb er an einem Büchschuss. Einige Quellen behaupten, er sei im Umgang mit seiner Feuerwaffe unvorsichtig gewesen, andere wiederum, dass er bei einer Auseinandersetzung umgekommen sei – wie auch immer sich die genauen Umstände verhalten haben mögen, es ist belegt, dass er vor dem 10. März 1524 umkam, der genaue Anlass seines „morte violenta“<sup>60</sup> bleibt im Dunkeln.<sup>61</sup> Die Quellen lassen keinen Zweifel daran, dass Salai in einem Lehrer-Schüler-Verhältnis zu Leonardo stand, welches auch Dritte als solches rezipierten. In den Beschreibungen ist er derjenige, dem etwas beigebracht wird, der korrigiert wird, aber dennoch den Meister nicht erreichen kann. Gegenteilig wird er später nicht mehr als Schüler oder künstlerischer Gehilfe erwähnt, sondern mit den Aufgaben eines Dieners betraut. Er begleitete seinen Meister fast 30 Jahre lang und blieb offenbar eng bei ihm. Auch als er die Möglichkeit hatte, z.B. bei der eigenen Familie zu wohnen, zog er die Unterkunft bei Leonardo vor.

Ein bei der Lektüre der Leonardo-Aufzeichnungen auffälliger, aber selten ausgewerteter Aspekt des Verhältnisses Leonardo-Salai sind die z.B. von Fumagalli thematisierten ökonomischen Verflechtungen.<sup>62</sup> Es gibt keine Aufzeichnungen über eine ökonomische Übereinkunft zwischen beiden, Leonardo

<sup>56</sup> Vgl. Suida, *Leonardo*, 228 (siehe Anm. 13). Beltrami hingegen nimmt an, dass Salai nach Frankreich ging, aber Anfang 1518 zurückkehrte; Möller, „Salai,“ 143 (siehe Anm. 2).

<sup>57</sup> Dazu etwa Shell und Sironi, „Salai and Leonardo's Legacy,“ 95 (siehe Anm. 14).

<sup>58</sup> Paris, Archives Nation., dossier KK 289; Beltrami, *Documenti*, Nr. 241, 150 (siehe Anm. 13); Shell und Sironi, „Salai and the Inventory of His Estate,“ 134 (siehe Anm. 14).

<sup>59</sup> Shell und Sironi, „Salai and Leonardo's Legacy,“ 96 (siehe Anm. 14).

<sup>60</sup> Shell und Sironi, „Salai and Leonardo's Legacy,“ 106 (siehe Anm. 14); Dies., „Salai and the Inventory of His Estate,“ 141 (siehe Anm. 14).

<sup>61</sup> Möller „Salai,“ 143–44 (siehe Anm. 2); Suida, *Leonardo*, 228 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>62</sup> Fumagalli, *Eros*, 87–89 (siehe Anm. 40).

übernahm jedoch die Kosten für Salais Lebensunterhalt. Dieses erstaunt, da der Vater des Knaben ihn eigentlich mit Geld versorgte.<sup>63</sup> dass dieser wiederum teilweise Leonardo lieh. Dieser Punkt bleibt rätselhaft.<sup>64</sup> Teilweise erhielt Salai Geld, um damit Ausgaben seines Meisters zu begleichen.<sup>65</sup> Für das Amt eines Hausverwalters war er aber, wie Möller zu bedenken gibt, nicht zuverlässig genug.<sup>66</sup> Nach dem Tod seines Vaters zwischen 1510 und 1513 übernahm Salai die Pachtung von Leonardos Weinberg. Diesen vermietete er jedoch weiter und engagierte den *magister a muro* Paolo da Mozate, ihm auf dem Land ein neues Haus zu bauen. Offenbar zahlte er jedoch nicht, da Mozate ihm mit einer Klage drohte. Als Salai mit Leonardo in Rom und Frankreich weilte, kam er nur gelegentlich nach Mailand. In seinen Geschäften ließ er sich von dem Gatten seiner Schwester Lorenziola Tommaso Mapello vertreten.

Als er 1519 nach Mailand zurückkehrte lebte er tatsächlich in dem von Mozate errichteten Haus. 1523 kaufte er ein weiteres Wohnhaus für 1100 *lire imperiali* an.<sup>67</sup> Während Salais Familie sich nach dem Tod des Vaters in finanziellen Schwierigkeiten befand, war er Ende der 1510er Jahre so liquide, dass er am französischen Hof Geld verleihen konnte.<sup>68</sup> Es ist unklar, wie Salai diese Steigerung seines Vermögens erreichen konnte. Das Gehalt eines Gehilfen einer Malerwerkstatt war nicht hoch. Auch durch den Verkauf von Werken war es nicht möglich, solche Summen zu erzielen, und die Kleidung und andere Luxusgegenstände, die Leonardo ihm schenkte, ermöglichten allein nicht seinen Lebensstil. Wie Shell überzeugend darlegt, konnten sich selbst die erfolgreichsten Maler dieser Zeit nicht den Lebensstandard des jungen Mannes leisten.<sup>69</sup> Salai muss sein Geld also aus anderen Quellen erhalten haben, welche dieses jedoch sein könnten, ist unklar. Shell vermutet auf Grund von Dokumenten, dass er eine Art Dienstleistung für den ehemaligen Herzog Massimiliano Sforza erbrachte. In einem Vertrag ist von einer sehr hohen Summe die Rede. Um welche Dienstleistung es sich handeln könne, geht aus den Papieren nicht hervor. Shell mutmaßt – auch in Verbindung mit seinem unnatürlichen Tod – ob Salai Sforzas

<sup>63</sup> Die Meinungen über den Vermögenstand Salais und seiner Familie gehen in der Forschung auseinander. Während z.B. Beltrami sich für eine wohlhabende Familie ausspricht, deutet Möller viele Umstände als Indizien für bescheidene Verhältnisse; Beltrami, *La Vigna*, 23 (siehe Anm. 14); Möller, "Salai," 144 (siehe Anm. 2). In neueren Forschungen wird eher von bescheideneren finanziellen Verhältnissen der Familie ausgegangen, während Salai sich offenbar im Laufe seines Lebens monetär etablierte; vgl. die folgenden Darlegungen des Fließtextes.

<sup>64</sup> Vgl. Fumagalli, *Eros*, 83–84 (siehe Anm. 40).

<sup>65</sup> Z.B. C. A. 257 verso b und 71 verso b.

<sup>66</sup> Möller, "Salai," 142 (siehe Anm. 2).

<sup>67</sup> Shell und Sironi, "Salai and the Inventory of His Estate," 131–38 (siehe Anm. 14); Shell, "Caprotti," 399 (siehe Anm. 14).

<sup>68</sup> Shell und Sironi, "Salai and the Inventory of His Estate," 146 (siehe Anm. 14); Shell, "Caprotti," 399 (siehe Anm. 14).

<sup>69</sup> Shell, "Caprotti," 399 (siehe Anm. 14).



Spion gewesen sein könnte.<sup>70</sup> Teilweise lieh sich der junge Mann Geld von Freunden und Kollegen,<sup>71</sup> wahrscheinlich, wie Shell annimmt, da er Probleme mit dem Bargeldumlauf hatte. Da er bei seinem Tod eine beträchtliche Anzahl an Krediten, aber keine Schulden hatte, kann nicht davon ausgegangen werden, dass er arm war.<sup>72</sup> Diese ausführliche Darstellung belegt ein außerordentliches Talent Salais für erfolgreiche Geldgeschäfte. Zudem schien er um des Geldes willen auch nicht vor unbekannten, aber äußerst gut entlohten Nebentätigkeiten zurückzuschrecken. Auch die Beziehung zu Leonardo spart dieser Themenkreis nicht aus: so ist er zunächst Geldgeber für Salai, später aber wohl auch Anlaufstelle für Bargeldprobleme oder selbst Leihender bei eigenen Geldproblemen. Trotz der sonstigen Unzuverlässigkeiten vertraute Leonardo ihm offenbar partiell Geldgeschäfte an.

Immer wieder wird berichtet, dass Salai Leonardo (und auch seiner Werkstatt) Modell gestanden habe.<sup>73</sup> So ist in der Tat in den Zeichnungen und Notizen des Meisters ein bestimmter Typus eines jungen, fast geschlechtslosen Mannes oder Knaben, den er im Profil darstellt, immer wieder zu finden. Diesen jungen Mann zeichnet er sein ganzes Leben lang in geringen Variationen, zuletzt taucht er in der anatomischen Zeichnung 19093 recto der Royal Library auf (Abb. 2).<sup>74</sup> Die Identifikation Möllers, der diesen Typ mit einem einzigen Modell – Salai – in Zusammenhang bringt,<sup>75</sup> sei nach Kenneth Clark und Carlo Pedretti chronologisch unhaltbar und “displays the same materialism as the attempt to identify all Botticelli’s Madonnas with Simonetta Vespucci.”<sup>76</sup> Dabei missverstehen die beiden Leonardo-Forscher jedoch Möllers Ausführungen in letzter Konsequenz. Auch er geht nicht davon aus, dass Salai das Modell aller Darstellungen dieses Typs war, sondern “daß auf des Meisters ideale frühflorentinische Jünglingsgestalten [. . .]

<sup>70</sup> Shell und Sironi, “Salai and the Inventory of His Estate,” 134–36 (siehe Anm. 14); Shell, “Caprotti,” 399–400 (siehe Anm. 14).

<sup>71</sup> Shell und Sironi, “Salai and the Inventory of His Estate,” 136, 139 (siehe Anm. 14).

<sup>72</sup> Shell, “Caprotti,” 400 (siehe Anm. 14).

<sup>73</sup> Z.B. Möller, “Salai,” 142 (siehe Anm. 2).

<sup>74</sup> MS. C. II, 23; Clark und Pedretti, *Drawings*, 3, 36–37 (siehe Anm. 13). Frühere Zeichnungen s. *ibid.*, 1, z.B. 12276 recto und verso, 3–4; 12282 recto, 8; 12432 recto, 69; 12446, 73; 12554, 103; 12557, 104; alle Abb. s. Band 2.

<sup>75</sup> Möller, “Salai,” 144–56 (siehe Anm. 2). Leider wird aus Möllers Darlegungen nicht ersichtlich, warum es sich bei der von ihm herausgearbeiteten Ikonographie um Salai handeln solle. Begründungen wie “[a]ls die bildnismäßigste Darstellung sehe ich seit 17 Jahren eine wohlbekannte Zeichnung im Louvre an” und “[j]edenfalls haben wir hier ein Bildnis des etwa sechzehnjährigen Salai,” dominieren. Am Ende seiner Vorstellung der Ikonographie führt er noch an, dass sich diese mit der Beschreibung Vasaris decke und auch die Eigenschaften Salais, die Leonardos Aufzeichnungen und dem Spitznamen zu entnehmen seien, würden sich in den Darstellungen finden (Möller, “Salai,” 156 [siehe Anm. 2]).

<sup>76</sup> Clark und Pedretti, *Drawings*, 1, 4 (siehe Anm. 13).

der Typ des Salai seit den Neunzigerjahren einen gewissen verweichlichenden Einfluß ausübte, wenn Leonardo Jünglinge gestaltete.“<sup>77</sup>

Das einzige Gemälde Leonardos für welches der Schüler direkt Modell gestanden habe, sei das von Vasari beschriebene des Verkündigungse Engels gewesen, welches nur in Kopien von Schülern erhalten sei (Abb. 3).<sup>78</sup> Suida sieht diesen Typ direkt durch die griechische Skulptur inspiriert. Diese Annahme ist sicher nicht falsch, stellt jedoch keine spezifische Aussage zur Genese dieses Typs dar, da dieses auf alle Renaissancekünstler zutrifft, die sich mit dem antiken Ideal der Schönheit des menschlichen Körpers auseinandersetzen. Jens Peter Thiis hingegen erkennt in diesen Profilen – und findet darin die Zustimmung von Clark und Pedretti – einen explizit Florentinischen Typ, der durch den Vergleich mit Porträts und idealisierten Köpfen Desiderio da Settignanos, Andrea della Robbias und Verrocchios ermittelt werden könne.<sup>79</sup>

Dennoch bleibt die Ähnlichkeit mit den auch von Clark und Pedretti mit der Person Salais in Zusammenhang gebrachten Darstellungen auf den Zeichnungen 12557 (Abb. 4)<sup>80</sup> und 12554<sup>81</sup> der Royal Library bestehen. Diese Profilköpfe unterscheiden sich lediglich von den anderen Darstellungen wie z.B. auf den Zeichnungen 12276 (Abb. 5)<sup>82</sup> und 12432 (Abb. 6)<sup>83</sup> der Royal Library durch eine rundlichere Kinnpartie und das kurze, sehr lockige Haar. Die Darstellungen stimmen mit Vasaris Beschreibung „avendo belli capegli ricci ed inanellati“ überein. Clark und Pedretti schätzen den Knaben auf der Zeichnung 12557 der Royal Library auf ein Alter zwischen 15–18 Jahren.<sup>84</sup> Die Zeichnung 12554 der Royal Library ist künstlerisch weniger gut ausgeführt. Sie wird der Schule Leonardos, vielleicht Boltraffio zugeschrieben. Der Ikonographie (junger Salai, nicht älter als 25 Jahre) nach dürfte sie nicht später als 1505, dem Stil nach müsste sie jedoch nach 1510 entstanden sein. Clark und Pedretti bevorzugen hier die Datierung nach Stil.

An dieser Stelle formulieren sie die These, dass es keinen Anlass gäbe anzunehmen, die Porträts seien ‘nach dem Leben’ gezeichnet.<sup>85</sup> Clark und Pedretti vermuten, dass Leonardo auch weiter ideale Darstellungen des Salai anfertigte als dieser seine hier dargestellte Jugend schon verloren hatte.<sup>86</sup> Dass es nur der ‘ideale

<sup>77</sup> Möller, „Salai,“ 156 (siehe Anm. 2).

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> Clark und Pedretti, *Drawings*, 1, 4 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>80</sup> Royal Library 12557; Clark und Pedretti, *Drawings*, 1, 104 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>81</sup> Royal Library 12554; Clark und Pedretti, *Drawings*, 1, 103 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>82</sup> Royal Library 12276; Clark und Pedretti, *Drawings*, 1, 3 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>83</sup> Royal Library 12432; Clark und Pedretti, *Drawings*, 1, 69 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>84</sup> Clark und Pedretti, *Drawings*, 1, 104 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>85</sup> Auch Möller merkt an, dass Leonardo schon seit langem keines Modells mehr bedürfe; Möller, „Salai,“ 152 (siehe Anm. 2).

<sup>86</sup> Clark und Pedretti, *Drawings*, 1, 103 (siehe Anm. 13).

Salai' und kein Porträt 'nach dem Leben' sein kann, welches Leonardo immer und immer wieder zeichnete scheint angesichts des Profiles, welches innerhalb von 30 Jahren nicht altert, schlüssig. Problematisch wäre die Vermutung einer Inspiration dieses Typs durch Salai jedoch, gäbe es Darstellungen, die vor der Bekanntschaft des Knaben mit dem Künstler entstanden wären. So vermuten Clark und Pedretti beispielsweise, dass die Zeichnung 12276 der Royal Library unter anderem aus stilistischen Gründen auf die Zeit um 1478–80 datiert werden müsse,<sup>87</sup> und zu diesem Zeitpunkt war Salai noch nicht oder gerade eben geboren. Entkräften ließe sich dieses 'Problem' durch eine spätere Datierung der Zeichnung,<sup>88</sup> jedoch auch durch die Hypothese, dass Leonardo in einem bestimmten geschlechtslosen Typ sein Schönheitsideal (die Zeichnung zeige, so Clark und Pedretti, Leonardos erste Versuche, Ideale der Schönheit zu entwickeln<sup>89</sup>) verkörpert fand und in Salai nun eine frappierend ähnliche Inkarnation des von ihm schon zuvor favorisierten Typs getroffen hatte. Denn eine starke Übereinstimmung der Darstellungen, die auch Clark und Pedretti als Salai akzeptieren und denen des 'geschlechtslosen Typs' sind zweifelsohne gegeben. Auch sind—in einem genauen Vergleich der Physiognomien auf den Entwürfen 12276 verso und 19093 der Royal Library—Veränderungen im Profil zu bemerken, die auf einen Einfluss durch den Typ von Zeichnung 12557 schließen lassen. Darauf sei jedoch an späterer Stelle detailliert eingegangen.

Verschiedentlich wird, gerade von kunsthistorischen Laien, auch die These verfolgt, dass Leonardo bei seiner *Mona Lisa* und *Johannes dem Täufer* die Physiognomie Salais dargestellt habe. So stellt z.B. der Schriftsteller Gianni Clerici in *Una notte con la Gioconda* die Hypothese auf, die dargestellte Frau auf dem unter dem Titel *Mona Lisa* bekannten Gemälde sei in Wirklichkeit ein Mann und zwar jener Gian Giacomo Caprotti, der, so Clerici, nicht nur Lieblingsschüler, sondern auch der Geliebte Leonardos gewesen sein soll. Darüber hinaus könne eine große Ähnlichkeit mit Johannes dem Täufer und dem sog. *angelo incarnato* (Abb. 7) beobachtet werden. Zudem spiele der hier angeblich dargestellte Caprotti als Maler selber mit dem Thema der *Mona Lisa*, indem er eine androgyne Version, die sog. *Monna Vanna* (Abb. 8), produziere.<sup>90</sup> So phantastisch diese Behauptungen

<sup>87</sup> Clark und Pedretti, *Drawings*, 1, 3–4 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>88</sup> Entgegen z.B. Bernard Berenson und Clark und Pedretti datieren Möller und Suida auf etwa 1490, vgl. Clark und Pedretti, *Drawings*, 1, 3–4 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>89</sup> Clark und Pedretti, *Drawings*, 1, 4 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>90</sup> Gianni Clerici, *Una notte con la Gioconda* (Mailand: Rizzoli, 2008). Ein Beispiel laienwissenschaftlicher Vermutungen zu diesem Themenkomplex stellt der Artikel „Mona Lisa or Mon Salai?“ von Louie Parsons dar, *Ovi magazine*, 17. November 2006:

<http://www.ovimagazine.com/art/1046> dar (letzter Zugriff am 1. Aug. 2010). Zur Ähnlichkeit des Johannes mit der *Mona Lisa*: Théophile Gautier beschreibt ihn als „un second portrait de Mona Lisa“ (Théophile Gautier, *Guide de l'amateur au musée du Louvre* (Paris: Charpentier, 1893), 67) und auch Hans Ost bemerkt „Die Johannesbilder [. . .] sind gerade in Hinsicht auf den schwebend gehaltenen Ausdruck mehr mit der ‚Mona Lisa‘ als mit irgendeiner religiösen Darstellung

auch anmuten und so wenig wissenschaftlich wertvoll die hier zitierte Quelle ist, lässt sich diese Annahme nicht ganz verwerfen. So bezieht sich auch Sylvie Béguin auf Röntgenanalysen, die gezeigt haben, dass der *Mona Lisa* ein männliches Porträt unterlegt ist.<sup>91</sup> Auf den Themenkomplex der *Johannes-* und *Monna Vanna-*Darstellungen gehe ich jedoch an späterer Stelle ein. So habe Leonardo, jedenfalls James Saslow folgend, eine Schwäche für gut aussehende Gehilfen und Modelle entwickelt.<sup>92</sup> Schon Sigmund Freud merkte an, dass sich der Künstler immer mit schönen Knaben und Jünglingen als Schüler umgab, er habe nur auffallend schöne Jünglinge bei sich aufgenommen. Diese seien also nach ihrem Äußeren und nicht nach ihrem Talent ausgewählt worden und seien so nach Freud auch keine großen Maler geworden. Beispielhaft nennt er an dieser Stelle Cesare da Sesto, Giovanni Antonio Boltraffio, Andrea Salaino – also Salai und Francesco Melzi.<sup>93</sup>

Eine Reihe von Tagebucheinträgen Leonardos behandelt immer wieder sehr detailliert das Thema teilweise sehr prächtiger und ausgefallener Kleidung, die er für Salai anfertigen ließ.<sup>94</sup> Freud vermutet hinter diesen Bemerkungen Leonardos ein amouröses Interesse an dem Knaben; Fumagalli hingegen kann die Deutung nicht teilen. Sie sieht in diesen Aufzeichnungen alltägliche Beobachtungen, die für nichts als sich selbst stünden. Es handele sich um keine platonische Liebe wie zwischen Michelangelo und Tommaso de' Cavalieri, Leonardo hege lediglich keine falschen Hoffnungen, was die moralische Disposition und das mittelmäßige künstlerische Talent des Knaben angehe, würde jedoch nicht müde werden, ihn zu lieben, ihm zu helfen und ihn zu beschützen. Wie eine Rechnung, die etwa sieben Jahre später datiert werden kann, zeigt, wurde Salai immer eitler und fiel durch das Tragen außergewöhnlicher Kleidung auf. Fumagalli beobachtet, dass Leonardo offenbar lieber sein Geld verloren habe (durch Diebstahl, dem Finanzieren von Kleidung und Leihgaben), als den Knaben. So vermutet sie weiter, dass Leonardo wohl nur schlecht arbeiten konnte, wenn er Salai nicht bei sich hatte, er sei dann eher mit dem Füllen dieser Leerstelle als mit der Vollendung des Auftrages beschäftigt gewesen.<sup>95</sup> Anstatt jedoch diese offensichtlich ungesunde Abhängigkeit des Meisters von dem jungen Mann weiter zu verfolgen, sieht

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verbunden" (Hans Ost, *Leonardo-Studien* [Berlin und New York: 1975], 88); vgl. Andreas Kreul, *Leonardo da Vinci, Hl. Johannes der Täufer: sinnliche Gelehrsamkeit oder androgynes Ärgernis?* (Osterholz-Scharmbeck: Verlag Saade, 1992); hier 9, 13.

<sup>91</sup> Sylvie Béguin, *Léonard de Vinci au Louvre* (Paris: Eds. de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1983), 75.

<sup>92</sup> James M. Saslow, *Pictures and Passions: a History of Homosexuality in the Visual Arts* (New York: Viking, 1999), 89.

<sup>93</sup> Sigmund Freud, *Eine Kindheitserinnerung des Leonardo da Vinci*, Einleitung von Janine Chasseguet-Smirgel (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer-Taschenbuch-Verlag, 1995), 41, 71.

<sup>94</sup> H2 64 verso; *The Literary Works*, 2, Nr. 1517, 378 (siehe Anm. 12); MS. L 94 recto; *The Literary Works*, 2, Nr. 1523, 379 (siehe Anm. 12); Arundel-MS. 263, 229 verso; vgl. Möller, "Salai," 141 (siehe Anm. 2); Fumagalli, *Eros*, 85–87 (siehe Anm. 40).

<sup>95</sup> Fumagalli, *Eros*, 89 (siehe Anm. 40).

Fumagalli die 'Funktion' Salais in der eines 'Ersatzsohnes.' Als Nachweis zitiert sie einen Brief, den Leonardo an Salaì gerichtet habe.<sup>96</sup> Leonardo spricht den Empfänger mit "figliuolo" an und erinnert ihn daran, dass er ihn mit Milch aufgezogen habe ("lo taleuaj dilatte pmio figliuolo"<sup>97</sup>). Fumagalli interpretiert diese Zeilen als Ausdruck echter Vaterliebe. Und so fährt sie fort, ein letztes Mal liebe und beschütze Leonardo seinen 'Ersatzsohn' durch sein Testament—er wird "di boni et grati servitii" bedacht.<sup>98</sup>

Über die Funktion Francesco Melzis bestehen weniger Zweifel und Spekulationen. So berichtet der Schreiber des Kardinals Luigi von Aragon, der Leonardo am 10. Oktober 1517 einen Besuch abstattete, dass ein Mailänder Schüler ("un creato Milanese") Leonardos nach der Anleitung des Meisters malte, da dieser auf Grund einer Paralyse seine Hand nicht mehr gebrauchen konnte. Der Schüler solle dabei so gut gewesen sein, dass seine Arbeit nicht von der Leonardos zu unterscheiden gewesen sei.<sup>99</sup> Laut Suida könne es sich bei diesem Schüler nur um Francesco Melzi handeln. Er habe—an dieser Stelle zitiert Suida Gianambrogio Mazzenta als Kronzeugen—sich stärker als andere Schüler Leonardos Stil angenähert. Melzi solle wenig gearbeitet haben, da er reich gewesen sei. Jedoch seien seine Werke fein durchgeführt und würden oft mit denen Leonardos verwechselt.<sup>100</sup>

Es wird berichtet, dass Leonardo von den Fertigkeiten Melzis so beeindruckt war, dass er mit ihm gemeinsam seine späteren Werke entwickelte. So sind einige Werke wie z.B. die *Columbina* in der Eremitage in Sankt Petersburg, die früher Leonardo zugeschrieben wurden, mittlerweile Melzi zugeordnet worden. Die Notiz auf der Profilzeichnung des bartlosen Kahlkopfes, Melzi hätte diese mit siebzehn, respektive neunzehn Jahren gezeichnet und das ebenfalls auf der Rötzelzeichnung vermerkte Datum 14. August 1510 lassen den Schluss zu, dass Melzi bereits in jungen Jahren das Zeichnen geübt und gut beherrscht hat. Girolamo Figino, der eventuell ein Schüler Melzis war,<sup>101</sup> führt auf der Rückseite einer seiner Zeichnungen (auf 1562 datiert, Pinacoteca di Brera) eine Art genealogischen Stammbaum auf. Direkt nach Leonardos Namen folgen der Melzis und anschließend der Figinos.<sup>102</sup> Die Quellen zeichnen somit das Bild eines künstlerisch begabten Schülers, der auf Grund seines Talenten zu Leonardos

<sup>96</sup> C. A. 220 verso c. Es gibt keinen Nachweis, dass der Brief tatsächlich an Salaì gerichtet war. Der Empfänger wird nicht namentlich angesprochen. Möller kann sich jedoch auf Grund des Tonfalls keinen anderen Adressaten vorstellen, vgl. Möller, "Salai," 142 (siehe Anm. 2); auch Fumagalli, *Eros*, 90–91 (siehe Anm. 40).

<sup>97</sup> C. A. 220 verso c., zitiert nach Möller, "Salai," 141 (siehe Anm. 2).

<sup>98</sup> Fumagalli, *Eros*, 92 (siehe Anm. 2).

<sup>99</sup> Beltrami, *Documenti*, Nr. 238, 149 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>100</sup> Suida, *Leonardo*, 231 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>101</sup> Albuzzi, *Memorie*, 111 (siehe Anm. 13); Marani, "Melzi," 372 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>102</sup> Marani, "Girolamo Figino," 56–57 (siehe Anm. 13); vgl. Marani, "Melzi," 372 (siehe Anm. 13).

Liebling avancierte und sogar seine ausführende Hand werden durfte. Der Umstand, dass er gegebenenfalls später an den *concelli* des Meisters teilhatte, verweist auf eine Wertschätzung auch seines Intellektes. Er hatte offenbar selbst Schüler, die ihn in einer direkten Linie mit seinem Meister sahen und versuchten, sich durch ihn noch im Abglanze Leonardos zu sonnen.

Die Schrift Melzis kann in vielen Papieren Leonardos ausgemacht werden (die Salais hingegen nicht).<sup>103</sup> Dieser Umstand verweist ebenso darauf, dass Melzi für Leonardo wohl auch eine Art intellektueller Vertrauter, evtl. Sekretär gewesen sein könnte. So weist auch ein Passus des Briefes Leonardos an Melzi von 1508 darauf hin, dass der junge Mann bereits Schreibarbeiten für ihn erledigte: “ch’io vi farò tanto scrivere che forse vi rincrescerà (da werde ich Sie so viel schreiben lassen, dass es Sie vielleicht verdrießen wird).”<sup>104</sup> Die scheinbare Entwicklung Melzis vom Schüler (und vielleicht Sekretär) zum künstlerischen und intellektuellen Partner auf Augenhöhe spiegelt sich auch in seiner Funktion als Erbe des zeichnerischen und wissenschaftlichen Nachlasses wieder. Ein französischer Buchhaltungseintrag bestätigt dieses Bild: “A mes. Francisque de Melce, ytalien, gentilhomme, qui se tient avec le dit M.e Lyenard: 800 écus (pour deux ans).”<sup>105</sup> Melzi wird als Adeliger und Begleiter des Meisters, nicht als ihm untergeordnete Person beschrieben und bezieht ein hohes Gehalt. Salai hingegen muss sich mit einem Lohn von 100 Ecus im Jahr zufrieden geben und wird als Diener gelistet (“A Salay, serviteur de M.c Lyenard de Vince, peintre du Roy, pour ses services, cent écus d’or”).<sup>106</sup>

Die Gestalt Salais und seine Tätigkeit(en) im Hause Leonardos bleiben trotz vieler Quellen rätselhaft und teilweise widersprüchlich. Viel eindeutiger ist das Bild, welches von der Tätigkeit Melzis bei Leonardo gezeichnet werden kann. Salai ist der Schüler, der lernen muss, von Leonardo korrigiert wird und sich künstlerisch offenbar nicht emanzipieren kann. Trotzdem bleibt er eng bei Leonardo und übernimmt später wohl die Funktion eines Dieners, wahrscheinlich spätestens als Francesco Melzi bei Leonardo antritt. Dieser schwingt sich anscheinend in kürzester Zeit zum ‘Meisterschüler’ auf, der nicht nur künstlerisch so nah an Leonardos Niveau herantritt, dass er seine Konzepte visualisieren darf, sondern auch seine intellektuellen Aktivitäten teilen kann. Ungeklärt bleibt

<sup>103</sup> Die Besitzerinschrift “Joannes Franciscus Meltius hic scripsit die xiiij mensis Junij 1546” ist in einem in der Biblioteca Trivulziana aufbewahrten Manuskript (MS Trivulziana M 39), welches hauptsächlich eine Sammlung spanischer Dichtung enthält, in dreifacher Ausführung zu finden. Diese Schrift erscheint auch auf vielen Blättern der Manuskripte und auf Zeichnungen Leonardos; Marani, “Melzi,” 372 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>104</sup> C. A. 372 verso a; *The Literary Works*, 2, Nr. 1350, 335 (siehe Anm. 12); dt. Lücke, *Leonardo*, 888 (siehe Anm. 35); vgl. Charles Nicholl, *Leonardo da Vinci: die Biographie* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 2009), 518–20.

<sup>105</sup> Paris, Archives Nation., dossier KK 289; Beltrami, *Documenti*, Nr. 241, 150 (siehe Anm. 13); Shell und Sironi, “Salai and the Inventory of His Estate,” 134 (siehe Anm. 14).

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*

vorerst, welche Rolle darüber hinaus die ökonomischen Beziehungen zwischen Salai und Leonardo spielen, welches seine Funktion in diesem Themenkreis ist. Dass Salai hingegen im Gegensatz zu Melzi auch für Leonardo und eventuell auch für seine Schüler Modell stand, bzw. sein Äußeres (künstlerisch und privat) für Leonardo von großer Bedeutung war, kann festgehalten werden.

Der Vollständigkeit halber sei auch die Option des 'Sohnes' erwähnt. Aus dem Versuch, die 'Funktion' der jungen Männer im Hause da Vinci zu klären, wird offenbar, dass sich diese in harte, objektive (es ist wohl unumstritten, dass sie beide Schüler waren) aber auch weiche, subjektive (als was sah sie Leonardo noch?) unterteilen. Aus diesem Grund untersuche ich im Folgenden die Quellen auf die Perspektive Leonardos. Dabei gilt das Erkenntnisinteresse den Parametern, die seine Sicht auf die beiden jungen Männer bestimmten. Ich untersuche, welche ihrer Charakteristika für ihn interessant und wichtig gewesen, und inwiefern und inwieweit diese die Beziehung definierten und welche Parameter wiederum diese beiden Beziehungen separierten.

Bereits Möller wies darauf hin, dass niemand in Leonardos Aufzeichnungen seit den 1490er Jahren so oft erwähnt werde wie Salai.<sup>107</sup> Wie auch Suida bemerkte, sind die Notizen des Künstlers über den Einstand des Knaben ungewöhnlich ausführlich. Sie berichten nicht nur über die 'Initiation,' sondern führen auch sogleich das 'Kleidungsthema' ein. Leonardo lässt ihm zwei Hemden, Strümpfe und eine Hose schneiden. Doch noch vor Fertigstellung hatte der Knabe ihm das Geld gestohlen. Zudem leugnete er den Raub. Die Notiz den Folgetag betreffend schildert das schlechte Benehmen des Jungen als Gast. Er esse zuviel, schrecke nicht vor Streichen zurück, zerbreche Flaschen und verschütte Wein—kurz, er weise kein sozialkompatibles Verhalten auf. Die weiteren das Verhältnis Leonardo-Salai bestimmenden Themen sind an dieser Stelle also eingeführt und werden mit den später am Rand dieses Blattes vermerkten Bezeichnungen "Dieb, Lügner, Trotzkopf" und "Leckermaul" auf den Punkt gebracht. Weiter berichtet Leonardo, dass Salai wenig später Marco (d'Oggione) und Giovan Antonio (Boltraffio) Silberstifte stiehlt und hält diverse weitere Begebenheiten fest, an denen der Knabe andere bestiehlt. Auch 1497—sieben Jahre später—stellt Leonardo immer noch fest: "Salai ruba li soldi (Salai stahl das Geld)."<sup>108</sup> Bis auf die an den ersten Einträgen später eingefügten Beschimpfungen schildert der Maler die 'Vergehen' des Knaben rein deskriptiv und ohne Emotionen. Genau listet Leonardo auch immer wieder die Kleidungsstücke und Schmuck auf, die er für Salai erwirbt oder anfertigen lässt und notiert deren Kosten.<sup>109</sup> So listet er z.B. eine rosafarbene, knielange Trikotose. *En vogue* waren zu dieser Zeit jedoch gerade

<sup>107</sup> Möller, "Salai," 139 (siehe Anm. 2).

<sup>108</sup> MS. L. 94 recto; *The Literary Works*, 2, Nr. 1523, 379 (siehe Anm. 12); dt. Lücke, *Leonardo*, 894 (siehe Anm. 35).

<sup>109</sup> Vgl. Anm. 93.

lange Gewänder.<sup>110</sup> Auch Armbrust, Halskette und einen Fingerring schenkte Leonardo dem jungen Mann.<sup>111</sup> Und auch trotz nachweislich schlechter finanzieller Situation kaufte er dem Knaben 1497 einen Stutzermantel aus Silberbrokat mit grünem Samtbesatz und Zubehör.<sup>112</sup> Die Aufzeichnungen dokumentieren die ausgefallene Mode des jungen Mannes und lassen auf einen exzentrischen Geschmack schließen.<sup>113</sup> Leonardo gibt genau die Art der Kleidung an, und ebenso akribisch führt er über die Kosten Buch. Stellungnahmen Leonardos zu dieser—offenbar stark auf seinem Geldbeutel ausgetragenen—Vorliebe des Knaben, fehlen. Immer wieder sind auch kurze Notizen über Geldleihen zu finden, die Leonardo und Salai sich untereinander gewährten. In den meisten Fällen borgt Leonardo dem jungen Mann etwas,<sup>114</sup> vereinzelt jedoch leiht auch er sich Geld bei dem Knaben.<sup>115</sup> Obwohl Leonardo bei diesen Leihgeschäften oft den Kürzeren zieht, sind auch diese Einträge sachlich und emotionslos. Lediglich unter einer Notiz vom Oktober 1508, in der der Maler vermerkt, dass er Salai 13 Scudi d'oro für die Mitgift seiner Schwester geliehen habe, schließt er mit lateinischen Sentenzen, in denen er über das Verleihen (von Geld) und der Gefahr, dabei den Freund zu verlieren ("perdes amicum") lamentiert.<sup>116</sup> Der Künstler enthält sich in seinen persönlichen Aufzeichnungen also bis auf die soeben geschilderte Ausnahme des Kommentars zu den ausnahmslos negativen Eigenschaften Salais. Ein anderer Tonfall ist in dem zuerst von Möller, dann von Fumagalli zitierten Brieffragment an den 'Sohn' zu finden:

qv qv quanto figliuo lo Lo q che e eglie piutenpo chio nonto scritto ecchosj afatto tu pure quello che sisie tifaro le questj pochj )sj lo taleuaj dilatte mio figliuolo.

[Gewissermaßen Sohn / diesen (Brief) weil es längere Zeit ist, daß ich Dir nicht geschrieben habe / und so hast Du auch jenes getan, was auch immer es sein mag / ich werde Dich (erkennen?) machen durch diese wenigen Zeilen / ich zog Dich mit Milch auf wie meinen Sohn (= ich zog Dich aufs liebevollste auf, wie wenn Du mein Sohn wärest)].<sup>117</sup>

<sup>110</sup> Arundel-MS, 263, 229 verso; vgl. Fumagalli, *Eros*, 87 (siehe Anm. 40).

<sup>111</sup> MS. II 142 verso.

<sup>112</sup> MS. L 94 recto; *The Literary Works*, 2, Nr. 1523, 379 (siehe Anm. 12); vgl. Möller, "Salai," 141 (siehe Anm. 2).

<sup>113</sup> Diese Vorliebe für ausgefallene und teure Kleidung scheint Salai sein Leben lang gepflegt zu haben. So besaß er auch später noch eine teure Garderobe, z.B. ein schwarzes, mit Samt gefüttertes Damastgewand und weitere edle schwarze Kleidungsstücke. Es scheint so, als hätte er zu diesem Zeitpunkt die neue spanische Mode, sich schwarz zu kleiden, übernommen; Shell, "Caprotti," 402 (siehe Anm. 14).

<sup>114</sup> British Museum 229 verso; C. A. 18 verso b; MS. F, Umschlag.

<sup>115</sup> Arundel-MS. 198 verso; C. A. 77 recto b; C. A. 112 verso a.

<sup>116</sup> MS. F, Umschlag; vgl. Möller, "Salai," 141 (siehe Anm. 2); Fumagalli, *Eros*, 89 (siehe Anm. 40).

<sup>117</sup> C. A. 220 verso c; zitiert nach Möller, "Salai," 141 (siehe Anm. 2).



Die zwar etwas holprige, damit aber nah am fragmentarischen Charakter der unklaren Sätze bleibende deutsche Wiedergabe Möllers verzichtet bewusst auf die Übersetzung "zu meinem Sohn." Diese würde nämlich eine beabsichtigte Adoption andeuten und eine solche Interpretation schien Möller zu gewagt. Er belässt es bei der Deutung, dass Leonardo die Vaterstelle vertrete. Zuvor verweist er darauf, dass eine Amme den von ihr gesäugten Knaben 'figlio di latte' nenne.<sup>118</sup> Sowohl Möller wie auch Fumagalli ziehen nicht die inhaltlichen Konsequenzen, die eine solche Aussage und Selbstbeschreibung implizieren. Das Milchgeben ist – wie Möller mit dem Verweis auf die Milchamme bereits andeutet – weiblich konnotiert. Biologisch ist es für einen Vater unmöglich Muttermilch zu produzieren. Mit dieser ungewöhnlichen Metapher schreibt sich Leonardo die Rolle der Mutter oder Amme, nicht die des Vaters zu. Ebenfalls eine zentrale Rolle spielt die Figur der Mutter in Freuds Deutung einer Kindheitserinnerung Leonardos:

Questo scriuersi distintam—e—te del nibbio par che sia mio destino, perché nelle prima ricordatione della mia infantia e' mi pareva che, essendo io in culla, che vn nibbio venisse a me e mi aprisse la bocca colla sua coda, e molto volte mi percuotesse c—o—tal coda dentro alle labbra.

[Den Weih so klar zu beschreiben, scheint meine Bestimmung zu sein; denn in der frühesten Erinnerung an meine Kindheit war mir immer so, als sei zu der Zeit, da ich noch in der Wiege lag, ein Weih zu mir gekommen und habe mir den Mund mit seinem Schwanz geöffnet und mich dann mehrere Male mit dem Schwanz auf die Lippen geschlagen].<sup>119</sup>

Diese Zeilen seien laut Freud eine Reminiszenz auf das Saugen an der Mutterbrust. Der Schwanz des Vogels könne jedoch nur als männliches Genital gedeutet werden.<sup>120</sup> Dass Leonardo die Mutter in seiner Phantasie damit ausstatte, erklärt Freud folgendermaßen:

<sup>118</sup> Möller, "Salai," 142 (siehe Anm. 2).

<sup>119</sup> C. A. 66 verso b; *The Literary Works*, 2, Nr. 1363, 342 (siehe Anm. 12); dt. Lücke, *Leonardo*, 909 (siehe Anm. 35).

<sup>120</sup> Bereits in z.B. Aristophanes *Die Vögel* wird der Tier direkt mit Päderastie in Verbindung gebracht; zum Vogel als gängiges Symbol für Sexualität Andreas Sternweiler, *Die Lust der Götter: Homosexualität in der italienischen Kunst; von Donatello zu Caravaggio* (Berlin: Verlag Rosa Winkel, 1993), 138. Im erotischen Vokabular bezeichnet *uccello* das Glied des Mannes; vgl. Daniel Arasse, *Leonardo da Vinci* (Köln: DuMont, 2002), 493.

Die Hervorbringung des Geierschwanzes<sup>121</sup> in der Phantasie Leonardos können wir nun so übersetzen: Damals, als sich meine zärtliche Neugierde auf die Mutter richtete und ich ihr noch ein Genital wie mein eigenes zuschrieb.<sup>122</sup>

Die aktive Situation des Saugens wird in eine passive Fellatiophantasie umgewandelt. So verdränge Leonardo—Freud folgend—die Liebe zur Mutter und setze sich selbst an diese Stelle. Er nehme sich selbst als Vorbild nach dessen Ähnlichkeit das Objekt der Begierde ausgewählt werde. Die Knaben, die er liebt, stellten sein eigenes kindliches Selbst dar. In einem derartigen Autoerotismus’ “findet [er] seine Liebesobjekte auf dem Wege des *Narzissmus*.”<sup>123</sup> Ausgehend von diesen Zeilen im *Codex Atlanticus* schließt Freud 1910 also auf eine ‘passive Homosexualität’<sup>124</sup> Leonardos, von der jedoch fraglich sei, ob diese jemals ausgelebt worden, also nach Freud vielleicht lediglich eine “ideelle Homosexualität” gewesen sei. Emotional gehemmt habe Leonardo—so Freud—seine Sexualität doppelt in künstlerisches Schaffen und wissenschaftliche Forschungen sublimiert, wobei sich eine Entwicklung vom künstlerischen Schaffen zum Forschen im Verlauf seiner Vita konstatieren lasse.<sup>125</sup>

Freuds Untersuchung rief in der Fachwelt größtenteils Entsetzen hervor, und besonders Kunsthistoriker verweigerten die Rezeption; Freud galt als Nestzbeschmutzer.<sup>126</sup> Meyer Schapiros Artikel *Leonardo and Freud: An Art-Historical*

<sup>121</sup> Übersetzungsfehler: ‘nibio’ (alt, neu: nibbio) bedeutet nicht ‘Geier,’ sondern ‘Gabelweihe,’ auch Roter Milan oder Rotmilan genannt. Diese fehlerhafte Übersetzung wird Freud in der Rezension wiederholt zum Vorwurf gemacht, da er seine Interpretation durch einen Rekurs auf die für ‚Mutter‘ stehende ägyptische Hieroglyphe, die einen Geier zeigt, zu stützen sucht. Zu recht wird jedoch ebenso darauf hingewiesen, dass Freuds Interpretation auch ohne den Bezug auf das ägyptische Muttersymbol funktioniere; vgl. Freud, *Kindheitserinnerung*, 13–14 (siehe Anm. 93); ausführlich dargelegt von Kurt R. Eissler, *Leonardo da Vinci: Psychoanalytical Notes on the Enigma* (New York: International University Press, 1961).

<sup>122</sup> Freud, *Kindheitserinnerung*, 67 (siehe Anm. 93).

<sup>123</sup> Freud, *Kindheitserinnerung*, 69 (siehe Anm. 93).

<sup>124</sup> Ich verwende den Begriff ‘Homosexualität’ und das dazugehörige Adjektiv ‘homosexuell’ in einfachen Anführungszeichen, da es sich um eine Wortschöpfung des späten 19. Jahrhunderts handelt. Sie beinhaltet zum einen inhaltlich eine pathologische Dimension des Andersseins, zum anderen artikuliert der Begriff aber auch das Bewusstsein der mit ihm bezeichneten Gruppe als ‘anderes’ Geschlecht. Der zeitgenössisch korrekte Quellenbegriff für gleichgeschlechtlich handelnde Männer ist *sodomita* oder *sodomiticus*. In der einschlägigen Forschung wird diskutiert, ob der Begriff ‘Homosexualität’ auch auf Gruppen vor dem 19. Jahrhundert angewendet werden kann und mit welcher Begründung, oder ob stattdessen der jeweilige Quellenbegriff verwendet werden solle. Bei diesem stellt sich jedoch das Problem, dass dieser historisch oft diskriminierend verwendet wurde; dazu Miriam Sarah Marotzki, “Volupta und dispiacere: gender-Aspekte in Leonardo da Vincis Zeichnung ‚Aristoteles und Phyllis‘,” *gender: Perspektive(n) – Medium – Macht*. Interdisziplinäre Beiträge zur kulturwissenschaftlichen Geschlechterforschung (Tagungsband), Hrsg. Ann-Kristin Düber/ Falko Schnicke (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2010) [im Druck]. Dort ist auch die grundlegende Literatur zu dieser Diskussion zu finden.

<sup>125</sup> Vgl. Freud, *Kindheitserinnerung*, passim (siehe Anm. 93).

<sup>126</sup> Stellvertretend für die kunsthistorische Rezeption von Freuds Interpretation gebe ich hier die

*Study* wurde als Befreiungsschlag aufgefasst. In diesem deckt Schapiro den Übersetzungsfehler und zwei Nachlässigkeiten in der Recherche historischer und kunsthistorischer Quellen auf,<sup>127</sup> und versucht mit dieser Argumentation, die These von Leonardos 'Homosexualität' zu entkräften.<sup>128</sup> Auch wenn seine Kritik kunsthistorisch (zumeist) richtig ist, so ist die Schlussfolgerung zu einseitig und verflacht die Untersuchung Freuds stark.<sup>129</sup> So bemerkte bereits Chastel, dass Freud – trotz der fachlichen Fehler – mit seinen Intuitionen richtig liegen könnte:

[E]lles [die Intuitionen – M. S. Marotzki] le seraient encore davantage si elles tenaient compte du climat de l'époque et des multiples notes ou dessins qui prouvent que Léonard abordait sans embarras toutes formes de l'amour.<sup>130</sup>

Der hermeneutische Zirkel schließt sich bei genauer Betrachtung des Blattes mit den Brieffragmenten an (wahrscheinlich) Salai. Auf diesem befindet sich – nach Möller wurde sie erst später hinzugefügt<sup>131</sup> – die Skizze eines Vogels im Gleitflug. Vergleichbare Skizzen von Vögeln im Gleitflug sind z.B. auf einem Blatt im *Codice*

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entsprechende Passage von Möller wieder. Sie gibt gleichzeitig einen wissenschaftshistorischen Einblick in den Umgang mit der Kategorie 'Geschlecht' in der Kunstgeschichte der 1920er und -30er Jahre und in den Geniekult um Leonardo: "Aber auch in unseren Tagen [1928–M. S. Marotzki] ist das Andenken dieses reinen, edlen Menschen vielfach verunglimpft worden, bald von einigen jener nie aussterbenden Schriftsteller, wie R. Muther, die mittels erotischer "Verwitterung" des Stoffes einen weiten Leserkreis zu gewinnen wissen, bald von Werbern für eine sexuelle Anormalität, die jenen großen Namen für ihre dunklen Kreise beanspruchen zu dürfen wännen; schließlich hat der Führer der psychoanalytischen Schule es gewagt, Leonardo offen der Homosexuellen zuzurechnen, ohne allerdings seine Betätigung als solcher zu behaupten. Bei dieser Gelegenheit darf man wohl im Namen der Leonardo-Forschung einen dringenden Wunsch aussprechen: Sollte dieses ernste, schwierige Gebiet wiederum behandelt werden, so möge es mit gründlicher Kenntnis des Materials geschehen und unter Verzicht auf die Phantasien von Romanschreibern und auf allzuweit hergeholte und unberechtigte Deutungen, Dinge, die bei der bekannten Schrift des Professors Siegmund [sic!] Freud schmerzlichst zu bedauern sind." Möller, "Salai," 157 (siehe Anm. 2).

<sup>127</sup> Auf die Fehler weist bereits Beltrami hin; Luca Beltrami, *Miscellanea Vinciana* (Mailand: Allegratti, 1923).

<sup>128</sup> Vgl. Meyer Schapiro, "Leonardo and Freud: An Art-Historical Study," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 17,2 (1956), 147–78; so auch Raymond Somers Stites, "A Criticism of Freud's Leonardo," *College Art Journal* 7 (1948), 257–67 u.a. Auch Fumagalli kritisiert Freuds Deutung. Sie interpretiert die Kindheitserinnerung als Vorahnung Leonardos seine Studien den Vogelflug betreffend. Außerdem sei der *nibbio* Leonardos Symbol für die Natur; Fumagalli, *Eros*, 7–17 (siehe Anm. 40).

<sup>129</sup> Dazu auch Arasse, *Leonardo*, 488–99 (siehe Anm. 121); ders., "Léonard et la culla del nibbio: pour une approche historique du 'souvenir d'enfance'," *Symboles de la Renaissance*, 2: *Art et langage* (Paris: Presses de l'école normale supérieure, 1982), 59–69. Vgl. ebenfalls und zur Homosexualität Leonardos: Marotzki, "Volupta," (siehe Anm. 125).

<sup>130</sup> Chastel, *Art*, 291 (siehe Anm. 39). Eine homosexuelle Orientierung Leonardos wird unter Kunsthistorikern mittlerweile als wahrscheinlichste Option gehandelt; s. z.B. Margot und Rudolf Wittkower, *Künstler – Außenseiter der Gesellschaft*, 2. dt. Ausg. (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1989), 187–89; Arasse, *Leonardo* (siehe Anm. 121).

<sup>131</sup> Möller, "Salai," 142 (siehe Anm. 2).

E zu finden.<sup>132</sup> Die Vögel sind mit tief gegabelten Schwänzen dargestellt. Es kann also davon ausgegangen werden, dass es sich wieder um Leonardos *nibbio* handelt. Fumagalli belegt, dass Leonardo durch seine Flugstudien so gute Kenntnisse von Vögeln hatte, dass er die verschiedenen Arten zu unterscheiden wusste. Speziell den Flug des *nibbio* beschreibt er im *Codice sul volo degli uccelli* genau<sup>133</sup>, Daniel Arasse folgend machte er ihn zum Sinnbild der Vögel im Fluge.<sup>134</sup> So taucht dieser Vogel oft in seinen Beschreibungen und Zeichnungen auf. In seinem *Bestiarium* identifiziert Leonardo den *nibbio* als Symbol der *invidia*: “INVIDIA. Del nibbio · si leggie ·, che qu — a — do esso uede i sua figlioli nel nido esser di troppa grassezza, che per invidia egli becca loro le coste e ti — e — gli senza m — a — giare (*Neid*. Vom Weih liest man, dass er seine Jungen, wenn er sie im Nest zu dick werden sieht, in die Rippen pickt und sie ohne Nahrung hält).”<sup>135</sup> Die Gabelweihe wird also der negativen Symboltradition entsprechend als neidische Mutter beschrieben, so gilt sie als Vogel, der für seine Jungen eine Bedrohung darstellt.<sup>136</sup> Zu dem Brieffragment zurückkehrend lässt sich festhalten, dass Leonardo den Adressaten quasi als Sohn bezeichnet, sich selbst jedoch mit der Mutter oder Ammenrolle identifiziert. Wie schon in der Kindheitserinnerung ist der Akt des Saugens (Milch zu sich nehmen) von zentraler Bedeutung. Der Ton des Briefes ist ungleich emotionaler als in den vorherigen Aufzeichnungen Leonardos, und zwischen den Zeilen gelesen entsteht fast der Eindruck, als fühle sich der Künstler von dem Adressaten ein wenig gekränkt und zurückgesetzt.

Bis 1491 ist in den Notizen Leonardos von einem ‘Jacomo’ die Rede. Nach diesem Datum erwähnt der Künstler den Namen Giacomo nicht mehr. Stattdessen ist ab 1494 der Name Salai zu finden.<sup>137</sup> Diesen setzt Leonardo für eine Person mit den Eigenschaften, durch die er vorab Giacomo charakterisierte, ein.<sup>138</sup> Es kann also davon ausgegangen werden, dass Leonardo Giacomo von nun an mit dem Spitznamen Salai bezeichnete. Fumagalli folgend handele es sich bei dem Namen um eine alte Vokabel aus Abessinien (Äthiopien), die wahrscheinlich durch magische Literatur überliefert wurde<sup>139</sup> und im *Morgante Maggiore* (XXI 477), einer höfischen Dichtung, die in der Zeit am Medicihof entstand als Leonardo noch in Florenz war, wieder aufgenommen wurde. Pio Rajna verwies als erster auf das

<sup>132</sup> E 38 verso.

<sup>133</sup> *I manoscritti di Leonardo da Vinci: Codice sul volo degli uccelli e varie altre materie*, Hrsg. Teodoro Sabachnikoff, transkribiert und kommentiert von Giovanni Piumati (Paris: Rouveyre, 1893), 6(5) verso.

<sup>134</sup> Arasse, *Leonardo*, 490 (siehe Anm. 121).

<sup>135</sup> Codice H 5 verso; *The Literary Works*, 2, Nr. 1221, 261 (siehe Anm. 12); dt. Lücke, *Leonardo*, 837 (siehe Anm. 35). Dazu auch Fumagalli 13–15 (siehe Anm. 40).

<sup>136</sup> Arasse, *Leonardo*, 490, 491 (siehe Anm. 121).

<sup>137</sup> Vgl. Suida, *Leonardo*, 167 (siehe Anm. 13); Clark und Pedretti, *Drawings*, 1, 42 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>138</sup> Rajna, “Appendice” (siehe Anm. 14); Möller, “Salai,” 140–41 (siehe Anm. 2).

<sup>139</sup> Fumagalli, *Eros*, 83 (siehe Anm. 40).

Epos Luigi Pulcis.<sup>140</sup> Auch in seinen Briefen an Lorenzo de' Medici verwendet Pulci diesen Namen öfter. Der Ausdruck bezeichnet zweifelsohne den vom Himmel gestürzten Luzifer. Da Pulci sich mit Magie und Geisterbeschwörung befasst habe, mutmaßte bereits Möller, der Name sei ihm durch magische Literatur aus dem Morgenland geläufig. Leonardo verkehrte am Medici-Hof und besaß auch ein Exemplar des *Morgante* in seiner Bibliothek.<sup>141</sup> Die von Möller wiedergegebene Deutung Rajnas, dass Leonardo diesem Namen bewusst den Vorzug vor dem einfachen 'Teufelchen' (*diavoletto*) gab, da er die in der Person des Luzifers ambivalente Bedeutungsdimension des gefallenen Engels als geeigneter für einen Vergleich mit dem Knaben sah, ist überzeugend. "Diavolo in veste d'angelo (Teufel in der Gestalt eines Engels)" —so beschreibt auch Fumagalli an einer Stelle den Knaben.<sup>142</sup> Und in der Tat stellt Leonardo ihn verschieden ausführlich das Profil wiederholend, dabei stets zwei Typen repetierend (die charakteristischen kurzen Locken wie auf der Zeichnung 12557 der Royal Library und eine längere Frisurenvariante wie z.B. auf dem Blatt 19093 recto der Royal Library wiedergebend) stets makellos schön und mit emotionslosen, ausgeglichenen Gesichtszügen dar. Der Jüngling altert nicht. Wie eine schöne Form, ein schönes Gehäuse kehrt er stets wieder.<sup>143</sup>

In seiner Zeit als Hofkünstler in Mailand entwarf Leonardo verschiedene Impresen oder Embleme.<sup>144</sup> Auf dem Skizzenblatt 12282 recto der Royal Library von etwa 1508,<sup>145</sup> auf dem er diese ausprobiert, befindet sich ebenfalls ein Profil des Salaityps<sup>146</sup> (Abb. 9). Links oben in der Ecke sind zwei Drachen, die sich um gekreuzte Stäbe winden auf einer Art Schild dargestellt,<sup>147</sup> daneben skizzierte Leonardo eine Architektur. Rechts unter den Schlangen befindet sich ein Kreis, in dem sich eine Art Windlicht, in dem eine Flamme brennt, aufgestellt ist. Winde blasen aus allen Windrichtungen der Windrose ohne dass die Kerze erlischt. Darunter — durch ein liegendes Oval umrandet — durchbricht ein Pflug den Acker. Unter ihm ist das Motto "inpedimento n—o— mi piega ([k]ein Hindernis beugt

<sup>140</sup> Rajna, "Appendice" (siehe Anm. 14).

<sup>141</sup> Möller, "Salai," 144 (siehe Anm. 2), C. A. 210 recto a; *The Literary Works*, 2, Nr. 1469, 368 (siehe Anm. 12).

<sup>142</sup> Fumagalli, *Eros*, 83 (siehe Anm. 40); dt. — M. S. Marotzki.

<sup>143</sup> Als "Leonardos lovesick sketching of Salai" oder ". . . obsessively drawing his [Salais—M. S. Marotzki] soft features and blond curls." beschreibt Saslow das Phänomen, siehe Saslow, *Pictures*, 100 (siehe Anm. 92).

<sup>144</sup> Z.B. *Zeichnungen verschiedener Impresen (Pflug, Kompass und Lampe)*, um 1508/09, Royal Library 12701 recto.

<sup>145</sup> Zur Datierung Clark und Pedretti, *Drawings*, 1, 9 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>146</sup> Clark und Pedretti bringen es mit dem Profil auf dem Blatt im Codex Arundel, 136 verso–137 recto in Zusammenhang; dazu (auch zur Datierung des Blattes) *ibid.*

<sup>147</sup> Wie in *Raccolta Vinciana* 19, 278–82 gezeigt wurde, stammt dieses Fragment aus dem Codex Atlanticus 31 verso–a und wird auf circa 1494 vor den Tod Galeazzo Maria Sforzas, auf den sich die Buchstaben G M [S] in der Nähe des Fragmentes beziehen, datiert; *ibid.*, 8.

mich)“<sup>148</sup> zu finden (alle Inschriften des Blattes schrieb Leonardo in Spiegelschrift), unter dem Oval des Weiteren die Worte “ogni — i — pedimeto è distrutto dal rigore ([j]edes Hindernis wird bezwungen durch die Härte).“<sup>149</sup>

Rechts unter dem Emblem ist ein weiterer Pflug angedeutet, unter ihm das Motto “non usscire del solcho ([i]mmer der Spur nach).“<sup>150</sup> Darunter ist in einem Kreis ein Kompass, den ein Wasserrad betreibt, dargestellt. Rechts darüber zeichnete der Künstler einen Stern, der ein Liliensymbol — der Stern stehe also für den französischen König<sup>151</sup> — trägt. Dieser wirft einen Strahl auf den Kompass. Unter dem Kompass steht “n—o— si · uolta chi a stella è fisso ([w]er auf einen Stern eingestellt ist, der wendet sich nicht)“<sup>152</sup> geschrieben. Neben einem vegetativ-ornamentalen Geflecht von Efeublättern ist ein — im Vergleich zu den Impresen — überdimensional großes Profil dargestellt. Leonardo arbeitete indes nur die charakteristischen Züge des Salaityps aus und deutete das Haar an, den Hinterkopf führte er nicht mehr aus.

Das Auge des Profilkopfes befindet sich auf einer Höhe mit der Flamme des Windlichtes und scheint diese anzusehen. Das Kinn befindet sich auf Höhe des Pfluges. Clark und Pedretti verweisen darauf, dass sich auf einer ultravioletten Photographie des Blattes weitere Beischriften erkennen lassen. Am rechten unteren Rand sind die Anmerkungen

destinato rigore  
hostinato rigore  
n—o— si volta chi a ste  
lla effisso  
invano sifrt—e—ta revo  
lutione al destinato  
rigore.

[Beharrlichkeit  
Bestimmtheit  
Wer auf einen Stern eingestellt ist,  
der wendet sich nicht  
umsonst (sifrt—e—ta: kein Übersetzungsvorschlag)  
der Umsturz der Beharrlichkeit].<sup>153</sup>

<sup>148</sup> Royal Library 12282 recto; *The Literary Works*, 1, Nr. 682, 388 (siehe Anm. 12); dt. Lücke, *Leonardo*, 27 (siehe Anm. 35).

<sup>149</sup> Ibid.

<sup>150</sup> Royal Library 12282 recto; zitiert nach Clark und Pedretti, *Drawings*, 1, Nr. 12282, 8 (siehe Anm. 13); dt. Lücke, *Leonardo*, 27 (siehe Anm. 35).

<sup>151</sup> Clark und Pedretti, *Drawings*, 1, 179 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>152</sup> Royal Library 12282 recto; *The Literary Works*, 1, Nr. 682, 388 (siehe Anm. 12); dt. Lücke, *Leonardo*, 27 (siehe Anm. 35).

<sup>153</sup> Royal Library 12282 recto; ital. Clark und Pedretti, *Drawings*, 1, Nr. 12282, 8 (siehe Anm. 13); dt. — M. S. Marotzki.

zu finden. Oberhalb des kleineren Pfluges “el pegio settar . . . / perche . . . (das schlechteste Einsetzen . . . / weil . . .),”<sup>154</sup> links neben dem Kompass “non val uolta chi / a stella effisso (es ist nicht richtig, dass, wer auf einen Stern eingestellt ist, sich wendet?)”<sup>155</sup> und rechts

destinato  
rigore (*e in*  
*mutabil*) fatica e voltare (*lo*  
*immobile*) il fisso.

[Beharrlichkeit  
(und  
unveränderliche) Mühe und (das  
Bewegungslose), das Feststehende wenden].<sup>156</sup>

Die Vokabel ‘rigore’ bedeute bei Leonardo nach Fumagalli stets ‘Strenge’.<sup>157</sup> So können die Motti (*h*)*ostinato rigore* und *destinato rigore* frei mit ‘Beharrlichkeit’ (des Pfluges der die harte Scholle aufreißt) und ‘Bestimmtheit’ (des Kompasses) übersetzt werden. Das Windlicht ist weder in dieser noch in der Zeichnung 12701 recto der Royal Library mit einem Motto versehen. Auf einer anderen Zeichnung Leonardos, die Wind erzeugende Blasebälge zeigt, steht jedoch “[t]ale è ’l mal che n—o— mi noce qual è il bene che non mi giova (Das Böse, das mir nicht schadet, ist wie das Gute, das mir nichts nützt).”<sup>158</sup> So findet sich auch die Bedeutung *frustra* (Vergebens) bei einem ähnlichen Emblem in Girolamo Ruscellis *Emblemata* von 1583. So könnte die Hypothese aufgestellt werden, dass es kein Zufall war, das Leonardo bei der künstlerischen und gedanklichen Entwicklung dieser Impresen schon wieder einen salaähnlichen Jüngling in die Nähe dieser zeichnete. Sei es, dass er sich Beharrlichkeit und Bestimmtheit als Charaktereigenschaften des Knaben wünschte oder sie selbst gern im Umgang mit diesem durchgehalten hätte. Das Windlicht befindet sich auf Augenhöhe, der Pflug im Oval etwas unterhalb des Kinns des Profilkopfes. In der Verbindung der angenommenen Bedeutungen der Embleme ergibt sich ein Gedanke wie etwa ‘Vergebliche Beharrlichkeit,’ der auf ein lang gehegtes, nicht erfülltes Anliegen Leonardos gegenüber dem Knaben verweisen könnte. Dieser Ansatz bedürfte jedoch einer intensiveren Auseinandersetzung mit Leonardos Impresen und einer gründlicheren Deutung der Zeichnung und ihrer Beischriften. Eine solche steht

<sup>154</sup> Ibid.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid.

<sup>157</sup> Fumagalli, *Eros*, 16 (siehe Anm. 40).

<sup>158</sup> M 4 recto; *The Literary Works*, 1, Nr. 699, 391 (siehe Anm. 12); dt. Lücke, *Leonardo*, 852 (siehe Anm. 35).

noch aus, ist jedoch auch im Rahmen dieses Beitrages nicht zu leisten und entfernte sich zudem auch zu weit von dem eigentlichen Thema des Bandes.

Dieselbe Physiognomie ist auch auf einer Zeichnung Leonardos, die auf etwa 1492/1493 datiert wird und mit *Piacere e dispiacere* überschrieben ist, dargestellt (Abb. 10).<sup>159</sup> Zwei Torsi—der eines Jünglings und der eines älteren Mannes—entwachsen Rücken an Rücken einem gemeinsamen Leib. Der Jüngling lässt Geldstücke aus seiner linken Hand gleiten. Diese—sowie die Platte, auf der der linke Fuß der Aktfigur steht—sind auf dem Boden mit der Notiz *oro* bezeichnet. In der anderen Hand hält der junge Mann ein bis auf den Boden reichendes Schilfrohr. Frisur und Profilzüge erinnern deutlich an die bislang besprochenen Jünglingsdarstellungen. Der ältere Mann trägt in der Hand, welche sich über der 'Goldhand' des Jünglings befindet eine Pflanze. Es handele sich laut Möller um Pfennigkraut (*Thlaspi arvense*).<sup>160</sup> In der rechten Hand, die sich unter der den Bambuszweig fassenden Hand des Jünglings befindet, hält der Mann dreieckige Dornen, die seinem Griff ebenfalls entgleiten und neben den rechten Fuß der Figur fallen. Dieser steht in einer Art Pfüte, die mit *fango* (Schlamm)<sup>161</sup> beschriftet ist. Bei den merkwürdigen Dornen handelt es sich Möller folgend um vierkantige Fußangeln, sog. *triboli*, ein Kampfmittel, welches Leonardo schon im *Codex Trivulzianus* gezeichnet hatte.<sup>162</sup>

Neben der Zeichnung findet sich eine längere schriftliche Erklärung Leonardos. In dieser erläutert er, dass Vergnügen (*piacere*) und Verdruss (*dispiacere*) dargestellt seien. Das eine komme nie ohne das andere vor, aus diesem Grund seien sie als Zwillinge dargestellt. Rücken an Rücken zeige er sie, da sie Gegensätze darstellten. Unter der Zeichnung schreibt er mahnend, dass bei der Wahl des Vergnügens bedacht werden müsse, dass dieses jemanden hinter sich habe, der Trübsal (*tribolatione*) und Reue austeile.

Auf der gegenüberliegenden Seite erklärt Leonardo sich noch einmal genauer. Er wiederholt an dieser Stelle das bereits zuvor Erklärte und führt dann aus, dass Vergnügen und Verdruss als Gegenteile in demselben Körper vorkämen, da sie dieselbe Basis hätten: der Ursprung des Vergnügens käme aus dem Überdruß, den der Schmerz verursacht, der Ursprung des Verdrusses seien eitle und unzüchtige Vergnügungen. Aus diesem Grund halte *piacere* ein Schilfrohr in der Rechten. Dieses sei unnütz und ohne Kraft und die Wunden, die es schlage, seien vergiftet. Leonardo verweist darauf, dass Schilfrohr in der Toskana in Betten mit verarbeitet

<sup>159</sup> Oxford A. 29 recto; Text in *The Literary Works*, 1, Nr. 676, 385 (siehe Anm. 12); dazu auch Möller, "Salai," 145–46 (siehe Anm. 2); Fumagalli, *Eros*, 144–46 (siehe Anm. 40); Carmen C. Bambach, "Leonardo da Vinci: 54. Two Allegories of Envy (recto). Two Allegories (verso)," *Leonardo da Vinci: Master Draftsman*, Hrsg. dies., Alessandro Cecchi et al. (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 2003), 400–03; hier ist auch weitere Literatur zu der Zeichnung gelistet.

<sup>160</sup> Möller, "Salai," 146 (siehe Anm. 2).

<sup>161</sup> Möller sieht darin den Schmutz des Lasters; *ibid.*

<sup>162</sup> *Codex Trivulzianus*, 53 verso; vgl. Möller, "Salai," 146.



werde und hier dafür stehe, dass es der Ort des Bettes sei, wo eitle und leere Träume entstünden und ein großer Teil des Lebens aufgebraucht und kostbare Zeit verschwendet werde. Am morgen wenn der Geist ruhig und erholt und der Körper bei guter Kondition sei, um eine neue Arbeit zu beginnen, würden dort viele leere Vergnügen stattfinden: der Geist würde unmögliche Dinge erdenken und der Körper solchen Vergnügen frönen, die oft Ursache für ein verfehltes Leben seien.

Möller liest Zeichnung und Text als einen "Seitenblick auf den vergnügungssüchtigen, Geld erjagenden Salai." Der Jüngling, *il piacere*, sieht lächelnd auf ein schwankendes Schilfrohr dem Vergnügen entgegen, hinterrücks verstreue er das Geld, welches dieses koste. Der ältere Mann ist verhärtet und halte das Pfennigkraut, nach Möller "Sinnbild des teuer erkauften Vergnügens, das nach dem Genuß zu nichts zerrinne" und welches der Alte enttäuscht ansehe. Daneben erkennt Möller ein Ginsterreis "also eine Rute, die sich die Lust selbst zur Strafe bindet." Die *triboli* seien eine Verbildlichung der angedrohten *tribulatione*, die nach der Lust folgt.<sup>163</sup> Gemäß der Komposition der Arme und ihrer Attribute kann zudem die folgende Lesart ergänzt werden: das Schilfrohr links, Leonardos Ausführungen nach Sinnbild für die vergänglichen Freuden des Bettes, in dem es verarbeitet ist, wird von *piacere* angeboten. Die Folge ist als Strafe in Form der *triboli*, die *dispiacere* hält, dargestellt. Auf der rechten Seite erhält *dispiacere* die angebotene Gabe, das Vergnügen, hier aber mit der Konnotation des Pfennigkrautes, es sei teuer erkauft und 'stinke' (Acker-Hellerkraut hat einen widrigen Geruch). Dafür erhält *piacere* Goldstücke.

Werden die Attribute diagonal gelesen, bietet *piacere* die Vergnügungen des Bettes und wird durch Gold entlohnt, *dispiacere* erhält diese Freuden in Form des schnöden, widrig riechenden Pfennigkrautes und zudem noch Strafen durch die *triboli*. Der anbietende *piacere* trägt die Züge des Salaityps, die Physiognomie des älteren Mannes (eingefallene Gesichtszüge, prägnante Nase, 'hängende' Augenpartie), sowie seine wilde Haar- und Barttracht erinnern auffällig an die des Aristoteles in der Mitte bis Ende der siebziger Jahre des 15. Jahrhunderts datierten Zeichnung *Aristoteles und Phyllis*, die sich heute in der Hamburger Kunsthalle befindet.<sup>164</sup> Ebenso stellt die Beschriftung *Piacere e dispiacere* einen expliziten inhaltlichen Zusammenhang zu den Notizen auf der Rückseite des kleinen Blattes

<sup>163</sup> Möller, "Salai," 145–46; hier: 146 (siehe Anm. 2).

<sup>164</sup> Von Wilhelm R. Valentiner auf 1478 datiert; Wilhelm R. Valentiner, "Leonardo as Verrocchio's Coworker," *Art Bulletin* 12 (1930): 43–89; hier 74–87; zur Datierung vgl. auch: Carmen C. Bambach, "Leonardo da Vinci: 25. Phyllis (or Campaspe) Riding Aristotle (recto)," *Leonardo da Vinci: Master draftsman*, 312 (siehe Anm. 159); *Von Leonardo bis Piranesi: Italienische Zeichnungen von 1450 bis 1800 aus dem Kupferstichkabinett der Hamburger Kunsthalle*, Hrsg. Hubertus Gäßner, David Klemm und Andreas Stolzenburg (Hamburg: Hamburger Kunsthalle, 2008), 22. Die Zeichnung wurde bereits im 19. Jahrhundert Leonardo zugeschrieben und ist seitdem in ihrer Echtheit nicht bezweifelt worden (vgl. *ibid.*). Abb. z.B. in *ibid.*, 23.

her.<sup>165</sup> Genau dort, wo sich auf *recto* die Figurengruppe befindet, schrieb Leonardo die Notizen:

co[m]pagnie  
volupta . dispiacere  
amore . gielosia  
felicità . I[n]vidia  
fortuna . penjte[n]za  
sospetto

[Gesellschaften/ Umgänge  
Wollust . Mißfallen  
Liebe . Eifersucht  
Freude . Neid  
Glück . Buße  
Verdacht].<sup>166</sup>

Während das auf der Zeichnung dargestellte Thema ein im Mittelalter beliebtes 'heterosexuelles' 'Verkehrte-Welt'-Motiv<sup>167</sup> aufgreift und in diesem Kontext in der Forschung bislang auch gedeutet wurde, kann die Zeichnung auch als Auseinandersetzung Leonardos mit seiner ('Homo'-)Sexualität gelesen werden.<sup>168</sup> Leonardos Allegorie von *piacere* und *dispiacere* könnte – wie Möller vorschlägt – als Ermahnung Salais gelesen werden, dann ist jedoch fraglich, warum er nicht *piacere*, sondern *dispiacere* frontal abbildet. Der Schwerpunkt liegt also eindeutig auf den

<sup>165</sup> Bereits Möller wies auf einen Zusammenhang zwischen den Beschriftungen hin; Möller, "Salai," 145 (siehe Anm. 2).

<sup>166</sup> Zitiert nach *Leonardo da Vinci: Masterdraftsman*, 312 (wie Anm. 159); dt. – Marotzki.

<sup>167</sup> Den Topos der 'Verkehrten Welt' variiert Leonardo in diesem Zusammenhang. Das Thema der Liebe von Alten zu Jungen, welches neben dem 'auf den Kopf gestellten' Geschlechterverhältnis auch in dem 'Aristoteles und Phyllis'-Motiv thematisiert wird, ist schon in einer Zeichnung, die durch zwei Kopien von Hufnagel und Hollor bekannt ist, zu finden (Abb. z.B. Jacob Hufnagel Zeichnung *Kopie nach Leonardos Alte und buhlender Jüngling* in der Albertina in Wien, in: Möller, "Salai," Abb. 214 [siehe Anm. 2]). Hier wird in umgekehrter Weise, die Liebe alter (häßlicher) Frauen zu jungen (schönen) Männern dargestellt; zum Topos der Liebe zwischen alt und jung Raimond van Marle, *Iconographie de l'Art Profane au Moyen-Age et à la Renaissance*, 2: *Allégories et Symboles* (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1971) 476–79. Möller erkennt in dem Jüngling wieder Salai und interpretiert die Zeichnung als Vorwurf Leonardos an Salais Lebenswandel: "Als ich 1921 [. . .] dieses Blatt sah, war ich geradezu erschüttert von der Anklage, die nach meinem Empfinden Leonardo durch diese Darstellung gegen seinen Schüler erhebt! Dessen Geldgier schreckt nicht einmal davor zurück, bei einem alten Weibe den Verliebten zu spielen, um sich in den Besitz ihres Geldes zu setzen!"; Möller, "Salai," 151–55; hier 152 (siehe Anm. 2).

<sup>168</sup> Siehe auch zum Zusammenhang zwischen den beiden Zeichnungen und dem Recto des Blattes Oxford A. 29 (hier ist auch noch einmal dieselbe Jünglingsphysiognomie zu finden): Marotzki, "Volupta," ausführlicher in: Miriam Sarah Marotzki: »Si pingo col cervello, non colla mano«: Stilisierungen als antike Philosophen. Beiträge zur Figur des *pictor doctus* und der Geschlechtergeschichte der italienischen Renaissance [Dissertation, in Vorbereitung].

Folgen und Strafen, die das Treiben des Jünglings mit sich bringt und dem, der sie erleiden muss.

Wie diese Beispiele zeigen, lassen sich die Kontexte, in die die Profilzeichnungen eingepasst sind, durchaus als Kommentar Leonardos zu dem Knaben lesen. An dieser Stelle sei noch einmal auf die weiter oben geäußerte These, das geschlechtslose Knabenprofil z.B. von der Zeichnung 12276 verso der Royal Library habe sich unter dem Einfluss des Typus der Zeichnung 12557 der Royal Library verändert, eingegangen. Dazu betrachte ich vergleichend das Profil der Zeichnung 19093 der Royal Library. Es ist zu erkennen, dass die Nase der späten Zeichnung prägnanter ausfällt, sie ist etwas länger und der Nasenrücken geht direkt in die hohe und gerade Stirn über, während die Profillinie in der frühen Zeichnung auf Höhe der Augen konkav verläuft und so Nasen- und Stirnpartie deutlich von einander separiert. Auch kann auf der späten Zeichnung der Ansatz eines Doppelkinns erkannt werden. Beide Merkmale lassen sich auch in dem Profil der Zeichnung 12557 der Royal Library finden. So werden Merkmale, die erstmals in der Zeichnung 12557 der Royal Library auftauchen, in den üblichen Jünglingstypus Leonardos integriert und verändern ihn minimal. Diese Beobachtung stützt die zuvor formulierte Überlegung: Leonardo zeigte sich affin gegenüber einem bestimmten Typ adoleszenter, androgyner Schönheit, der ikonographisch im Florenz des 15. Jahrhunderts durchaus geläufig war und den er immer wieder zeichnete. Konform mit der bisherigen Forschung, die davon ausgeht, dass es sich bei dem Profil auf der Zeichnung 12557 der Royal Library um eine Darstellung Salais handelt, können wir zu dem Schluss gelangen, dass er diesem zuvor gezeichneten Ideal optisch sehr nahe kam. Später ist die Darstellung des 'idealen Jünglings' dann um seine 'Merkmale' 'angereichert.' Lediglich seine Frisur wird 'aussortiert'; hier behält Leonardo die bisherige Darstellung eines längeren Schopfes bei.<sup>169</sup> Das Schema des Salaityps ist auch in Werken wie der *Mona Lisa* und *Johannes dem Täufer* zu finden. Auf diesen Zusammenhang gehe ich jedoch an späterer Stelle ein.

In seinem Testament bedachte Leonardo Salai letztendlich recht pragmatisch und emotionslos mit der Hälfte seines Weinberges "für die vielen treuen und wertvollen Dienste." Unklar ist, wie Salai in den Besitz der Gemälde Leonardos gekommen ist, die in seinem Inventar aufgelistet sind.<sup>170</sup> Im Testament des Künstlers finden sie keine Erwähnung. Janice Shell und Grazioso Sironi vermuten, dass Leonardo Salai die Gemälde bereits vor seinem Tod persönlich vermacht hatte.

Eine ganz andere Wertschätzung kann aus der 'Erbmasse' Francesco Melzis abgeleitet werden. Er wurde nicht nur monetär durch die verbleibende Rente

<sup>169</sup> Vgl. dazu Möllers bereits zuvor zitierte Beobachtung, dass der Salaityp die Jünglingsgestalten Leonardos seit den 1490er Jahren beeinflusste; Möller, "Salai," 156 (siehe Anm. 2).

<sup>170</sup> Gelistet in Anm. 17.

bedacht und somit vom Meister wohlwollend versorgt, sondern erbte die Zeichnungen des Malers, seine Manuskripte, Bücher, seine Werkstattausstattung und Materialien—um es zusammenzufassen, alles, was Leonardo lieb und teuer gewesen sein muss, woran also sein Herz gehangen haben mag. Nicht bei Salai, sondern bei Melzi sah Leonardo sein intellektuelles und künstlerisches Erbe gut bewahrt. Dass er die Werkstattausstattung und die Materialien erbte, verrät, dass Leonardo wohl davon ausging, Melzi werde weiter als Maler tätig sein und diese somit gut gebrauchen können, aber auch, dass er seine künstlerischen Fähigkeiten schätzte und ihm das größte Talent in der Gruppe seiner Schüler zusprach. Wie die Funktion als von Leonardo eingesetzter Testamentsvollstrecker zeigt, genoss der junge Graf offenbar das vollste Vertrauen des Künstlers.

Melzis intellektuelle und künstlerische Befähigungen waren offenbar Ausschlaggebend für Leonardos Wertschätzung. Wenngleich Vasari auch von Melzi berichtet, dass er sehr gut ausgesehen habe, schien seine 'Form' nicht in dem gleichen Maße wie die Salais für den Meister relevant gewesen zu sein, so dass er sie darstellte—so ist doch in der Forschung so gut wie nie die Rede von PorträtDarstellungen Melzis.<sup>171</sup>

Jedoch sind zwei direkt an Melzi gerichtete Briefe Leonardos erhalten. Der erste von 1408 spricht von einer neckischen Leichtigkeit des Verhältnisses. Der Ton ist persönlich und herzlich. Den Vorwurf, trotz vieler Briefe nie eine Antwort von dem Knaben erhalten zu haben, trägt Leonardo schelmisch vor. Zwischen den Zeilen ist jedoch auch herauslesbar, dass Leonardo auf Grund der fehlenden Antworten etwas verletzt gewesen sein könnte. In dem zweiten Schreiben von etwa 1510–1511 bittet er den jungen Grafen, der offenbar vor Ort war, ihn bezüglich laufender Kanalarbeiten zu informieren und die Verantwortlichen zu drängen, Leonardo mit weiteren Informationen zu versorgen. Dieses solle er für Leonardo aus dem Grund "per mio amore (mir zuliebe)"<sup>172</sup> tun. Diese Passage wie auch die Anrede "Caro mio, messer Francesco (Mein lieber Messer Francesco)"<sup>173</sup> zeugen von einem herzlichen, wenn auch respektvollen Verhältnis—so spricht Leonardo Melzi auf Grund seiner adeligen Herkunft stets mit "Messer" an.<sup>174</sup>

<sup>171</sup> Eine Ausnahme stellt die offenbar von Johann David Passavant übernommene Vermutung Schorns und Försters, dass es sich bei dem Porträt eines jungen Mannes mit lockigem Haar und schwarzer Mütze (Tafel 4) in einer von Serli herausgegebenen Sammlung nach Zeichnungen Leonardos um Melzi handelt, dar; vgl. Vasari/Kliemann, 3,1, 27 (siehe Anm. 13). Auch Roy McMullen bildet in seiner Publikation *Mona Lisa: The Picture and the Myth* das Porträt eines jungen Mannes von Giovan Antonio Boltraffio, heute in der Pinacoteca Ambrosiana, ab, das er als Bildnis Melzis ausgibt (so datiert McMullen das Bildnis passend zum Alter Melzis auf etwa 1510, Suida hingegen auf etwa 1496–98; Suida, *Leonardo*, 191 [siehe Anm. 13]). Eine Begründung für seine Identifikation liefert Mc Mullen hingegen nicht; McMullen, *Mona Lisa*, Abb. 5 (siehe Anm. 7).

<sup>172</sup> C. A. 372 verso a; *The Literary Works*, 2, Nr. 1350, 335 (siehe Anm. 12); dt. Lücke, *Leonardo*, 889 (siehe Anm. 35).

<sup>173</sup> Ibid.; dt. Lücke, *Leonardo*, 888 (siehe Anm. 35).

<sup>174</sup> C. A. 372 verso a.

Die Einschätzung Hugo Graf von Gallenbergs, dass Salai "nicht allein der Regelmäßigkeit seiner schönen Gesichtsbildung und des Körperbaus, sondern auch seiner Seelengüte und Talente wegen sich der Liebe seines Lehrers erfreute"<sup>175</sup> kann somit nicht geteilt werden und legt nahe, dass Gallenberg die zahlreichen Tagebucheinträge Leonardos über die Diebstähle und Streiche Salais offensichtlich nicht zur Kenntnis genommen hat. Weiterhin schien das künstlerische Talent des Knaben nicht sehr ausgeprägt wie die Untersuchungen zu seiner 'Funktion' zeigen und für Leonardo auch nicht relevant – erwähnt er es doch nicht ein einziges Mal. Gerade gegenteilig sind es andere Themenfelder, die im Mittelpunkt seines Interesses stehen. Seine genaue Dokumentation der Entgleisungen Salais geht über einen konstatierenden Charakter hinaus und zeigt eine gewisse Faszination. Ebenso zeigen die festgehaltenen Einzelheiten über die Kleidung und die damit verbundenen Ausgaben ein Interesse an den Eitelkeiten des Knaben, also sowohl an seiner Vorliebe für Mode wie auch an seinem Äußeren.

Die eigenen Ausgaben für Salai scheinen Leonardo sehr wichtig, wie als wolle er damit belegen, dass er auch Anspruch auf eine entsprechende Gegenleistung für diese habe. Diese Gedanken zeigen sich auch in seinen Zeichnungen, in diesem Fall in besonderem Maß in der *Piacere e dispiacere*-Zeichnung. In dieser formuliert er einen Anspruch, der aus dem bereits investierten Geld entstünde und ebenso wie er sich diesen vorstelle – wohl als sexuelles Vergnügen. Dass sich diese Allianz für Leonardo wahrscheinlich eher enttäuschend gestaltete, zeigt nicht nur die unmittelbare Verknüpfung des *piacere* mit dem *dispiacere*, sondern auch seine zunehmende Enerviertheit bezüglich des Themas 'Salai und Geld.' Nicht nur, dass Salai dieses in seiner Jugend gern stahl, auch scheinen die Ausgaben für ihn Leonardo zunehmend zu verstimmen. Wie den lateinischen Sentenzen über das Verleihen von Geld zu entnehmen ist, beteiligte er sich lediglich an dessen Geldgeschäften, da er Angst hatte, den Freund ansonsten zu verlieren. Dieses mag auch der Grund sein, warum er ihn – trotz seiner Unzuverlässigkeit – von Zeit zu Zeit seine eigenen Geldgeschäfte anvertraute.

Das Einnehmen der Mutter- oder Ammenrolle und der damit verbundene Wechsel der Geschlechter eröffnet das weite Feld der Androgynität bei Leonardo, und damit verbunden auch die Debatte um seine (Homo-)Sexualität. Möller distanziert Leonardos Beziehung zu Salai und Melzi von Michelangelos "leidenschaftlicher Verehrung gewisser schöner Jünglinge."<sup>176</sup> "Heikle[. . .] Themen" handle er mit Humor und es gebe keinen Hinweis auf sinnliche Neigungen und Leidenschaften und – wie Möller sich verhalten ausdrückt – "leichte Lebensauffassung."<sup>177</sup> Als Beleg dafür zitiert er eine Stelle aus dem

<sup>175</sup> Gallenberg, *Leonardo*, 236 (siehe Anm. 15).

<sup>176</sup> Möller, "Salai," 156 (siehe Anm. 2).

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*, 157.

Notizbuch H3, Foglio 119 recto “Chi n— o— rafrena la uoluttà , colle bestie s’ac— o— pagni; / N—o— si può avere maggior nè minor signioria che quella di sé medesimo (Wer die Wollust nicht zügelt, der kommt den Tieren gleich. / Du kannst keine größere oder geringere Herrschaft haben, als du über dich selbst hast).”<sup>178</sup> und von Blatt 358 verso des *Codice Atlantico* “La passione dell’animo caccia via la lussuria (Die Leidenschaft des Geistes treibt die Sinnenlust aus).”<sup>179</sup> Der Vorwurf der ‘männlichen’ Mutter und der Kontext, der durch diese Rolle evoziert wird, verweist wohl doch eher wieder auf eine Interpretation gleichgeschlechtlichen, amourösen Interesses an dem Knaben als auf ein Vater-Sohn-Verhältnis. Möller begründete den Umstand, dass Leonardo den Knaben trotz schlechter Veranlagung und wenig künstlerischem Talent bei sich behielt, mit seiner Affinität zu Schönheit und einem besonderen Faible für schönes Haar. Zudem sei er einfach zu gutmütig gewesen und hätte sich für den Knaben verantwortlich gefühlt.<sup>180</sup> Shell vermutet, dass er den Jungen, der wohl auch einigen Charme besessen haben muss, mochte und wohl auf Besserung hoffte. Er sei—außer dass Leonardo sich an seinem hübschen Äußeren erfreute, welches er durch teure und ausgefallene Kleidung herausputzte—aber auch Lehrling, Modell und Gehilfe gewesen.<sup>181</sup> Leonardos Zeichnungen und die inhaltliche Dimension, die der von ihm vergebene Spitzname ‘Salai’ impliziert, verweisen auf sein großes Interesse, seine Faszination nicht nur an dem Äußeren, der ‘Form’ des Knaben, sondern gerade an dem Widerspruch, der Ambivalenz zwischen schöner Form und schlechtem Charakter, die der Figur des Knaben innewohnten.

Ganz andere Themen bestimmen das Verhältnis zu Francesco Melzi. Wie die Testamentsverfügungen belegen sieht Leonardo in ihm den geeigneten Kandidaten, sein künstlerisches und intellektuelles Erbe anzutreten. Auch die Übertragung des Vollzugs des Testaments zeugt von vollem Vertrauen in den jungen Grafen. Die Briefe bezeugen einen persönlichen und herzlichen, aber auch respektvollen Umgang. ‘Böse Worte’ sind über Francesco Melzi nicht in Leonardos Aufzeichnungen zu finden. Eine Beziehung zwischen zwei Personen kann jedoch immer aus mindestens drei Blickwinkeln betrachtet werden: die Perspektiven der beiden in Kontakt stehenden Personen stellen zwei Positionen dar, während eine weitere (und diese Position kann gegebenenfalls auch noch mehrfach unterteilt sein) durch die Ansichten Dritter auf diese Beziehung markiert ist. Mit einem erneuten Perspektivenwechsel betrachte ich nun die als ‘Freundschaften’ in Frage kommenden Beziehungen zu Salai und Melzi aus ihrem Blickwinkel. Dazu werte

<sup>178</sup> H3 119 recto; *The Literary Works*, 2, Nr. 1192, 247 (siehe Anm. 12); dt. Lücke, *Leonardo*, 25 (siehe Anm. 35).

<sup>179</sup> C. A. 358 verso a; *Scritti letterari*, Hrsg. Augusto Marinoni (Mailand: Rizzoli 2001), Nr. 93, 74; dt. Lücke, *Leonardo*, 23 (siehe Anm. 35).

<sup>180</sup> Möller, “Salai,” 156 (siehe Anm. 2).

<sup>181</sup> Shell, “Caprotti,” 398 (siehe Anm. 14).

ich Informationen aus ihren Biographien, schriftlichen Dokumenten sowie den künstlerischen und im Falle Melzis auch den wissenschaftlichen Werken aus. Die Sicht Dritter auf diese Beziehungen berücksichtige ich dabei ebenso.

Francesco Melzi war etwa 17 Jahre alt als er Leonardo kennen lernte. 1513 verließ er seinen Familiensitz in Vaprio d'Adda und begleitete Leonardo nach Rom. Seitdem verließ er—wie sich aus den Quellen rekonstruieren lässt—den Meister bis zu dessen Tod am 2. Mai 1519 in Cloux nicht mehr. In Frankreich blieb er—gemäß den Aufzeichnungen de Vilanis vom 10. August 1519—noch einige Zeit in den Diensten des französischen Königs, bevor er nach Mailand zurückkehrte. Noch in Frankreich erhielt er 1520 das Privileg des *Familiaris* und *Gentilomo di Camera* König Franz I.<sup>182</sup> 1523 versuchte der Ferraresische Geschäftsträger in Mailand Melzi für die Dienste bei Alfonso d'Este zu gewinnen. Er empfahl Melzi mit der Begründung, dass dieser die Geheimnisse Leonardos besitze und auch gut male.<sup>183</sup> Der materielle Erbe Leonardos wurde also auch als sein geistiger und künstlerischer angesehen und schien großes Ansehen zu genießen. Nach der Rückkehr nach Italien scheint er aber nur noch vereinzelt als Maler tätig gewesen zu sein.<sup>184</sup> Hier heiratete er Angiola aus der adeligen Familie der Landriani, mit der er acht Kinder hatte.<sup>185</sup> Um 1570 starb er in Vaprio d'Adda.

In einem auf den 01. Juni 1519 datierten Brief bestätigt Melzi den Halbbrüdern Leonardos dessen Tod. In diesem Dokument schildert er seine Gefühle über den Tod seines Meisters. Er nennt ihn „mio quanto ottimo padre (mein ach so vortrefflicher Vater),“<sup>186</sup> über dessen Tod sein Schmerz so groß sei, dass er ihm keinen Ausdruck verleihen könne. Folgerichtig unterschreibt Melzi auch mit „[t]anquam fratri vestro Franciscus Mentius (Ihr sozusagen Neffe Francesco Melzi).“<sup>187</sup> Fumagalli interpretiert dieses Verhältnis—genau wie das zu Salai—als Vater-Sohn-Beziehung.<sup>188</sup> Im Folgenden befrage ich nun Melzis Œuvre auf weitere Anhaltspunkte bezüglich der Beschaffenheit des Verhältnisses zu Leonardo. Lomazzo und Paolo Morigia bezeichnen Melzi als „grandissimi miniatore,“ d.h. einen Maler, der seine Arbeit „fein säuberlich bis in die kleinsten Details durchführt.“<sup>189</sup> Auch Mazzenta bescheinigte ihm eine feine Ausführung seiner Gemälde und eine große stilistische Nähe zu Leonardo.<sup>190</sup> Erste Versuche, ein

<sup>182</sup> Vgl. Vollmacht von Battista de Vilanis an Melzi vom 20. August 1519; vgl. Calvi, „Storia“ (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>183</sup> Suida, *Leonardo*, 231 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>184</sup> Marani, „Melzi,“ 372 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>185</sup> Calvi „Storia“ (siehe Anm. 13); Marani, „Melzi,“ 372 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>186</sup> Bei Graf Passerini, Florenz (abgeschrieben aus:) *Ritratti ed Elogi di Uomini illustri toscani*, 2, Hrsg. Anton Giuseppe Pagani (Lucca: Pagani, 1771); Beltrami, *Documenti*, Nr. 245, 155 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>187</sup> Ibid.

<sup>188</sup> Vgl. Fumagalli, *Eros*, 94 (siehe Anm. 40).

<sup>189</sup> Suida, *Leonardo*, 231 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>190</sup> Vgl. S. 15.

Werkverzeichnis Melzis zu erstellen, wurden bereits im 18. Jahrhundert unternommen.<sup>191</sup>

Auf Grund einer Inschrift wird ihm das Gemälde *Vertumnus und Pomona*, heute in der Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin (Preußischer Kulturbesitz), zugeschrieben.<sup>192</sup> Diese befindet sich auf dem Felsen in der Nähe des Fußes des Vertumnus (heute sind nur noch die griechischen Buchstaben S und eventuell H zu erkennen).<sup>193</sup> Die Landschaft mit den hohen Bergen und der Brücke im linken Hintergrund der dargestellten Szene ähneln dem Hintergrund auf der rechten Seite von Leonardos *Mona Lisa*, während die düstere Farbgebung mit Leonardos *Heiliger Anna Selbdritt* im Louvre korrespondiert. Somit zeigt dieses Gemälde explizite Anleihen aus dem Werk Leonardos vor 1513. Auf Grund großer stilistischer und kompositorischer Ähnlichkeit zu diesem Werk schreibt Pietro C. Marani auch das Gemälde *Nymphe im Frühling* (National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC) Melzi zu.<sup>194</sup>

Die *Flora* (auch *Columbine* genannt) in der Staatlichen Eremitage in St. Petersburg gilt seit Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts als Werk Melzis (Abb. 11).<sup>195</sup> Erst 1963 wurden am unteren linken Rand Spuren der griechischen Inschrift MLE gefunden, die Matey A. Gukovski als Melzis Signatur identifizierte und somit endlich die Zuschreibung bestätigen konnte.<sup>196</sup> Umstritten ist hingegen die Zuschreibung einer *Sacra Famiglia* in der Nemes Sammlung in München, heute in der Národní Galerie in Prag.<sup>197</sup> Des Weiteren führt Suida eine unvollendete *Madonna mit Kind und Lamm* unter "vielleicht von Melzi" auf.<sup>198</sup> Diese wird heute einem Giampietrino nahe stehenden Künstler zugeschrieben.<sup>199</sup> Wohl nicht wahrscheinlich ist hingegen die Zuschreibung einer Wandmalerei in Melzis Villa, die eine Madonna mit Kind zeigt.<sup>200</sup>

Das zeichnerische Gesamtwerk Melzis umfasst die Rötelsezeichnung eines Frauenkopfes<sup>201</sup> und die bereits erwähnte Profilzeichnung eines alten Mannes in

<sup>191</sup> Marani, "Melzi," 373 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>192</sup> *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Gemälde im Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum*, 8. Aufl. (Berlin und Leipzig: Vereinigung wissenschaftlicher Verleger, 1921), 291; Suida, *Leonardo*, 232 (siehe Anm. 13). Abb. z.B. in Marani, "Melzi," Abb. 262 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>193</sup> Marani, "Melzi," 373–74 (siehe Anm. 13). Zur Datierung siehe *ibid.*, 378–80.

<sup>194</sup> Vorher Bernardino Luini zugeschrieben; *ibid.*, 380–82. Zur Datierung *ibid.*, 382. Abb. z.B. in Marani, "Melzi," 264 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>195</sup> Zur Zuschreibungsgeschichte *ibid.*, 374. Zur Datierung *ibid.*, 378.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*, 374.

<sup>197</sup> Von Suida zugeschrieben; Suida, *Leonardo*, 232 (siehe Anm. 13); von Marani bezweifelt; Marani, "Melzi," 378 (siehe Anm. 13). Abb. z.B. in *ibid.*, Abb. 265.

<sup>198</sup> Suida, *Leonardo*, 306 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>199</sup> Pietro C. Marani, *Pinacoteca di Brera: scuole lombarda e Piemontese 1300–1535* (Mailand: Electa, 1988), 184–88; Marani, "Melzi," 374 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.* 372. Abb. z.B. in *ibid.*, Abb. 259.

<sup>201</sup> Abb. z.B. in Suida, *Leonardo*, Abb. 300 (siehe Anm. 13).



der Mailänder Ambrosiana von 1510, die seine zweifache Signatur trägt.<sup>202</sup> Eine weitere Zeichnung mit dem Kopf eines alten Mannes schreibt Marani Melzi auf Grund der stilistischen Ausführung und historischer Koinzidenzen zu. Der Inschrift auf der Rückseite des Blattes gemäß zeige es den "maestro di camera del re Franc.o p.o" Artus Boysi.<sup>203</sup> Mittlerweile wurde das Corpus der Melzi zugeschriebenen Zeichnungen erweitert,<sup>204</sup> und Clark konnte 1967 zeigen, dass Melzi Kopien von Leonardos Zeichnungen anfertigte. Vermutlich waren dieses 'Ersatzzeichnungen' der Originale.<sup>205</sup> Auch wird ihm die Zeichnung eines Fußes zugeschrieben.. Dieser befindet sich auf einem Blatt, auf dem Leonardo ebenfalls Landschaften gezeichnet und Notizen hinterlassen hat. Der Fuß wird mit dem rechten Fuß der Pomona in Verbindung gebracht.<sup>206</sup> Ob zuerst Melzi das Blatt nutzte und dann Leonardo oder umgekehrt, ist schwer zu klären. Es ist jedoch nicht anzunehmen, dass ein Schüler ein Blatt, welches sein Meister schon benutzt hatte, als 'Schmierpapier' weiter verwendete, umgekehrt ist dieses Verfahren wiederum denkbar. Es ist also davon auszugehen, dass Leonardo das Blatt mit dem Versuch Melzis weiter verwendete.<sup>207</sup> Zweifel bekundet schon Suida bezüglich der Zuschreibung eines *Leda-Kopfes* in der Galleria Borghese.<sup>208</sup>

Eine weitere Leda-Zeichnung, früher in der Spiridon Sammlung und heute in den Uffizien, ist ebenfalls zweifelhaft.<sup>209</sup> Zudem wird Melzi oft die Zeichnung 12726 in der Royal Library in Windsor Castle zuerkannt (Abb. 12). Diese wird auf die Zeit zwischen 1510–1515 datiert und zeigt das Profil eines Mannes mit auffallender Haar- und Barttracht. Eine Inschrift bezeichnet ihn in zeitgenössischen Großbuchstaben als LEONARDO VINCI<sup>210</sup>. Die Darstellung gilt als das "the most objective and accurate portrait of the master to survive."<sup>211</sup> Aus diesem Grund diente es wohl auch als Vorlage für die Holzschnitte, die z.B. Vasari und Paolo Giovio nutzten, und etablierte sich als 'Standardporträt' Leonardos.<sup>212</sup> Das

<sup>202</sup> Abb. z.B. in *ibid.*, 301.

<sup>203</sup> Cod. F 263, 35; vgl. Marani, "Melzi," 377 (siehe Anm. 13). Originaltext in Beltrami, *Documenti*, Nr. 233, 147 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>204</sup> Zeichnungen in der Windsor Castle Sammlung s. Clark und Pedretti, *Drawings* (siehe Anm. 13); in der Ambrosiana s. Marani, "Attribuito a Francesco Melzi," Nr. 37, 38 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>205</sup> Vgl. Clark "Francesco Melzi" (siehe Anm. 13); Marani, "Melzi," 374 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>206</sup> Pedretti, *Studi* (siehe Anm. 13); Marani, "Melzi," 374–75 (siehe Anm. 13). Die Zuschreibung wies Giulio Bora 1976 zurück.

<sup>207</sup> Marani, "Melzi," 377 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>208</sup> Diese wird auch Giuliano Bugiardini zugeschrieben. Vgl. *ibid.*, 374. Abb. z.B. in Suida, *Leonardo*, Abb. 168 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>209</sup> Marani, "Melzi," 378 (siehe Anm. 13). Abb. z.B. in Suida, *Leonardo*, Abb. 163 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>210</sup> Abb. siehe z.B. Zöllner, *Leonardo*, 10 (siehe Anm. 6). Es existiert außerdem eine Kopie in der Mailänder Biblioteca Ambrosiana, dazu Luca Beltrami, "Il volto di Leonardo: saggio di iconografia vinciana," *Emporium* 48 (1919): 3–17; hier 5.

<sup>211</sup> Martin Clayton, *Leonardo da Vinci: The Divine and the Grotesque* (London: Royal Collection, 2002), 110.

<sup>212</sup> Vgl. die Holzschnitte in den *Viten* Vasaris (Ausgabe von 1568) und Giovios *Imagines clarorum*

Blatt wurde beschnitten (ungewöhnlich für ein Blatt in der Windsor Sammlung), und es gibt auf der Rückseite Anzeichen dafür, dass es auf einen Träger aufgezogen war. So mutmaßen bereits Schorn und Förster in ihrem Kommentar zu Vasaris Viten, dass es sich um das Porträt handeln könne, welches Vasari 1565 bei Melzi in Vaprio d'Adda sah.<sup>213</sup>

Im Alter arbeitete Melzi nur noch wenig, vielleicht weil er vermögend war. So fertigte er z.B. das Porträt eines jungen Mannes mit Papagei (Abb. 13).<sup>214</sup> Das Gemälde befindet sich heute in der Collezione Gallerati Scotti in Mailand und ist mit "Opus F. Melzius 1525" signiert.<sup>215</sup> Stilistisch unterscheidet es sich stark von den vorherigen Werken, die sich an Leonardo orientierten. Es erinnert mehr an die römische Schule in der Nachfolge Raffaels.<sup>216</sup> Soweit bekannt ist, handelt es sich um das letzte Werk Melzis.<sup>217</sup> Marani leitet aus dem Umstand, dass drei der vier als sicher identifizierten Gemälde Melzis auf griechisch, respektive lateinisch signiert sind, ab, dass Melzi sich offenbar von dem Selbstverständnis des Malers als rein technisch-handwerklich ausführender Kraft absetzen wollte. In der Auffassung von der sozialen Rolle des Malers als Intellektuellem folgte er dabei unzweifelhaft den Vorstellungen Leonardos. Diese Vorliebe zur 'humanistischen Signatur' findet sich auch in dem Brief an Leonardos Brüder von 1519 wieder; den ansonsten in italienischer Sprache verfassten Brief unterschreibt Melzi mit lateinischer Grußfloskel und latinisiertem Namen. Diese Tendenz ist auch in der Wahl der dargestellten Themen zu finden. Vertumnus und Pomona gehören zum Personal der Metamorphosen Ovids (XIV, 623–700), die *Flora* oder *Columbine* ist eine symbolische Repräsentation der 'Mutter Natur.' Die Interpretation und Identifikation des jungen Mannes mit dem Papagei ist unsicher. Er trägt einen Ring, dessen Stein (evtl. ein Carneol) einen Löwenkopf im Profil und eine Figur – vielleicht eine antike Gottheit – zeigt. Der Papagei steht in Bezug zum *logos*, nach Cesare Ripa für 'Eloquenz.' Es muss sich bei dieser Darstellung also um eine humanistisch-klassisch gebildete Person handeln, die sich in besonderer Weise durch Eloquenz auszeichnet oder sich dieser verbunden fühlt.<sup>218</sup> Marani schlägt vor, den jungen Mann als eine Art idealisiertes Selbstporträt Melzis zu sehen, wobei es keines im klassischen Sinne sein könne, da der Maler bereits viel

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*virorum* (1589). Außerdem existieren auch gemalte Porträts, vgl. Nicholl, *Leonardo*, 696 (siehe Anm. 105).

<sup>213</sup> Allerdings schreiben sie es Leonardo selbst zu; vgl. Vasari/Kliemann, 3,1, 28 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>214</sup> Suida bezeichnet die Figur als Mädchen; Suida, *Leonardo*, 232; 305 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>215</sup> Marani erkennt hier 1523; vgl. Zuschreibungshistoire Marani, "Melzi," 374 (siehe Anm. 13). Die beiden letzten Ziffern sind übermalt worden. Darunter befanden sich wahrscheinlich die Zahlen 51. Zur Datierung: Marani, "Attribuito a Francesco Melzi," 158–61 (siehe Anm. 13); Marani, "A New Date" (siehe Anm. 13); Marani, "Melzi," 382 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>216</sup> Vgl. Suida, *Leonardo*, 232–33 (siehe Anm. 13); Werkverzeichnis: *ibid.*, 305–06.

<sup>217</sup> Vgl. Marani, "Melzi," 382 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>218</sup> Vgl. *ibid.*, 377–78.

älter war, sondern eine Art symbolisches Porträt.<sup>219</sup> Melzi stellte also mit Vorliebe mythologische Themen aus dem humanistischen Umfeld dar. Mit Berücksichtigung des von Marani zugeschriebenen Werkes *Nymphe im Frühling* wäre hier ein weiteres Beispiel für diese Tendenz zu verzeichnen. Oft wurde behauptet, die Nymphe sei ein Porträt der Gräfin Challant, die die Sforza 1528 in Mailand gefangen hielten. Es kann aber auch vermutet werden, dass er sich um ein idealisiertes Porträt von Melzis Frau Angiola Landriani, von der Zeitgenossen berichten, sie sei eine der schönsten Frauen dieser Zeit gewesen, handelte.<sup>220</sup>

Vielfach wird berichtet, dass Melzi in Leonardos letzten Jahren, als dieser auf Grund eines Schlaganfalls keine ruhige Hand mehr hatte, nach seinen Anweisungen Gemälde und Zeichnungen ausführte.<sup>221</sup> Nach neueren Erkenntnissen hat Melzi ganz oder wesentlich Werke selbst hergestellt, die bislang Leonardo zugeschrieben wurden, dazu könnte etwa *Johannes der Täufer* gehören.<sup>222</sup> Er übernahm also demzufolge die handwerkliche Ausführung der Ideen des Meisters. Wie Fiorio feststellte, war Melzi eine bequeme Lösung für die Zuschreibung von Werken geworden, die zwar leonardesk, aber als zu minderwertig für den Meister angesehen wurden.<sup>223</sup>

Neben dem künstlerischen Œuvre hinterließ Francesco Melzi auch ein intellektuelles. Er erbte den wissenschaftlichen und künstlerischen Nachlass Leonardos und brachte ihn in seinen Familiensitz nach Vaprio d'Adda, wo er ihn als Kostbarkeit hütete.<sup>224</sup> Er engagierte sich in der Pflege und der Erhaltung des Nachlasses. Aus den Manuskripten sammelte er alle Notizen über Kunst und brachte sie unter dem Titel *Trattato della Pittura* heraus.<sup>225</sup> Leider verkauften seine Erben den Nachlass, wodurch vieles wohl für immer verloren ging. Als Vasari 1565 den greisen Melzi besuchte um den Leonardo-Nachlass (er erwähnt ihn als Erbe der anatomischen Zeichnungen und diese scheint er auch gesichtet zu haben) einzusehen<sup>226</sup>, berichtet er, dass Melzi die Papiere 'wie Reliquien' verwahrte. Gemeinsam mit einem Porträt seien sie für ihn Objekte des 'glückseligen Andenkens' an den Meister. Bereits Petrarca berichtet um 1350, dass ein Goldschmied aus Brescia, nachdem er ihn endlich als Freund gewonnen hatte, sein Haus mit dem "Abzeichen, Namen und Bildnis des neuen Freundes" schmückte. Zudem stattete er sich mit allen Schriften Petrarcas aus.<sup>227</sup> Melzi folgt hier also

<sup>219</sup> Vgl. *ibid.*, 384.

<sup>220</sup> Vgl. *ibid.*, 382.

<sup>221</sup> Vgl. Anm. 99.

<sup>222</sup> Vgl. *ibid.*, 378.

<sup>223</sup> Fiorio, *I leonardeschi*, 36 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>224</sup> Suida, *Leonardo*, 231 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>225</sup> Dazu genau Marani, "Melzi," 372–73 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>226</sup> Suida, *Leonardo*, 231 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>227</sup> Francesco Petrarca, *Le Familiari*, 4, hrsg. Vittorio Rossi (Florenz: Casa Ed. le Lettere, 1968), 79–82 (21,11); vgl. Pfisterer, "Freundschaftsbilder," 245–46 (siehe Anm. 10).

einer gängigen kulturellen Praxis, den verehrten Freund durch sein Werk sowie sein Bild zu vergegenwärtigen. Vasaris Beschreibung legt nahe, dass die Motivation dieser Freundschaft für Melzi seines Erachtens wohl in der Verehrung für den Meister und seine intellektuelle Betätigung lag. So rezipiert Vasari Francesco Melzi auch wesentlich als Erbe der anatomischen Zeichnungen. In der ersten Ausgabe seiner *Viten* erwähnt er diese nicht, in der zweiten Edition, nachdem er sie bei dem greisen Grafen eingesehen hatte, fügt er kurz vor die Zeilen über Salaì einen längeren Passus ein. In diesem schildert er unter anderem Leonardos Beschäftigung mit der Anatomie des Menschen und berichtet von einem Buch mit Zeichnungen von dieser. Über den Nexus der Zeichnungen wird Melzi erwähnt. Daneben scheint Vasari die „seltn[e...] Schönheit“<sup>228</sup> des Knaben („bellissimo fanciullo“<sup>229</sup>) wesentliches Merkmal, welches seines Erachtens wohl auch Ausschlag gebend für Leonardos Zuneigung zu Melzi war. Auch die Formulierung ‚molto amato da (sehr geliebt von)‘ kann auf homoerotische Gefühle verweisen, zumindest kann sie Auskunft darüber geben, dass Vasari dieses über Leonardo dachte.

Wie aus Leonardos Notiz über Salaìs Estand zu rekonstruieren ist, muss er um das Jahr 1480 herum geboren worden sein. Er war das dritte Kind von Pietro de Oreno und Caterina Scotti und hatte zwei ältere Schwestern, Angelina und Lorenziola. Nach Leonardos Tod kehrte er nach Mailand zurück und arbeitete weiter als Maler. Dort heiratete er Bianca Coldiroli di Anonno.<sup>230</sup> Salaì soll auch nach Leonardos Tod Kontakt mit seinen alten Kollegen aus Leonardos Werkstatt gehalten haben, teils aus Notwendigkeit, teils aber auch aus Freundschaft. Leider ist darüber wenig bekannt, außer dass Andrea Manieri ein Freund der Familie war.<sup>231</sup> Eventuell war sein Neffe Policreto in dieser Zeit sein Schüler.<sup>232</sup>

So zahlreich die Notizen Leonardos über Salaì sind, so vergeblich wird umgekehrt nach einer schriftlichen Notiz aus der Hand Salaìs gesucht. So bleiben nur – oder gerade – seine Werke als Quelle seiner Sicht auf Leonardo. Jedoch gab es erst spät erste Zuschreibungen<sup>233</sup> und bis heute ist es schwierig, ihm eigenhändige Werke zuzuordnen, denn es existiert kein ihm unbestritten zugeschriebenes künstlerisches Objekt. Da Salaì seine Werke nicht signierte und es keine Dokumente über Verkäufe gibt, ist also jede Identifizierung problematisch. Es wird jedoch davon ausgegangen, dass er ein beachtliches Œuvre geschaffen hat und ihm seine Beziehung zu Leonardo half, seine Werke gut zu verkaufen. Ob er je eigene Kompositionen schuf oder ob sein Gesamtwerk

<sup>228</sup> Vasari/Kliemann, 3,1, 27 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>229</sup> Vasari/ Milanese, 4, 35 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>230</sup> Vgl. Shell, „Caprotti“, 400, 399 (siehe Anm. 14).

<sup>231</sup> Vgl. Shell und Sironi, „Salaì and the Inventory of His Estate“, 134, 139 (siehe Anm. 14); Shell, „Caprotti“, 400 (siehe Anm. 14).

<sup>232</sup> Vgl. Shell und Sironi, „Salaì and the Inventory of His Estate“, 115 (siehe Anm. 14).

<sup>233</sup> Suida, *Leonardo*, 229 (siehe Anm. 13).

komplett aus Kopien Leonardos bestand, lässt sich nicht eindeutig feststellen.<sup>234</sup> Es wird ihm heute eine Gruppe von Bildern zugeschrieben, die aus dem Leonardo-Umkreis stammen und in die Jahre 1500–1520 datiert werden. Diese zeigen Motive, von denen durch Dokumente bekannt ist, dass Salai sie ausführte oder für die durch das Inventar belegt ist, dass er sie in seinem Besitz hatte.<sup>235</sup> Weitere Werke, bei denen die gleiche ausführende Hand vermutet wurde, kamen hinzu. So bemerkt schon Suida, dass es nicht möglich sei, die Werke explizit Salai zuzuweisen, sondern dass es sich um das Werk eines Leonardoschülers aus dem ersten Viertel des 16. Jahrhunderts handle. Dieses könne Salai sein, und aus diesem Grund schlägt Suida auch vor, den Urheber dieses Œuvres als 'den sogenannten Salai' zu bezeichnen.<sup>236</sup>

Ein erster Versuch, das Gesamtwerk Salais zu rekonstruieren wurde 1928 von Möller und im darauf folgenden Jahr von Suida unternommen.<sup>237</sup> Laut Suida entbehrten die Zuschreibungen Möllers jedoch jeglichen Beweises.<sup>238</sup> Die erste Zuschreibung ist in Lattuadas *Descrizione di Milano* von 1737 zu finden. Er attribuiert Salai eine *Heilige Familie mit dem kleinen Johannes* im Palazzo Arcivescovile,<sup>239</sup> die sich heute in der Brera befindet und Cesare Magni zugeschrieben wird. 1809 ist von einem Altarbild aus S. Andrea alla Pusterla, welches sich heute ebenfalls in der Brera befindet, die Rede.<sup>240</sup> Suida schreibt ihm eine Gruppe von Johannes-Darstellungen zu, die er nach Leonardo kopiert und ihnen dann eine Landschaft beigelegt habe. Er bezieht sich auf die Gemälde, die sich zu seiner Zeit in der Mailänder Pinacoteca Ambrosiana (Abb. 14) und in der Ho[l–M. S. Marotzki]me Pierrepont bei Reverend W. F. Saward in Nottingham (dieses sei eine Kopie nach dem Bacchus im Louvre) befinden.<sup>241</sup>

Die Mailänder Version Salais gibt den Johannes Leonardos fast originalgetreu wieder, er ersetzt jedoch den dunklen Hintergrund durch eine Alpenvorland-

<sup>234</sup> Shell, "Caprotti," 398, 402 (siehe Anm. 14).

<sup>235</sup> Neben den in Anm. 18 aufgeführten Gemälden handelt es sich um "Quadro cum uno Santo Hieronimo grando, numero 1. . . scuti 40; libre 202 [ . . . ] Quadro cum una meza nuda, numero 1. . . scuti 25, libre 126 [ . . . ] Quadro cum uno Santo Hieronymo mezo nudo, numero 1. . . scuti 25; libre 126 [ . . . ] Quadro cum uno Santo Johanne pizinino zoveno, numero 1. . . scuti 25; libre 126 [ . . . ] Uno Cristo in modo de uno Dio Padre. . . scuti 25; libre 126 [ . . . ] Madona cum uno filiolo in brazo. . . scuti 20; libre 101 [ . . . ] Uno Cristo ala colona [unlesbares Wort] non fornido. . . scuti 5; libre 25 [ . . . ]" Shell und Sironi, "Salai and Leonardo's Legacy," 106 (siehe Anm. 14); Shell und Sironi, "Salai and the Inventory of His Estate," 143–44 (siehe Anm. 14); Shell, "Caprotti," 402 (siehe Anm. 14).

<sup>236</sup> Suida, *Leonardo*, 230 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>237</sup> Möller, "Salai" (siehe Anm. 2); Suida, *Leonardo*, 229–30 (siehe Anm. 13); vgl. Werkverzeichnis: *ibid.*, 306.

<sup>238</sup> *Ibid.*, 230. Zur Historie der Salai-Zuschreibungen Shell, "Caprotti," 397 (siehe Anm. 14).

<sup>239</sup> Serviliano Lattuada, *Descrizione di Milano ornata con multi disegni in rame delle fabbriche più cospicue, que si trovano in quella Metropoli*, 2 (Mailand: Cairoli, 1737), 75.

<sup>240</sup> Dazu detailliert Suida, *Leonardo*, 229 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>241</sup> *Ibid.* und 306.

schaft, die sich ähnlich auch in der Darstellung von Leonardos *Anna Selbdritt* im Louvre findet.<sup>242</sup> Dazu zählen außerdem die Darstellungen, die sich in der Sammlung W. G. Walters<sup>243</sup> und bei Mr. Hewetson in London befinden.<sup>244</sup> Ebenso rechnet Suida den *Bacchus* (Abb. 15) im Louvre zu Salais Œuvre, allerdings lediglich die Figur, an der Landschaft sei er nicht beteiligt gewesen.<sup>245</sup> Shell und anderen folgend kann der *Bacchus* jedoch nicht Salai zugeschrieben werden, er sei größtenteils von Leonardo selbst.<sup>246</sup> Außerdem führt Suida ein Brustbild Christi *en face* (1511 datiert, Galerie des Grafen Czernin, Wien—nach Suida sein selbstständigstes Werk)<sup>247</sup> und zwei Kopien von Leonardos *Heiliger Anna Selbdritt* auf.<sup>248</sup> Ein Gemälde gehörte Carlo Borromeo und ging dann über das Ospedale Maggiore in den Besitz der Sakristei der Kirche San Celso in Mailand über. Heute befindet es sich im Armand Hammer Museum der Universität von Californien in Los Angeles und ist Teil der Willitts J. Hole Collection.<sup>249</sup> Ohne Frage kopierte Salai hier das Original Leonardos. Lediglich in der Gestaltung des Landschaftshintergrundes weicht er vom Original ab. Eine Kopie des Gemäldes, dessen landschaftlicher Hintergrund erneut variiert, befindet sich in der Galleria degli Uffizi in Florenz.<sup>250</sup> Außerdem scheint es noch eine weitere Kopie, ehemals in der Sammlung des Earl of Yarborough, zu geben.<sup>251</sup>

Des Weiteren sollen ein Facekopf in Rötel in der Ambrosiana<sup>252</sup> und die Bildnisse der sogenannten *Gioconda nuda* oder *Monna Vanna* aus Salais Hand stammen. Diese Gruppe an Gemälden zeigt eine Frau mit entblößtem Oberkörper, deren Porträt und Pose an Leonardos *Mona Lisa* erinnern. Es ist sicher, dass keine dieser Darstellungen von Leonardo selbst stammt, Arasse geht jedoch davon aus, dass es sich um eine seiner Komposition handle. Sie stelle wahrscheinlich eine Geliebte Giuliano de' Medicis dar und sei 1513–1515 in Rom begonnen, aber nie vollendet worden. Das unfertige Gemälde sei dann mit nach Frankreich gekommen.<sup>253</sup> Als beste Version gilt das Gemälde in der Eremitage (Abb. 8). Es zeigt ebenso wie die

<sup>242</sup> Vgl. Shell, "Caprotti," 404 (siehe Anm. 14).

<sup>243</sup> Nach Suida eine "freie Kopie nach Leonardos Engel"; Suida, *Leonardo*, 306 (siehe Anm. 13); Abb. in: Heinrich Bodmer, *Leonardo: des Meisters Gemälde und Zeichnungen* (Stuttgart und Berlin: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1931), 60.

<sup>244</sup> Suida, *Leonardo*, 229 (siehe Anm. 13); Abb. in Bodmer, *Leonardo*, 57 (siehe Anm. 243).

<sup>245</sup> Suida, *Leonardo*, 230 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>246</sup> Vgl. z.B. Shell, "Caprotti," 404 (siehe Anm. 14).

<sup>247</sup> Abb. in Suida, *Leonardo*, Abb. 249 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>248</sup> Ibid., 229–30.

<sup>249</sup> Bezugnehmend auf einen Brief des Padre Sebastiano Resta schrieb Francesco Antonio Albuzzi dieses Werk Salai zu; vgl. Albuzzi, *Memorie*, 32 (siehe Anm. 13); Shell, "Caprotti," 402 (siehe Anm. 14). Abb. s. z.B. in ibid., Abb. 286.

<sup>250</sup> Abb. z.B. in ibid., Abb. 287.

<sup>251</sup> Siehe ibid., 404. Abb. z.B. in Goldblatt, *Leonardo*, 111 (siehe Anm. 14).

<sup>252</sup> Suida, *Leonardo*, 230 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>253</sup> Vgl. Arasse, *Leonardo*, 465 (siehe Anm. 121).

*Mona Lisa* eine Loggia, zitiert den Sessel und den Blick auf die Berge. Das Gesicht und das Haar ist allerdings eher mit dem der Leda vergleichbar. Weiterhin befindet sich das Motiv auf einem Karton in Chantilly. Dieser ist perforiert, wahrscheinlich für eine Übertragung.<sup>254</sup>

Eine Version dieses Themas, das sich heute in der Accademia Carrara in Bergamo befindet, wurde zunächst Leonardo zugeschrieben und 1664 als "mulier creditur meretrix (Weib, wahrscheinlich ein Freudenmädchen)"<sup>255</sup> katalogisiert.<sup>256</sup> In dieser ist die Dargestellte von Blumen umgeben. Auch wenn sie eine andere Pose einnimmt, bezeichnet sie McMullen interessanterweise als 'Cousine' der *Flora Melzis*.<sup>257</sup> Die Kopie der Leda Leonardos, die bereits als Vorschlag für Melzis Œuvre genannt wurde, zieht Suida als Werk Salais in Betracht.<sup>258</sup> Shell folgend kann es jedoch nicht mit ihm in Verbindung gebracht werden. Eine "Ledda" wird zwar in seinem Inventar aufgeführt, die Qualität sei aber zu hochwertig.<sup>259</sup> Außerdem wird eine weitere Darstellung Marias mit dem Kinde und dem Johannesknaben, heute im Szépművészeti Múzeum in Budapest, und eine weitere Maria mit dem Kinde und den Heiligen Petrus und Paulus sowie eine Darstellung der Maria mit dem Kind mit Paulus und Johannes dem Täufer, beide in der Pinacoteca Brera, erwähnt.<sup>260</sup> Die Darstellung mit Petrus und Paulus schreibt Shell Salai zu, das zweite Werk hingegen einem anonymen Künstler der ersten Dekade des Cinquecento.<sup>261</sup>

Salais mangelndes Gespür für Kompositionen zeigt sich in seinen Landschaften, mit denen er die *Anna Selbdritt*-Kopien und seinem *Täufer* hinterlegte. Die Balance zwischen Figurengruppe und Hintergrund, die Leonardo erreicht hatte, zerstört er durch die in den Mittelgrund eingefügten Bäume. Seine Farben sind schriller und es gelingt ihm nicht, Leonardos *sfumato* zu imitieren.<sup>262</sup> Gleichwohl – und der schwierigen Zuschreibungssituation zum Trotz – wird Salai als einer der wichtigsten Schüler Leonardos eingeschätzt. Er gilt als einer der Hauptverbreiter

<sup>254</sup> McMullen, *Mona Lisa*, 66–67 (siehe Anm. 7). Abb. z.B. in Suida, *Leonardo*, Abb. 144 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>255</sup> Paolo Maria Terzago, *Museum Septalianum: Manfredi Septalæ Patritii Mediolanensis Indvstrioso Labore Constrvctvm; Pavli Mariæ Terzagi Mediolanensis Physici Collegiati Geniali Laconismo Descriptvm; Politionis Literatvræ Professoribvs Ervdita Hvmanitate Adapertvm; Cum Logocentronibus, siuè Centonibus eiusdem Terzagi de natura Crystalli, Coralij, Testaceorum Montanorum, & Lapidificatorum, Achatis, Succini, Ambari, & Magnetis (Tortona: Viola, 1664), Nr. 33; dt. – M. S. Marotzki.*

<sup>256</sup> Abb. siehe z.B. in McMullen, *Mona Lisa*, Abb. 97.

<sup>257</sup> Ibid., 156. Weitere Varianten des Themas bei Bodmer, *Leonardo*, 85–87 (siehe Anm. 243).

<sup>258</sup> Suida, *Leonardo*, 229–30 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>259</sup> Shell, "Caprotti," 404 (siehe Anm. 14).

<sup>260</sup> Marani, *Leonardo e i leonardeschi a Brera*, 160–65, 225–27; Shell, "Caprotti," 404 (siehe Anm. 14). Abb. z.B. in *ibid.*, Abb. 289 und 290.

<sup>261</sup> Ibid., 404.

<sup>262</sup> Vgl. *ibid.*

des leonardesken Stils und der Kompositionen in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts. Während andere Maler jedoch vom Meister lernten und einen eigenen Stil und Kompositionen entwickelten, blieb Salai getreuer Replikator der Vorlagen des Meisters und – nach des Schülers Empfinden – ausführende Kraft der Ideen des Meisters. Er mag also als einflussreicher Kopist und Interpret gelten.<sup>263</sup>

Bereits im Cinquecento schien die Art des Verhältnisses Leonardos und Salais Anlass zu Spekulationen gegeben zu haben. So ist auffällig, dass Vasaris Beschreibung des Jungen sich zunächst – wie bei Melzi – auf das ästhetische Äußere bezieht. Auch der Ausdruck *prendere per suo creato* als Umschreibung für ‘zu seinem Schüler nehmen’ ist ungewöhnlich, bedeutet *creato* doch eigentlich ‘Schöpfung.’ Leonardo selber bezeichnete Salai als *discepolo*, auch Zeitgenossen wählten Vokabeln wie *discepolo* oder *alevo* (Novellara).<sup>264</sup> Vasari selber setzt ebenfalls zur Bezeichnung von Boltraffio und d’Oggione das Wort *discepolo* ein. Es wäre also durchaus möglich, dass Vasari mit Bedacht einen anderen Ausdruck zur Beschreibung des Verhältnisses Leonardo-Salai wählte. Der Schüler wird vom Meister geformt, insofern ist er gewissermaßen seine Schöpfung. Der Ausdruck *creato* ist jedoch nicht der Beschreibung dieser Beziehung vorbehalten. Er ist relativ geläufig bei Vasari und bezeichnet die betreffende Person als ‘sein Geschöpf.’ Mit diesem Ausdruck scheint ein Lehrer-Schüler-Verhältnis bezeichnet zu werden, bei dem der Schüler alles seinem Lehrer verdanke, also in allen Aspekten lediglich sein Geschöpf darstelle. Der *discepolo* hingegen sei eigenständiger, er lerne vom Meister, sei jedoch also nicht in jeglicher Hinsicht lediglich ‘seine Schöpfung.’<sup>265</sup> So kann der Unterschied zwischen den beiden Termini wohl in der Eigenständigkeit des Schülers ausgemacht werden. Diese Deutung bestätigt der Gebrauch des Ausdrucks durch den Schreiber des Kardinals Luigi von Aragon. Er benutzt den Terminus – allerdings in Bezug auf Melzi – in einem Zusammenhang, in dem es ihm darum geht, den Künstler Melzi als ‘Produkt’ Leonardos zu beschreiben (er malt unter Anleitung des Meisters, seine Arbeit ist nicht von der Leonardos unterscheidbar usw.).

Im Fall Salais trifft die von Vasari gewählte Vokabel somit zwei Aussagen: zum einen spezifiziert sie die Art von Salais Schülerschaft. Sie bringt zum Ausdruck, dass Salai in künstlerischer Hinsicht so gut wie keine Eigenständigkeit erlangte, sondern seine in diesem Bereich erzielten Erfolge lediglich auf die Vermittlung und den guten Ruf seines Meisters zurückzuführen seien. Zum anderen eröffnet der Terminus jedoch auch die Beziehungsdimension. Die Semantik des Begriffs verweist auf ein passives, geformtes mehr Objekt denn Subjekt. Analog zum ‘molto amato da Leonardo’ in Bezug auf Melzi schreibt der Begriff der Beziehung

<sup>263</sup> Ibid., 406.

<sup>264</sup> Ausführlich dazu S. 568–69.

<sup>265</sup> Für diese Hinweise danke ich Ulrich Pfisterer und Matteo Burioni, Email vom 09. November 2009.



gleichzeitig eine bestimmte Interpretation ein. Vasari expliziert diese aber nicht weiter, während hingegen Lomazzo in einer Schrift aus den frühen 1560er Jahren recht deutliche Worte findet und sie als 'homosexuell' darstellt. In einem wenig bekannten Dialog lässt er den antiken Bildhauer Phidias mit Leonardo über männliche Liebe plaudern. Nach der Erwähnung Salais, über den Lomazzo Leonardo sagen lässt, dass er ihn mehr als alle anderen Schüler liebe, fragt Phidias:

*Fid.* Gli facesti forse il gioco, che tanto ameno i fiorentini, di dretto?

*Leo.* E quante volte! Considera che egli era uno bellissimo giovane, es massime ne' quindici anni.

*Fid.* Non hai vergogna a dir questo?

*Leo.* Come vergogna? Non è cosa di maggior lode, appresso a virtuosi, di questo: e che egli si sia vero te lo dimostrerò con bonissime ragioni.

[PHIDIAS: Hast Du mit ihm jemals das 'Hinterspiel' gespielt, das die Florentiner so sehr lieben?

LEONARDO: Viele Male. Du musst wissen, dass er ein sehr schöner Jüngling war, vor allem im Alter von fünfzehn Jahren.

PHIDIAS: Und schämst Du Dich nicht, das zu sagen?

LEONARDO: Nein. Warum sollte ich mich dafür schämen? Unter verdienstvollen Männern gibt es keinen besseren Grund, stolz zu sein . . . ]<sup>266</sup>

Anschließend lässt Lomazzo Leonardo ein Loblied auf die mann-männliche Liebe singen, in dem er diese nicht nur konzeptionell rechtfertigt, sondern sogar über die heterosexuelle stellt. Auch wenn Lomazzos Darstellung von Leonardos Liebesleben sicher mit Vorsicht zu genießen ist, so gibt sie doch wieder, wie die Zeitgenossen die Beziehung zu Salai rezipierten. Offenbar mutmaßten diese eine gleichgeschlechtliche Beziehung. Zudem verrät die Schilderung Lomazzos, dass Leonardo wohl als eloquenter Redner zu diesem Thema galt.<sup>267</sup> Es muss zumindest in der Lombardei eine Tradition gegeben haben, sich für die speziellen erotischen Neigungen Leonardos zu interessieren. Dieses könnte auf die Sodomie-Anklage aus dem Jahre 1476 zurückgeführt werden, andererseits lag diese auch schon lange zurück, so dass eher davon ausgegangen werden kann, dass dieses Interesse gerade auch im Zusammenhang mit Salai durch stetiges Gerede geschürt wurde.<sup>268</sup>

Die Züge des Salaityps (oder nach Möller Salais) sind auch auf den Darstellungen von Schülern Leonardos zu finden. Dabei ist auffällig, dass er stets als Modell für entweder den Heiligen Sebastian oder Narziss dient.<sup>269</sup> "Der

<sup>266</sup> Gian Paolo Lomazzo, *Il libro dei Sogni*, British Library, Add. MS 12196, f. 132 verso; zitiert nach it. *Lomazzo: Scritti*, 1 (1973), 104 (siehe Anm. 52); dt. Nicholl, *Leonardo*, 156-57 (siehe Anm. 105). Vgl. auch Carlo Pedretti, "The Angel in the Flesh," *Achademia Leonardi Vinci* 4 (1991): 34-48; hier 36.

<sup>267</sup> Vgl. Arasse, *Leonardo*, 469-70 (siehe Anm. 121).

<sup>268</sup> Vgl. *Lomazzo*, 104 (siehe Anm. 52).

<sup>269</sup> Beispiele hierfür sind der *Sankt Sebastian* des Pseudo-Boltraffio in der Sammlung Scaglioni-Frizzoni; Möller, "Salai," Abb. 210 (siehe Anm. 2). Das Profil wurde angeblich nach der Rötzelzeichnung von Boltraffio im Louvre, Nr. 2251 angefertigt; vgl. *ibid.*, 149, Abb. 208. Francesco

Narzissus ist übrigens eine sehr passende Rolle für den eitlen, hübschen Jungen,“ urteilt Möller.<sup>270</sup> Dieses Thema lässt nicht nur – zum wiederholten Mal – an Freuds Deutung von Leonardos Kindheitserinnerung und die Rolle, die er darin dem Narzissmus bei der Auswahl der Liebesobjekte zuspricht, denken, sondern die Themen des Sebastian und des Narziss wurden in der Renaissance mit Homoerotik und mann-männlicher Liebe in Zusammenhang gebracht.<sup>271</sup> So ergibt die Betrachtung der Darstellungen Vasaris, Lomazzos und in visueller Form der Schüler Leonardos ein eindeutiges Bild bezüglich der zeitgenössischen Rezeption des Verhältnisses Leonardo-Salai. Offenbar wurde von einer gleichgeschlechtlichen Beziehung ausgegangen, die für Leonardo auf Grund von Salais hübschem Äußeren interessant war.

Auch wenn Vasari bezüglich der Beziehung Leonardo-Melzi vielleicht nicht ganz den Verdacht, dass Homoerotik für Leonardo auch hier eine Rolle spielte, aufgibt, zeichnet er durch seine Schilderung ein differenziertes Bild des Verhältnisses. Er beschreibt, wie Melzi des Meisters gedachte und dokumentiert dadurch, dass die Zuneigung offenbar beidseitig war und auch, dass der Grund hierfür bei Melzi wohl in der Bewunderung für Leonardos künstlerische und intellektuelle Fähigkeiten lag. Diese Einschätzung der Motivation und Qualität der Beziehung zu Leonardo aus Melzis Sicht, kann bestätigt werden. Er folgte ihm treu bis zu seinem Tod – allerdings erst nachdem Leonardo längere Zeit in Vaprio d’Adda weilte und er ihn somit wohl besser kennen gelernt hatte. Er verheiratete sich erst nach dem Tod Leonardos. Aus seinem Brief, in dem er die Brüder des Meisters über dessen Tod informiert, spricht tiefe Zuneigung. Das Werk Melzis zeigt zwar Anleihen an Leonardo, er ist aber gut in der Lage, selbstständig Themen zu wählen und Kompositionen zu entwerfen. Er ging künstlerisch also durchaus eigenständige Wege und emanzipierte sich von Leonardo, was sich nicht zuletzt in seinem späten Gemälde des jungen Mannes mit dem Papagei zeigt. Auch wählte er humanistisch-klassische Ikonographien und signierte in Griechisch und Lateinisch. Er folgte Leonardo also in seiner Auffassung der sozialen Emanzipation des Künstlers von der Rolle des ausführenden Handwerkers.

Sollte sich eine Zuschreibung der Porträtzeichnung Leonardos aus Windsor an Melzi bestätigen, kann dieser entnommen werden, dass der Schüler ihm das Aussehen eines hübschen, intellektuell durchgegeistigten Mannes verlieh. So scheint denn auch überhaupt das Intellektuelle das Bindeglied in dem Verhältnis Melzis

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Napolitanos *Madonna mit Heiligen* im Kunsthau Zürich (Heiliger Sebastian mit den Zügen des Salai); *Legacy*, Abb. 200 (siehe Anm. 13); Pseudo-Boltraffios *Narziss im Frühling* in den Uffizien in Florenz; *ibid.*, Abb. 25 und sein *Narziss im Frühling* von um 1493 in der National Gallery in London; *ibid.*, Abb. 24.

<sup>270</sup> Möller, „Salai,“ 149 (siehe Anm. 2).

<sup>271</sup> Zur homoerotischen Bedeutung des Heiligen Sebastian siehe z.B. Saslow, *Pictures*, 99 (siehe Anm. 92). Zu Narziss: *L’amour bleu: die homosexuelle Liebe in Kunst und Literatur des Abendlandes*, Hrsg. Cécile Beurdeley (Köln: DuMont, 1977), 50.

zu Leonardo zu sein, da seine Selbstwahrnehmung—wie seine Werke, seine Signatur und sein Selbstporträt zeigen—die eines klassisch-humanistisch, gebildeten Mannes ist. So verwundert es denn auch nicht mehr, dass er nach Leonardos Tod nicht mehr künstlerisch tätig gewesen zu sein scheint, sondern sich dem schriftlichen Nachlass zuwendete, den er denn auch stellvertretend für den toten Meister wie einen Schatz hütete. Auch die Vermutung, dass es sich bei dem Porträt, welches Vasari in Vaprio d'Adda zur 'Vergegenwärtigung' des toten Leonardo sah, um die Zeichnung Melzis handeln könnte vermag durch diese Ergebnisse gestützt werden. So ist es denn nicht unwahrscheinlich, dass er ein Porträt aus eigener Hand wählte, welches die aus seiner Sicht herausragende Eigenschaft des Meisters, seinen Intellekt, wiedergibt.

Vielleicht ist die Benennung als 'Vater,' die sich im Brief an die Brüder findet, in diesem Sinne als 'geistiger Vater' respektive Vorbild und Mentor und nicht als Vater-Sohn-Verhältnis zu lesen. Sein praktiziertes Gedenken, den Verstorbenen durch Porträt und Werk zu vergegenwärtigen nimmt fast hagiographische Züge an; ein Grundstein für den Geniekult späterer Jahrhunderte um Leonardo wird sicher auch an dieser Stelle gelegt. Wenn Vasari so auch Melzis Motivation der Beziehung zu Leonardo weit gehend richtig wiedergibt, so muss ihm doch in diesem Fall, was die vorsichtig vorgetragenen Vermutungen homoerotischer Beweggründe angeht, widersprochen werden. Auch wenn Leonardo eine hübsche, männliche Erscheinung sicher nicht unangenehm war, gibt es keinen Anlass, im Falle Melzis von einer homoerotischen Motivation für dieses Verhältnis auszugehen.

Bei der Deutung der Beziehung Leonardo-Salà als von homoerotischem Verlangen bestimmte könnten die Zeitgenossen allerdings nicht ganz falsch liegen. Salà blieb etwa 30 Jahre bei Leonardo und heiratet erst danach. Im Gegensatz zu Melzi hat er mit wohl über 40 das typische Heiratsalter schon fast überschritten.<sup>272</sup> Zudem ist belegt, dass er sich Gewinn bringend verheiraten konnte, die Braut brachte eine beträchtliche Mitgift ein.<sup>273</sup> Er blieb weiter als Maler tätig und hielt auch Kontakt mit anderen Mitgliedern aus Leonardos Werkstatt. Allerdings konnte er sich, wie die Analyse des Œuvres gezeigt hat, künstlerisch offenbar nicht von Leonardo emanzipieren und blieb eine Art Kopist. Sein Unvermögen wird besonders an den Stellen, an denen er Leonardos Kompositionen variierte, offenbar. Mit den *Anna-Selbdritt*- und *Johannes*-Darstellungen und der *Monna Vanna* imitiert er 'erfolgreiche' Themen des Meisters, die er wohl gut verkaufen konnte. Besonders die letztgenannten Darstellungen sind erotisch aufgeladen, verraten aber kein homoerotisches Interesse Salais an Leonardo. Sie weisen eher auf das typische Verhalten eines homoerotischen Objektes, eines *cinaedus*.<sup>274</sup>

<sup>272</sup> Z.B. Rocke, *Forbidden Friendships*, 14; 246 (siehe Anm. 5).

<sup>273</sup> Shell, "Caprotti," 399 (siehe Anm. 14).

<sup>274</sup> *Cinaedus* (*cinedus*) ist eine seit der Antike bekannte Bezeichnung für den passiven, rezipierenden

Eine genauere Betrachtung des Androgynen bei Leonardo verspricht eine differenzierte Perspektive auf ein solches Verhältnis.<sup>275</sup> Im Œuvre Leonardos stellt sein *Johannes*<sup>276</sup> quasi das 'Paradebeispiel' dieses Topos' dar. Über das Gemälde wurde lange gemutmaß, dass es sich um sein letztes handelte. So wurde es auf etwa 1513–1516 datiert, heute wird jedoch eher davon ausgegangen, dass es um 1509 entstanden ist.<sup>277</sup> Ebenso sind in der Forschung Vermutungen zu finden, dass Leonardo es auf Grund seines Schlaganfalls nicht mehr selbst fertigte, sondern seine Urheberschaft lediglich konzeptioneller Natur und die ausführende Kraft Francesco Melzi gewesen sei. Diesen habe er bei der Ausführung jedoch angeleitet.<sup>278</sup>

Des Weiteren existieren diverse Varianten oder Kopien dieses Motivs, in denen jedoch teilweise eine Transformation der Ikonographie (Bacchus, Verkündigungseengel) zu verzeichnen ist und in deren Zusammenhang immer wieder Zuschreibungen auch an Salaì zu finden sind.<sup>279</sup> Zudem wird oft die physiognomische Ähnlichkeit zwischen dem *Täufer* und der *Mona Lisa* angemerkt sowie die ausgesprochene Androgynität der Figuren betont. In diesem Zusammenhang wird wiederum die Frage aufgeworfen, in wieweit die dargestellten Züge mit denen des Salaì korrespondieren, zumal sich offenbar sowohl die *Mona Lisa*, wie auch *Johannes der Täufer*<sup>280</sup> nach Leonardos Tod in seinem Besitz befanden. Auch variierte der Maler offenbar nicht nur das Motiv des *Täufers*, sondern auch das der *Mona Lisa* in erotische Porträts, eine Gruppe an Darstellungen, die unter der Bezeichnung *Monna Vanna* kursieren.

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Part in einer mann-männlichen Sexualbeziehung. Für die italienische Renaissance ist der Begriff zum Beispiel durch seine Verwendung in Panormitas (Antonio Beccadelli) *Hermaphroditus* (1425) belegt; vgl. dazu Bernd-Ulrich Hergemöller, „Zum gleichgeschlechtlichen Verhalten im späten Mittelalter,“ *Männerliebe im alten Deutschland: Sozialgeschichtliche Abhandlungen*, Hrsg. Rüdiger Lautmann und Angela Taeger, Sozialwissenschaftliche Studien zur Homosexualität, 5 (Berlin: Verlag rosa Winkel, 1992), 9–38; hier 22.

<sup>275</sup> Zum Topos des Androgynen bei Leonardo: Luciano Bottoni, *Leonardo e l'Androgino: l'eros transessuale nella cultura, nella pittura e nel teatro del rinascimento* (Mailand: FrancoAngeli 2002).

<sup>276</sup> Eine Listung der Literatur zu diesem Werk ist z.B. bei Zöllner, *Leonardo*, 248 (siehe Anm. 6) zu finden.

<sup>277</sup> Zur Datierungshistorie vgl. *ibid.*

<sup>278</sup> Marani, „Melzi,“ 378 (siehe Anm. 13); dazu auch Clark und Pedretti, *Drawings*, 27–28 (siehe Anm. 13). In der zweiten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts zeichnet sich zunehmend die Tendenz ab, das Werk als vollständig aus Leonardos Hand stammendes zu akzeptieren, s. z.B. Angela Ottino della Chiesa, *Leonardo da Vinci* (Mailand: Rizzoli, 1967); Martin Kemp, *Leonardo da Vinci: The Marvellous Works of Nature and Man* (London: Dent, 1981); Pietro C. Marani, *Leonardo: Catalogo completo dei dipinti* (Florenz: Cantini, 1989); ders., *Una carriera di pittore* (Mailand: Federico Motta, 1999); Arasse, *Leonardo*, 461 (siehe Anm. 121).

<sup>279</sup> Beispiele vgl. S. 596–97.

<sup>280</sup> Entweder kam das Gemälde mit Salaì nach Mailand zurück (Shell und Sironi, „Salaì and Leonardo's Legacy“ [siehe Anm. 14]) oder wurde bereits 1518 an einen Agenten des französischen Königs verkauft (Bertrand Jestaz, „François Ier, Salaì et les tableaux de Léonard,“ *Revue de l'Art* 126 (1999): 68–72).

In der kunsthistorischen Forschung wird davon ausgegangen, dass die Ikonographie für die späte *Johannes*-Darstellung Leonardos sich aus dem Motiv eines Verkündigungsengels entwickelte. Der früheste Entwurf für den Engel ist auf dem Blatt 12328 recto der Royal Library mit Studien für die Anghiarischlacht zu finden (Abb. 16). Aus diesem Grund wird es auf die Zeit um 1503–1506 datiert.<sup>281</sup> Auf diesem findet sich die Skizze (wahrscheinlich eines Schülers, der jedoch nach einer Zeichnung Leonardos, nicht nach dem fertigen Gemälde arbeitete<sup>282</sup>) eines Verkündigungsengels, der bereits dieselbe Pose—ein Arm ist angewinkelt und weist nach oben, den anderen legt er an die Brust—wie der *Täufer* einnimmt. Clark und Pedretti vermuten, dass es sich um die Skizze für das Gemälde des Engels handle, von dem Vasari in seiner *Vita di Leonardo* berichtet, es habe sich im Kabinett von Cosimo de' Medici befunden.<sup>283</sup> Das Original Leonardos ging verloren, es existieren jedoch drei Schülerkopien in Basel, in der Eremitage in St. Petersburg und im Ashmolean Museum in Oxford.<sup>284</sup> Die Baseler Variante gilt als die Beste und wurde zunächst für das Original Leonardos gehalten (Abb. 3).<sup>285</sup> Die Figur nimmt exakt die Pose des Engels der Windsorskizze ein. Sie hat jedoch keine Flügel und hält in der Rechten den Kreuzstab des Johannes. Auch trägt sie den gleichen gefleckten Fellüberwurf wie Leonardos *Täufer*. Der Schüler hat die Figur vor dem gleichen dunklen Hintergrund wiedergegeben und das Gesicht und die Haare kopiert. Fast wie eine Kopie des Baseler Gemäldes wirkt die bereits erwähnte Darstellung, die sich zu Suidas Zeiten in der Sammlung W. G. Waters in London befand. Dass lediglich ein Umschwenken des linken Armes zur rechten Seite nötig ist um die Pose des *Johannes* zu erreichen, zeigt der Vergleich mit der Darstellung aus der Sammlung H. Bendelack Hewetson, ebenfalls in London.

Eine kleine Zeichnung auf blauem Papier, erst 1991 wieder entdeckt—sie wurde erstmals in New York auf dem Kongress "Renaissance and Antiquity: Vision and Revision: A Psychoanalytical Perspective" ausgestellt, zuvor befand sie sich 'unentdeckt' in der Privatsammlung einer deutschen Adelsfamilie<sup>286</sup>—, stellt einen

<sup>281</sup> Zur Datierung siehe u.a. Zöllner, *Leonardo*, 248 (siehe Anm. 6); Domenico Laurenza, "Leonardo nella Roma di Leone X: Gli studi anatomici, la vita, l'arte," *Lettura Vinciana* 53 (2004), 33–34; dort ist weitere Literatur angegeben.

<sup>282</sup> Vgl. Clark und Pedretti, *Drawings*, 27 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>283</sup> Ibid. Vasari/ Milanese, 4, 26 (siehe Anm. 13); Vasari/ Kliemann, 3,1, 15 (siehe Anm. 13): "testa d'uno angelo, che alza un braccio in aria, che scorta dalla spalla al gomito venendo innanzi (Brustbild eines Engels, mit erhobenem Arm, der von der Schulter zum Daumen verkürzt gezeichnet ist, so daß er ihn nach vorne streckt)"; dazu auch Ottino della Chiesa, *Leonardo*, 110 (siehe Anm. 274).

<sup>284</sup> Vgl. Marani, *Leonardo: Catalogo completo dei dipinti*, 145–47.

<sup>285</sup> Vgl. Clark und Pedretti, *Drawings*, 27 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>286</sup> Einer These des britischen Kunstkritikers Brian Sewell folgend befand sich die Zeichnung bis zum 19. Jahrhundert in der Windsor Sammlung. Aus dieser sei sie dann gestohlen worden. Er berichtet von der Anekdote, dass es in Windsor früher eine Sammlung mit pornographischen Zeichnungen

weiteren Zwischenschritt auf Leonardos Weg von dem Motiv des Verkündigungsengels zu Johannes dem Täufer dar.<sup>287</sup> Die mit der Bezeichnung *angelo incarnato* belegte Figur nimmt die Pose des Verkündigungsengels ein, hat aber ebenfalls keine Flügel mehr. Sie zeigt bereits das Gesicht aus dem Louvre-Gemälde. Im Vergleich z.B. mit dem *Verkündigungseengel* aus Basel sind die Rundung der Brust und die Brustwarze deutlich als weibliche Merkmale erkennbar. Mit der linken Hand hält die Figur einen durchsichtigen Schleier, unter dem deutlich ein erigierter Penis zu erkennen ist.<sup>288</sup> Die Zeichnung wird auf etwa 1513–1515 datiert. Wie viel des *angelo incarnato* in Johannes dem Täufer zu finden sein mag, ist schwer zu sagen. Die Figur wird lediglich bis zur Hüfte dargestellt und der durchsichtige Schleier durch das gefleckte Fell ersetzt. Der weisende Arm wandert vor die Brust, so dass ihre männliche oder weibliche Gestaltung nicht mehr erkennbar ist. Der androgyne Charakter wird dadurch reduziert, ist aber immer noch erkennbar. Die Ambivalenz der Figur ist infolgedessen zwar immer noch deutlich spürbar, aber schwerer zu fassen. Für die prägnante Darstellung der Erektion lägen nach Arasse private Gründe vor, so zeuge die Zeichnung „von intimen Gedanken Leonardos.“<sup>289</sup>

Die Figur vereint beide Geschlechter. Arasse interpretiert dieses Phänomen als Ausdruck von Leonardos Verlangen, beide Geschlechter annehmen bzw. in sich vereinen zu können. So lässt Lomazzo in seinem *Libro del Sogni* im ersten *Ragionamento* Leonardo eine Fabel erzählen. Er sei von einer gewissen Drusilla abgewiesen worden, habe daraufhin Mailand verlassen und sich im Wald verirrt. Hier habe er von Früchten gegessen und daraufhin mehrmals das Geschlecht gewechselt, wobei er sich als Frau Drusilla als Mann gewünscht habe. Dieser Passus Lomazzos zeugt davon, dass Leonardos Sexualität nicht nur Anlass zu Gerede gab und er in dem Ruf stand, ein eloquenter Knabenliebhaber zu sein, sondern auch, dass ihm der Wunsch nach einer Art androgyner Bisexualität unterstellt wurde. Nach Arasse spiegele sich dieses Verlangen in Leonardos Fähigkeit, „der (heterosexuellen) Erotik des weiblichen Körpers in der Malerei

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Leonardos gegeben habe. Diese habe sich einst ein bedeutender deutscher Gelehrter ansehen wollen und erst einige Zeit später sei bemerkt worden, dass die Zeichnungen verschwunden waren. Hierüber sei man jedoch auf Grund ihrer ‚delikaten‘ Darstellungen eher erleichtert gewesen. Sewell unterstellt Clark und Anthony Blunt, dass sie in ihren Studien über die Sammlung die Zeichnungen bewusst nicht erwähnten; vgl. Brian Sewell, *Sunday Telegraph*, 5. April 1992.

<sup>287</sup> Dazu Pedretti, „Angel“ (siehe Anm. 245); André Green, „Angel or Demon?“ (1996); *Leonardo in Casentino: l'“angelo incarnato” tra archeologia e leggenda*, Hrsg. Carlo Pedretti (Florenz: Grantour, 2001), 91–94; Arasse, *Leonardo*, 467–70 (siehe Anm. 121).

<sup>288</sup> Die Verfärbung über diesem resultiert nicht etwa daraus, dass er im Nachhinein hinzugefügt, sondern Gegenteil, dass versucht wurde ihn auszuradieren. So wurde die ursprüngliche Farbe des Papiers unter der blauen Grundierung sichtbar; Pedretti, „Angel,” 39 (siehe Anm. 245).

<sup>289</sup> Arasse, *Leonardo*, 469 (siehe Anm. 121).

Ausdruck zu verleihen," im Übrigen im Gegensatz zu seinem Rivalen Michelangelo, der dieses nicht beherrscht hätte.<sup>290</sup>

Auf der Rückseite der Zeichnung schrieb Leonardo die Worte "astrapen / bronten / ceraunobolian." Diese Umschrift der griechischen Worte für "Blitze / Stürme / Donnerschläge" bezieht sich auf eine bei Plinius dem Älteren zu findende Beschreibung der Fähigkeiten des antiken Malers Apelles, der auch das abbilden konnte, was nicht darstellbar sei.<sup>291</sup> In Leonardos Bücherlisten wird Plinius der Ältere geführt.<sup>292</sup> Leonardo bildete also etwas ab, was sich nicht abbilden lässt, weil es nicht existieren, gewünscht oder gedacht werden soll. Der fleischgewordene Engel zeigt beide Geschlechter. Die Physiognomie des *angelo incarnato* weist wieder Ähnlichkeiten mit dem sog. Salaityp auf. Auch ist nicht nur in der Bedeutung des Spitznamens Salai das Miteinander von Engel und Teufel zu finden, sondern auch in dem Knaben selber, der das Aussehen eines Engels, die schlechten Veranlagungen eines Teufels gehabt haben soll. So konstatiert auch André Green: "There is, perhaps, something satanic behind this angelic beeing."<sup>293</sup> So wäre es ebenfalls denkbar, dass die Blitze, Stürme und Donnerschläge das nicht immer einfache Verhältnis zu dem Knaben beschrieben. Aber diese Vermutung muss an dieser Stelle reine Spekulation bleiben.

Im Kontext dieser Darstellungen ist auch das Gemälde *Der heilige Johannes der Täufer* oder *Bacchus* zu nennen. Es wird um 1515–1520 datiert und befindet sich im Musée National du Louvre in Paris.<sup>294</sup> Die Zuschreibung ist umstritten, einige Forscher schreiben es Leonardo zu, andere Schülern, oft Cesare da Sesto, der es allerdings nach einer Zeichnung Leonardos gefertigt habe.<sup>295</sup> Francesco Melzi wurde in diesem Zusammenhang ebenso als Autor genannt wie Salai. Neuerdings glauben einige Forscher, auch Hinweise auf die Autorschaft Leonardos zu erkennen.<sup>296</sup> Ebenso umstritten ist, ob es eine *Johannesdarstellung*, die im 17.

<sup>290</sup> Ibid., 469–70; hier 470.

<sup>291</sup> "[P]inxit et, quae pingi non possunt, tonitrua, fulgetra fulgura; quae Bronten, Astrapen et Ceraunobolian appellant (Er malte auch das, was außerhalb des Bereichs der Malerei liegt, Bilder wie Donner, Wetterleuchten und Blitze, was <die Griechen> Bronte, Astrape und Keraunobolia heißen)." C. Plinius Secundus d. Ä., *Naturkunde: Buch 35, Farben. Malerei. Plastik* lat.-dt., hrsg. und übersetzt von Roderich König und Gerhart Winkler (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1978) Kap. 36, 74–75.

<sup>292</sup> Z.B. C. A. 210 recto a; *The Literary Works*, 2, Nr. 1469, 366 (siehe Anm. 12).

<sup>293</sup> Green, "Angel," 92 (siehe Anm. 283).

<sup>294</sup> Für eine Bibliographie siehe Zöllner, *Leonardo*, 249 (siehe Anm. 6).

<sup>295</sup> Kenneth Clark, *Leonardo da Vinci in Selbstzeugnissen und Bilddokumenten* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1969), 165. Suida schreibt die Figuren Cesare da Sesto, die Landschaft Bernazzano und den Entwurf Leonardo selbst zu; Suida, *Leonardo*, 218–19 und 274 (siehe Anm. 13).

<sup>296</sup> Jean Rudel, "Bacco e San Giovanni Battista," *Leonardo: la pittura*, hg. Giulio Carlo Argan, Luciano Berti, Giuseppe Marchini et al. (Florenz: Martello-Giunti, 1977), 175–86; Marani, *Leonardo: Catalogo completo dei dipinti*, 119. Eine mögliche Zuschreibung an Leonardo sehen Marani, *Carriera*, 330, 340 (siehe Anm. 274); und Arasse, *Leonardo*, 470–47 — allerdings bestenfalls Mitwirkung Leonardos; 461 — (siehe Anm. 121); zur Zuschreibungsdiskussion siehe Zöllner, *Leonardo*, 248 (siehe Anm. 6).

Jahrhundert mit den Attributen des Bacchus (Pantherfell, Kranz aus Weinlaub, Trauben, Bacchantenstab) versehen wurde, oder Johannes als Bacchus gezeichnet sei,<sup>297</sup> also somit eine Vermischung aus christlicher und heidnisch-paganer Ikonographie markieren könnte. Wird von einer späteren Hinzufügung der Attribute ausgegangen, könnte es sich möglicherweise um den im Inventar Salais beschriebenen großformatigen Johannes handeln.<sup>298</sup>

Eine Variante des Gemäldes von Cesare da Sesto zeigt die vor einer Landschaft sitzende Vollfigur als Johannes.<sup>299</sup> Das Gewand sowie die tiefliegenden Augen erinnern an die Zeichnung des *angelo incarnato*. Um den Kreuzstab ringelt sich eine Schlange und erinnert somit an den Stab des Götterboten Hermes, der heidnischen Parallele zu Johannes.<sup>300</sup> So gehen auch die Vertreter der These, dass die Bacchus-Attribute später hinzugefügt wurden, von einer bacchantischen Anlage des Johannes aus. Arasse formuliert es folgendermaßen: „Wenn man es recht bedenkt, haben die frommen Kritiker des *Johannes* hier erstaunlichen Weitblick bewiesen. Indem sie ihn nachträglich zum Bacchus machten, beförderten sie diejenige Figur wieder ans Tageslicht, deren verborgene Gegenwart das Bild durchwirkte und die Wahrnehmung des Dargestellten als Heiligen störte.“<sup>301</sup> Er geht davon aus, dass die Figur die pagane, dionysische Auffassung am Hof Leo X. wiedergäbe,<sup>302</sup> während noch Rolf Fritz von einer genuin christlichen Deutung ausging.<sup>303</sup> So betrachtet Pedretti den *angelo incarnato* auch als Studie für einen Bacchus.<sup>304</sup> Es wird vermutet, dass ein weiteres (nicht erhaltenes) Bacchus-Gemälde Leonardos existierte, erwähnt doch der Herzog von Ferrara um 1505 einen Bacchus

<sup>297</sup> Das Gemälde wurde 1625 erstmals in der königlichen Sammlung in Fontainebleau dokumentiert. Père Dan (1642) und Le Brun (1683) führten es unter dem Titel *St Jean au désert* (wobei *désert* in diesem Kontext ‚verlassener Ort‘ oder ‚Wildnis‘ bedeutet; s. Pietro C. Marani, *Leonardo: Das Werk des Malers* (München: Schirmer/ Mosel, 2001), Nr. 25; Zöllner, *Leonardo*, 249 [siehe Anm. 6]). Im Katalog von 1695 ist der Titel durchgestrichen und durch *Bacchus dans un Paysage* ersetzt. Erstmals beschreibt Cassiano dal Pozzo das Gemälde (Vatikan, Barberiniano Latino 5688); Zöllner *Leonardo*, 249 (siehe Anm. 6). Für eine Johannesdarstellung, die im Nachhinein mit den Attributen des Bacchus versehen wurde, plädieren z.B. Arasse, *Leonardo*, 471–73 (siehe Anm. 121); Zöllner, *Leonardo*, 249 (siehe Anm. 6).

<sup>298</sup> Shell und Sironi, „Salai and Leonardo’s Legacy,” 104 (siehe Anm. 14).

<sup>299</sup> Vgl. auch Abb.: Ottino della Chiesa, *Leonardo*, 109 (siehe Anm. 274). Ottino della Chiesa benennt zudem weitere Kopien des Bacchus; *ibid.*

<sup>300</sup> So verweist auch Arasse darauf, dass die Parallele Bacchus-Johannes in der Renaissance zwar nicht geläufig war (im Gegensatz zu der Parallelisierung von Bacchus und Christus), ihre Gemeinsamkeit sich jedoch in der Vorläuferschaft Christi beider Figuren findet; Arasse, *Leonardo*, 468 (siehe Anm. 121).

<sup>301</sup> *Ibid.*, 473.

<sup>302</sup> *Ibid.*, 470–71.

<sup>303</sup> Rolf Fritz, „Zur Ikonographie von Leonardos Bacchus-Johannes,” *Museion: Studien aus Kunst und Geschichte für Otto H. Förster*, Hrsg. Heinz Ladendorf und Horst Vey (Köln: DuMont, 1960), 98–101.

<sup>304</sup> Carlo Pedretti, *Leonardo: Il disegno* (Florenz: Giunti, 1996), 33.



Leonardos, der sich im Besitz von Anton Maria Pallavicino befinde und den er gern erworben hätte.<sup>305</sup>

Ein Vorläufer in der Entwicklung von Leonardos Johannesverständnis ist sicher auch die Skizze 12572 der Royal Library (Abb. 17). Diese sei laut Wilhelm R. Valentiner eine Studie für den Johannes den Täufer des Altargemäldes für die Kathedrale in Pistoia.<sup>306</sup> Dieses wird auf 1470–1472 und 1475 datiert und Leonardo und Verrocchio zugeschrieben (heute befindet es sich in der Galleria degli Uffizi in Florenz).<sup>307</sup> Im Gegensatz zur letztendlichen Ausführung des Täufers ist er in Leonardos Gemälde komplett nackt dargestellt. Er wendet sich dem Betrachter fast frontal zu, seine Haltung ist somit vergleichbar mit dem späten Johannes. Sein Kopf neigt sich hingegen zur linken Seite. Wie der späte Johannes hält er in der rechten einen Kreuzstab, während die linke mit dem typischen Fingerzeig nach links weist, allerdings nach unten und nicht nach oben. Schon in dieser Skizze deutet sich die Entwicklung einer Johannesikonographie an, die den gestandenen Wüstenbewohner als zarten und nackten oder wenig bekleideten Jüngling darstellt. Diese frühe Idee findet ihren Höhepunkt dann in dem Bacchus-Johannes-Gemälde (folgt der Interpret der Auffassung, dass die Attribute später hinzugefügt wurden) und stellt somit ein Novum in der Darstellungstradition des Johannes Battista dar.<sup>308</sup> Wie in der Forschung immer wieder konstatiert wurde, entwickelte Leonardo eine neue Johannesikonographie, die von der vorherigen Darstellungsweise und auch von den Schilderungen des Johannes stark abweicht.<sup>309</sup>

<sup>305</sup> Vgl. dazu *Leonardo e il leonardismo a Napoli e Roma*, Hrsg. Alessandro Vezzosi (Florenz: Giunti Barbera, 1983), 146–50; Pietro C. Marani, *Léonard de Vinci: Catalogue complet des peintures* (Paris: Bordas, 1991), 140–41, 145–48; Arasse, *Leonardo*, 461 (siehe Anm. 121).

<sup>306</sup> Valentiner, „Leonardo as Verrocchio's Coworker,” 58 (siehe Anm. 165). Vgl. dazu Clark und Pedretti, *Drawings*, 111 (siehe Anm. 13). Hier ist auch weitere Literatur zu dieser Zeichnung gelistet.

<sup>307</sup> Abb. s. z.B. in Zöllner, *Leonardo*, 215 (siehe Anm. 6).

<sup>308</sup> Arasse, *Leonardo*, 470 (siehe Anm. 121).

<sup>309</sup> Zur Deutung s. v.a. Paul Barolsky. Das Gemälde veranschauliche die ersten Verse des Johannesevangeliums, in denen die Zeugenschaft des göttlichen Lichtes geschildert werde; Paul Barolsky, „The Mysterious Meaning of Leonardo's Saint John the Baptist,” *Source* 8 (1989), 11–15. Elaboriertere Deutungen liegen z.B. von Andreas Kreul und Edoardo Villata vor; Kreul, *Leonardo* (siehe Anm. 90); Edoardo Villata, „Ancora sul San Giovanni Battista di Leonardo,” *Raccolta Vinciana* 28 (1999), 123–58; hier 148–58. Pedretti schlägt unter Berücksichtigung des Verkündigungsengels eine neoplatonische Deutung vor (Carlo Pedretti, *Leonardo: a Study in Chronology and Style* [New York und London: Thames & Hudson, 1973], 167), die Arasse ablehnt. Eine Auseinandersetzung mit dem sokratischen Eros sei bei Leonardo nicht zu finden, Beeinflussungen könnten höchstens aus dem kulturellen und sozialen Kontext stammen, „[z]weifellos verlieh Leonardo in seinen zweideutigen Spätwerken einem intimen Wunsch Ausdruck. In ihnen bietet sich die Liebe zum unsichtbaren, geistigen Schönen in Gestalt verwirrender doppelgeschlechtlicher Schönheit dem Blick dar. Zugleich feierte Leonardo in diesen Werken die Erotik der Kunst und die Macht der Malerei, den Betrachter ‚in Liebe zu entflammen‘.“ Arasse, *Leonardo*, 467, 473 (siehe Anm. 121).

Die nicht eindeutig auf ein Geschlecht festgelegte Figur sowie ihre erotische Konnotation wurden oft als unpassend zur Darstellung des christlichen Gehaltes empfunden und sogar als "eine Art Engel des Bösen" gesehen.<sup>310</sup> Dass dem Thema des Johannes bzw. der Beziehung zwischen Jesus und Johannes ein gewisses erotisches Potential innewohnt, zeigt auch ein Motiv, welches viele Leonardo-Schüler darstellten. Es zeigt entweder im Zusammenhang mit anderen Figuren die Knaben oder auch alleine Jesus und Johannes, die sich auf den Mund küssen.<sup>311</sup> Gemäß Arasse habe Leonardo dieses Motiv ebenfalls dargestellt.<sup>312</sup>

So scheint die Entwicklung einer eigenen und neuen Johannesikonographie Leonardo lange zu begleiten. Von einem nackten Jüngling über einen Engel, der zum *angelo incarnato* wird bis hin zum bacchischen Johannes entwickelt Leonardo einen ganz eigenen Täufertypus. Androgyn, d.h. ohne eindeutiges Geschlecht, bzw. Merkmale auch des anderen Geschlechts tragend, wirkt schon die Figur auf der ersten Zeichnung 12572 der Royal Library. Der *angelo incarnato* stellt einen bemerkenswert expliziten Versuch dar, beide Geschlechter in einer Figur zu vereinen. In dieser Zeichnung kommt auch die 'Salaïform' hinzu und wird mit dem 'gefallenen' (da sexualisierten) Engel assoziiert. Es ist in diesem Beispiel wieder die Faszination des Widerspruchs, für die Leonardo versucht eine Form zu finden. Schon Möller äußerte sich bezüglich der Erörterung der Frage, wie viel Salaï in Johannes stecke:

[E]s ist wohl anzunehmen, daß die Weichlichkeit der Auffassung, um nicht zu sagen die Vermischung der Geschlechter, die sich in diesem Bild unliebsam bemerklich macht, durch die Eigenart jenes Schülers befördert wurde, den Leonardo 26 Jahre um sich hatte.<sup>313</sup>

Möller macht also das seiner Einsicht nach tatsächliche Aussehen des 'Modells' Salaï dafür verantwortlich, dass Leonardo den Johannes androgyn gestaltete. Dabei erkennt er jedoch, dass der Begleiter Leonardos in den Bildern ewig jung bleiben muss, da er sich in der Rolle des *cinaedus* befindet und diese nur bis zu einem Alter von etwa 18 sozio-kulturell akzeptiert wurde.<sup>314</sup> Und dass er vielleicht mehr, als es seiner natürlichen Anlage entsprach, effeminiert wurde, da er als *cinaedus* den passiven Part inne hatte. Da er ziemlich schnell dem für seine sozio-kulturelle Rolle schicklichen Alter entwuchs, war es für Leonardo vielleicht von doppelter Notwendigkeit, ihn optisch in die Nähe einer Frau zu rücken. Salaï wird

<sup>310</sup> Marani, *Léonard de Vinci*, 118 (siehe Anm. 301).

<sup>311</sup> Siehe z.B. Bodmer, *Leonardo*, 80–83 (siehe Anm. 243).

<sup>312</sup> Arasse, *Leonardo*, 461 (siehe Anm. 121).

<sup>313</sup> Möller, "Salaï," 156 (siehe Anm. 2).

<sup>314</sup> Rocke, *Forbidden Friendships*, 12 (siehe Anm. 5); Michael Rocke, "Sodomites in Fifteenth-Century Tuscany: The Views of Bernardino of Siena," *The Pursuit of Sodomy: Male Homosexuality in Renaissance and Enlightenment Europe*, Kent Gerard und Gert Hekma (New York und London: Harrington Park Press, 1989), 7–31; hier 27.

sich in seine Rolle nicht oder vielleicht später gar nicht mehr gefügt haben, wie Leonardos ständige Unzufriedenheit über ihn zeigt. Er scheint aber – pragmatisch und geschäftstüchtig – daraus Nutzen gezogen zu haben, indem er die erotischen Variationen, die Leonardo mit seiner 'Form' anstellte, kopierte und wohl gut verkaufen konnte. Da Leonardo mit den Johannes- und *Monna Vanna* Bildern quasi als 'Erfinder' des erotischen Porträts galt, konnte er mit diesen Darstellungen wohl einigen Gewinn machen. Außerdem hatte er ja offenbar – wie seinem Angebot an Isabella d'Este zu entnehmen ist – ein Händchen und einen Faible für 'cose galante.'

Zusammenfassend sind zwei Antworten auf die Frage, warum Salai und Leonardo etwa 30 Jahre miteinander verbrachten, denkbar: es kann wohl davon ausgegangen werden, dass er des Meister *cinaedus* war (zumindest eine Zeitlang, oder Leonardo versuchte es lange, ihn als solchen zu gewinnen) und dass Leonardo von dem gegen jegliche Regeln der *kalokagathia* verstoßenden Widerspruch zwischen schlechter charakterlicher Disposition und hübschem Äußeren in der Figur des jungen Mannes zutiefst fasziniert war. Salai kam jung in Leonardos *bottega* und sah ansprechend aus. Er verhielt sich aber gesellschaftlich inakzeptabel und war künstlerisch – auch später noch – nur zu Kopien des Meisters in der Lage. Es kann jedoch nicht nur sein Äußeres gewesen sein, welches Leonardo dazu brachte, mit ihm Jahrzehnte zu verbringen. Auch hätte sich gewiss ein anderer hübscher Knabe gefunden, wäre es allein um die Rolle eines Geliebten gegangen. Die zwei Gesichter des Knaben, das ästhetische Äußere fast eines Engels und der schlechte Charakter, die ihn wohl auch dazu brachten, den jungen Mann mit dem alten Begriff für den gefallenen Engel – Salai – zu benennen, müssen ihn zutiefst berührt haben, so dass er über ein homoerotisches Interesse an dem jungen Mann offenbar in eine psychische Abhängigkeit geriet, die ihn zunächst Salais Streiche, später ihn enervierende Dinge wie seine ominösen Geldgeschäfte, ertragen ließen. Dennoch sind stets Bestrebungen Leonardos zu erkennen, sich von der Wollust und deren Objekt zu emanzipieren. Ob er tatsächlich eine praktizierte gleichgeschlechtliche Beziehung mit dem Knaben hatte, wie es offenbar die Zeitgenossen imaginierten, oder ob es ein reines Begehren war, muss offen bleiben.

Noch Freud hielt den Künstler für zu prude, als dass er eine sexuelle Beziehung ausgelebt hätte.<sup>315</sup> Hingegen lässt sich mittlerweile durch z.B. recht humorvolle Äußerungen Leonardos über den Penis belegen, dass diese Vermutung wohl – zumindest nicht in dem von Freud angenommenen Ausmaß – zutrif.<sup>316</sup> Viel eher könnte die doch wohl sehr unbestimmte Sexualität Leonardos, seine Schwierigkeit, sich in die vorherrschenden Rollen aus männlich/aktiv und

<sup>315</sup> Freud, *Kindheitserinnerung*, 38–42 (siehe Anm. 93).

<sup>316</sup> Arasse, *Leonardo*, 525 (siehe Anm. 121).

weiblich/passiv einzuordnen,<sup>317</sup> Ausschlag gebend gewesen sein. Die Frage des direkten Vollzuges des Sexualaktes ist für die Frage nach dem Charakter der Beziehung jedoch zweitrangig. Viel wichtiger ist es festzuhalten, dass es sich um dem aristotelischen *philia*-Begriff (*Nikomachische Ethik*, Buch 8 und 9) zu folgen, für Leonardo wohl um eine Lust-, für Salai um eine Nutzenfreundschaft handelte, in der der jüngere Mann die passive Rolle eines Leonardo faszinierenden Objektes einnimmt.<sup>318</sup>

Ganz anders stellt sich das Verhältnis zu Francesco Melzi dar. Er kann die künstlerische Form des Meisters nahezu hundertprozentig imitieren und darf so seine ausführende Hand werden. Darüber hinaus ist er aber auch in der Lage, eigene Konzepte zu entwerfen. Seines Erachtens mag das Intellektuelle seinen Meister und ihn verbunden haben—fast im Sinne einer aristotelischen Tugendfreundschaft. Für Leonardo mögen die Fähigkeiten des jungen Mannes doch eher praktischen Nutzen gehabt haben (Gemälde und wissenschaftliche Hilfsarbeiten ausführen), so dass er die Beziehung wohl in die Nähe einer Nutzenfreundschaft gerückt hätte, ohne aber die Züge einer Tugendfreundschaft, die sie für ihn sicher auch hatte, zu leugnen. Wichtiges Element dabei ist, dass Melzi in dieser Freundschaft ebenso aktiver Teil und Subjekt wie Leonardo selber ist.

So ist in der komparativen Betrachtung der Lust- und Nutzenfreundschaft Leonardo-Salai und der Tugend- und Nutzenfreundschaft Melzi-Leonardo eine eindeutige Verteilung der Dichotomien aktiv/passiv und männlich/weiblich zu finden. Salai ist passives Objekt, es ist seine effemierte 'Form,' die interessiert. Melzi hingegen ist aktives Subjekt. Diese Vergeschlechtlichung bestimmter Eigenschaften korrespondiert mit der Sexualisierung der Kunstliteratur und -theorie der Frühen Neuzeit, nach der der Geist, die zeugende Idee eines Konzeptes (*disegno*) männlich, das Material, in dem und durch das es erschaffen wird,

<sup>317</sup> So geht auch Clark davon aus, dass Leonardos Denken durch die Dichotomie von aktiv und passiv geprägt war. Als Symbole dieser beiden Elemente identifiziert er interessanterweise den alten und den jungen Profiltyp, die auch auf dem Eingang von mir behandelten 'Freundschaftsbildnis' (Abb. 1) dargestellt sind. Erstmals seien diese beiden Typen auf dem Blatt 12276 verso der Royal Library (Abb. 5) gemeinsam dargestellt, ihre Bedeutung als Symbole des Aktiven und Passiven würden sie seitdem nahezu unverändert 40 Jahre lang beibehalten. Beide Profiltypen entsprächen Idealtypen, deren Wurzeln in der Antike lägen. Der junge Profiltyp, der bereits bei Verrocchio zu finden sei, orientiere sich an hellenistisch-griechischen Vorbildern (hier folgt Clark unzweifelhaft Suida; vgl. S. 572) und stehe für Leonardos "feminine spirit of mystery and grace," während der Typ des alten Mannes durch die römische Antike inspiriert sei und "the virile spirit of energy" verkörpere; vgl. Kenneth Clark, "Leonardo and the Antique," *Leonardo's Legacy: An International Symposium*, hg. Charles Donald O'Malley (Berkeley und Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969), 1–34; hier 4–6.

<sup>318</sup> Streng genommen könnte in der Provokation und dem Einfluss Salais auf Leonardo auch ein aktives Moment des Schülers mitgedacht werden; hierzu müsste jedoch eine Absicht Salais—diese Wirkung bei Leonardo hervorrufen zu wollen—vorliegen. Für diese Anmerkung danke ich Falko Schnicke (GK *Geschlecht als Wissenskategorie*, Berlin).

weiblich konnotiert ist.<sup>319</sup> Interessanterweise ist diese Tendenz jedoch in großem Stil erst in den Folgejahren—als entscheidendes Moment des Umbruchs führt Pfisterer Marcantonio Raimondis nach Zeichnungen Giulio Romanos gestochene Serie *I modi* an, die erstmals 1524 in Rom veröffentlicht wurde und sechzehn Stellungen des Geschlechtsaktes zeigt—zu beobachten.<sup>320</sup> Melzi ist gemeinsam mit Leonardo ideenentwickelnde Kraft, ihre Freundschaft ist intellektuell motiviert und von beiden Seiten aktiv, den zeitgenössischen Geschlechtzuschreibungen folgend also männlich. Salai hingegen ist die passive 'Form,' die Materie, der Begleiter, auf dessen Körperlichkeit Leonardo es abgesehen hat—die Beziehung stellt also eine weiblich konnotierte Variante frühneuzeitlicher Männerfreundschaften dar. Dieses erklärt im Übrigen auch, warum es keine Darstellungen Melzis aus Leonardos Hand gibt—im Kontext ihrer Beziehung war seine 'Form' für Leonardo nicht relevant, wurde also auch nicht visuell rezipiert. Dementsprechend könnte zwischen einem als weiblich und einem als männlich zu denkenden Freundschaftskonzept Leonardos unterschieden werden. Das Denken in konträren Geschlechtskategorien und -zuordnungen wird jedoch auch im Verlauf des 16. Jahrhunderts nicht eindeutig festgelegt. So konnte gezeigt werden, dass der ideale Künstler sich gerade dadurch definierte, dass er männliche und weibliche Eigenschaften in sich vereinte:

und zu verschiedenen Stadien Erzeuger, Schwangere und Nährmutter<sup>321</sup> seiner Kunstprodukte sein musste. [ . . . ] Bei alledem entwickelte das frühneuzeitliche *gendering* künstlerisch-ästhetischer Vorstellungen keine polaren Gegensätze zwischen den Kategorien 'Mann' und 'Frau,' sondern ermöglicht es, das künstlerische Hervorbringen ein und derselben Person—des 'autonomen Superkünstlers'—als komplexes Wechsel- und Zusammenspiel beider Geschlechtskategorien zu beschreiben, als höchste Form der Subsummierung des Weiblichen unter das Männliche.<sup>322</sup>

<sup>319</sup> Vgl. zum Beispiel den Stich von Giulio Bonasone, *Pictura und Apollo* (aus den *Amorosi Diletti degli Dei*), um 1545, Radierung, Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica-Calcoграфия, Rom. Abb. in und dazu Ulrich Pfisterer, "Zeugung der Idee—Schwangerschaft des Geistes. Sexualisierte Metaphern und Theorien zur Werkgenese in der Renaissance," *Animationen/Transgressionen. Das Kunstwerk als Lebewesen*, Hrsg. Ulrich Pfisterer und Anja Zimmermann. Hamburger Forschungen zur Kunstgeschichte (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2005), 41–72; hier 46–48 und Abb. 3. Pfisterer verweist ebenfalls auf sprachliche Sexualmetaphern, die den Penis als *disegno*, die Vulva als *figura* bezeichneten; vgl. *ibid.*, 68.

<sup>320</sup> *Ibid.*, 43, 62.

<sup>321</sup> Diese Selbstbeschreibung konnte in Leonardos Brieffragment an Salai beobachtet werden und bestätigt die erarbeiteten Deutungen. Analog zur Kunstproduktion sieht Leonardo den Knaben als sein Kunstwerk, seine Schöpfung und sein Geschöpf an und bezeichnet sich aus diesem Grund als seine Amme. Während Leonardo den jungen Mann als *discepolo* oder später *servitore* bezeichnet, bringt Vasari das Verhältnis durch die Verwendung des Ausdruckes *creato* treffender zum Ausdruck.

<sup>322</sup> Pfisterer, "Zeugung," 44, 62–63 (siehe Anm. 314).

Genauso wie Leonardo in der Werkgenese gleichzeitig männlich und weiblich sein konnte ohne einen Widerspruch zu provozieren, vermochte er einen männlichen und einen weiblichen Freundschaftstyp zu pflegen. Genauso wie bei der Schöpfung des Werkes setzt sich auch bei den Freundschaftstypen letztendlich der 'männliche' an die Spitze der Hierarchie. Das Abstraktum 'Freundschaft' wird von Leonardo jedoch nicht explizit als Topos besprochen, sondern in diesen unterschiedlichen Typen gelebt. Das eingangs zitierte 'Freundschaftsbild' kann als eine weitere Visualisierung der 'Form' Salai und des mit ihm gelebten 'weiblichen' Freundschaftstyps gelten. Darüber hinaus hat die Fallstudie gezeigt, dass – wenn wir der Annahme Pfisterers zustimmen wollen – auch andere Darstellungen als die Porträts zweier oder mehrerer befreundeter Personen eine Aussage über Freundschaft ermöglichen würden, wenn man nur ihren Kontext zur Genüge beachtet. Die Sexualisierung der Genese des Kunstwerks sowie auch die Formulierung eines die Geschlechter vereinenden 'Genies' ist ein Phänomen, das chronologisch erst kurz nach Leonardos Tod belegt werden konnte. Die Untersuchungen der in diesem Beitrag ausgewählten zwischenmenschlichen Beziehungen zu Salai und Melzi haben jedoch gezeigt, dass sich sowohl die Tendenz zur Vergeschlechtlichung überhaupt sowie auch zu ihrer Transgression bereits bei Leonardo zeigt.

Ob diese Kategorisierung von Freundschaften nach Merkmalen des Geschlechts einen speziellen Typ von 'Künstlerfreundschaften' in der Frühen Neuzeit markiert oder genau so in anderen sozialen Gruppen anzutreffen ist, müsste durch einen Vergleich mit Beziehungen zwischen Personen aus dem 'nichtkünstlerischen' Umfeld sowie anderen Epochen vergleichend herausgearbeitet werden und würde somit eine sinnvolle in diesem Kontext weiter zu verfolgende Frage darstellen.



Abb. 1: Leonardo da Vinci: Profilstudien eines alten und eines jungen Mannes (Salai?), die sich gegenüber stehen, 1500–1505, Rötel, 21 x 15 cm, Florenz, Galleria degli Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe



Abb. 2: Leonardo da Vinci: Studie zu den Herzklappen und zur Muskeltätigkeit des Herzens, um 1513, Feder und braune Tusche auf blauem Papier, 26 x 20 cm, Windsor Castle, Royal Library (RL 19093 recto)





Abb. 3: Nach Leonardo da Vinci: Johannes der Täufer, um 1505–1507, Pappelholz, 71 x 51 cm, Basel, Kunstmuseum Basel, Vermächtnis Dr. Fritz Sarasin 1942 (Inv. Nr. 1879)



Abb. 4: Leonardo da Vinci: Kopf und Schultern eines jungen Mannes im Profil (Salai?), um 1510, schwarze Kreide, 19,3 x 14,9 cm, Windsor Castle, Royal Library (RL 12557 recto)



Abb. 5: Leonardo da Vinci: Brustbild eines Mannes und einer jungen Frau im Profil, um 1478–1490, Feder und Tinte auf weißem Papier, 40,5 x 29 cm, Windsor Castle, Royal Library (12276 verso)



Abb. 6: Leonardo da Vinci: Kopf und Schultern eines jungen Mannes im Profil, Feder und Tinte auf weißem Papier, 13,7 x 8,2 cm, Windsor Castle, Royal Library (12432 recto)

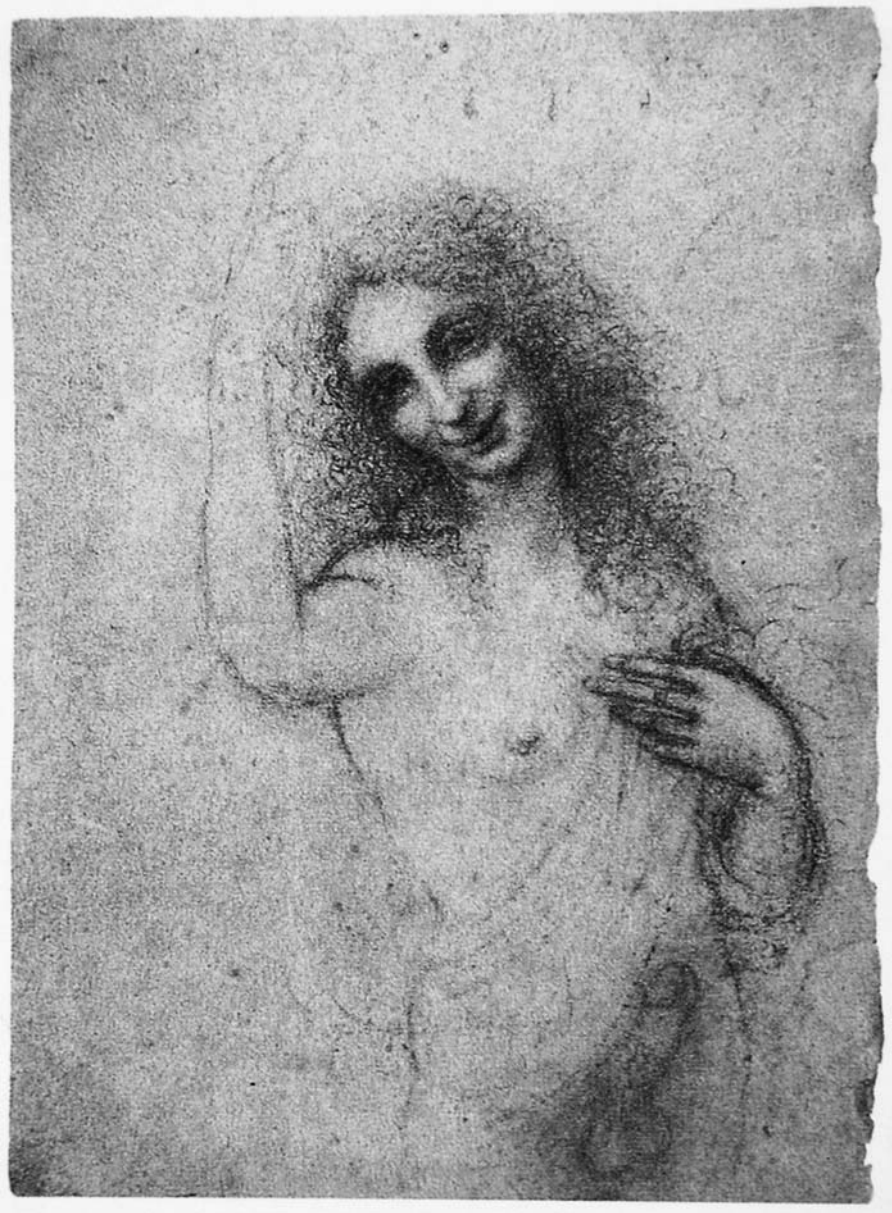


Abb. 7: Leonardo da Vinci, Angelo incarnato, um 1513–1514, schwarze Kreide oder Kohle auf blauem Papier, 26,8 x 19,7 cm, Deutschland, Privatsammlung

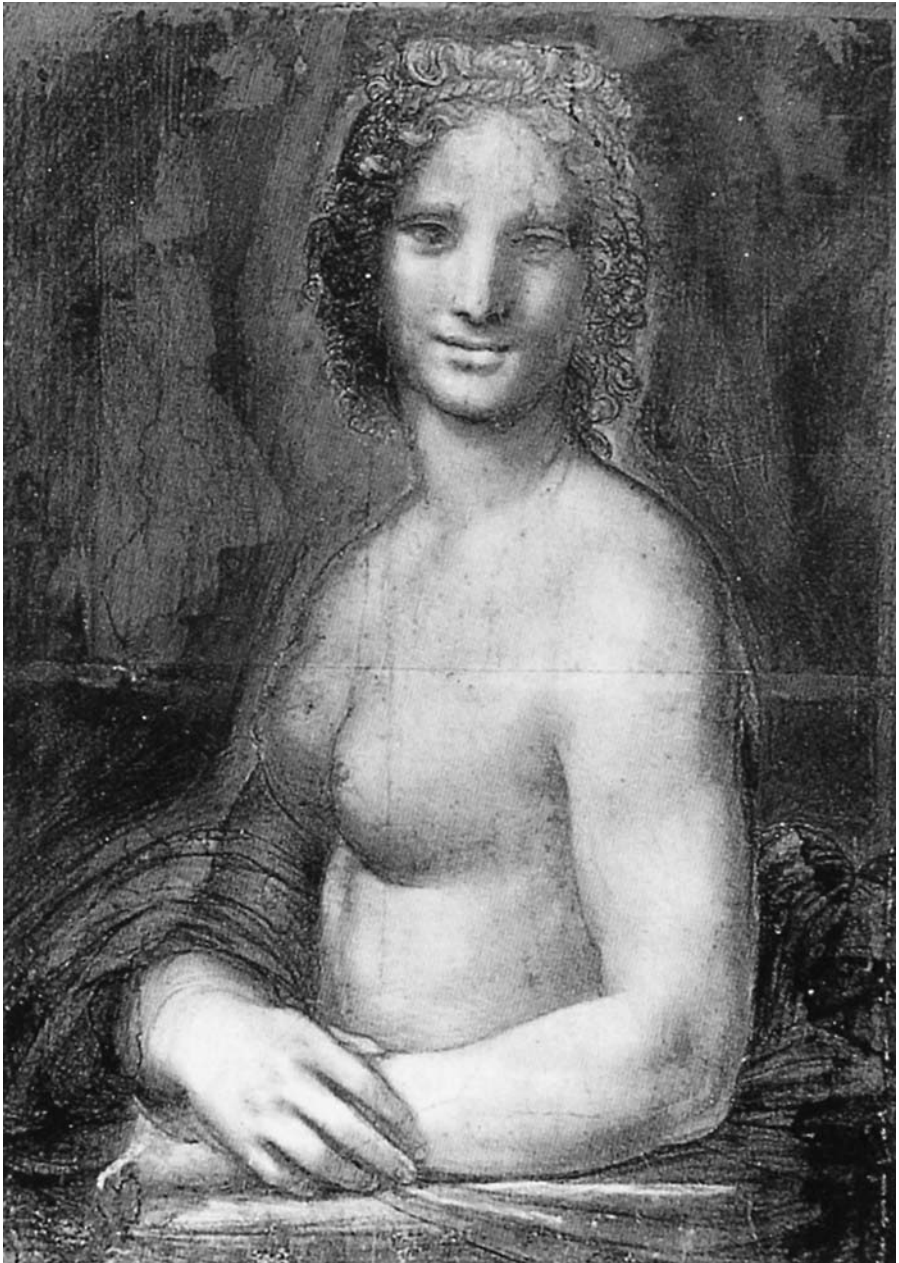


Abb. 8: Nach Leonardo da Vinci: Monna Vanna oder Gioconda nuda, ca. 1515,  
St. Petersburg, Eremitage



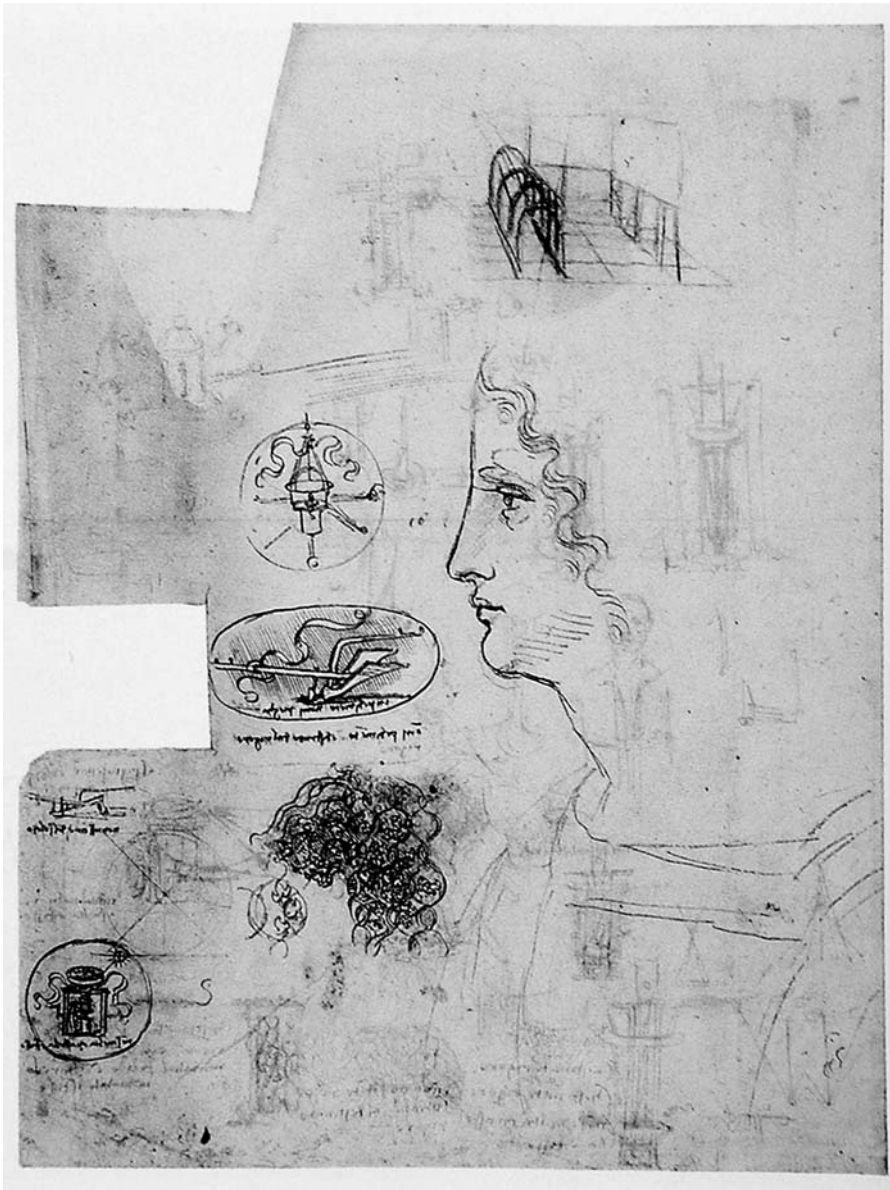


Abb. 9: Leonardo da Vinci: Zeichnungen verschiedener Impresen (Lampe, Pflug und Kompass) und Profilstudie eines jungen Mannes, etwa 1508, Feder, Tinte und schwarze Kreide, 37,2 x 28,1 cm, Windsor Castle, Royal Library (RL 12282 recto)



Abb. 10: Leonardo da Vinci, Allegorien der Freude, des Kummers und der Missgunst, um 1490–1494, Feder und Tinte, 21 x 29 cm, Oxford, Governing Body, Christ Church (Inv JBS 17 verso)





Abb. 11: Francesco Melzi, Flora (oder Columbine), 1517–21, Öl auf Leinwand  
(transferiert von Holz), 76 x 63 cm, St. Petersburg, Eremitage

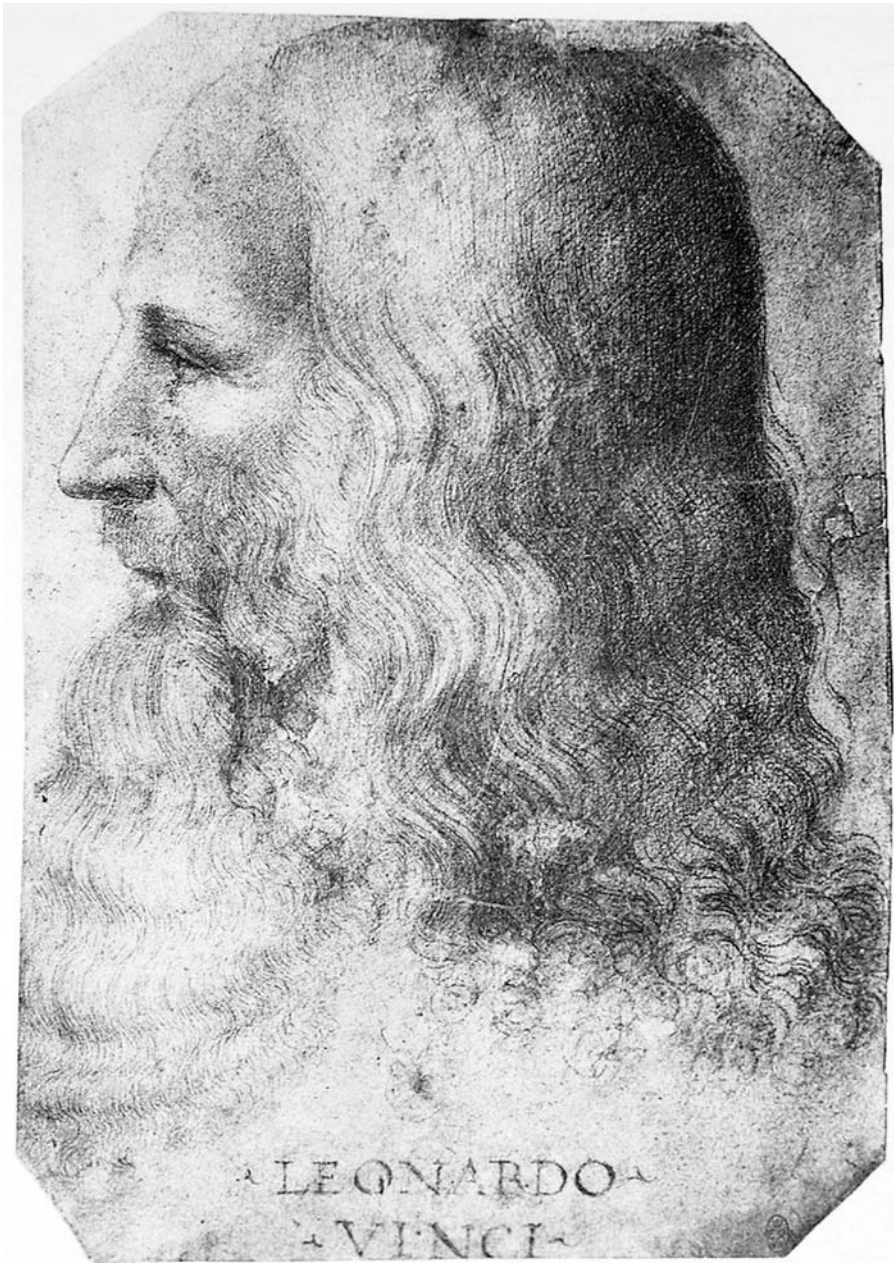


Abb. 12: Francesco Melzi (?), Leonardo da Vinci, 1510–1515, Rötrel, 27,4 x 19 cm, Windsor Castle, Royal Library (RL 12726 recto)



Abb. 13: Francesco Melzi, Porträt eines jungen Mannes mit Papagei, um 1550, Mailand, Collezione Gallerati Scotti

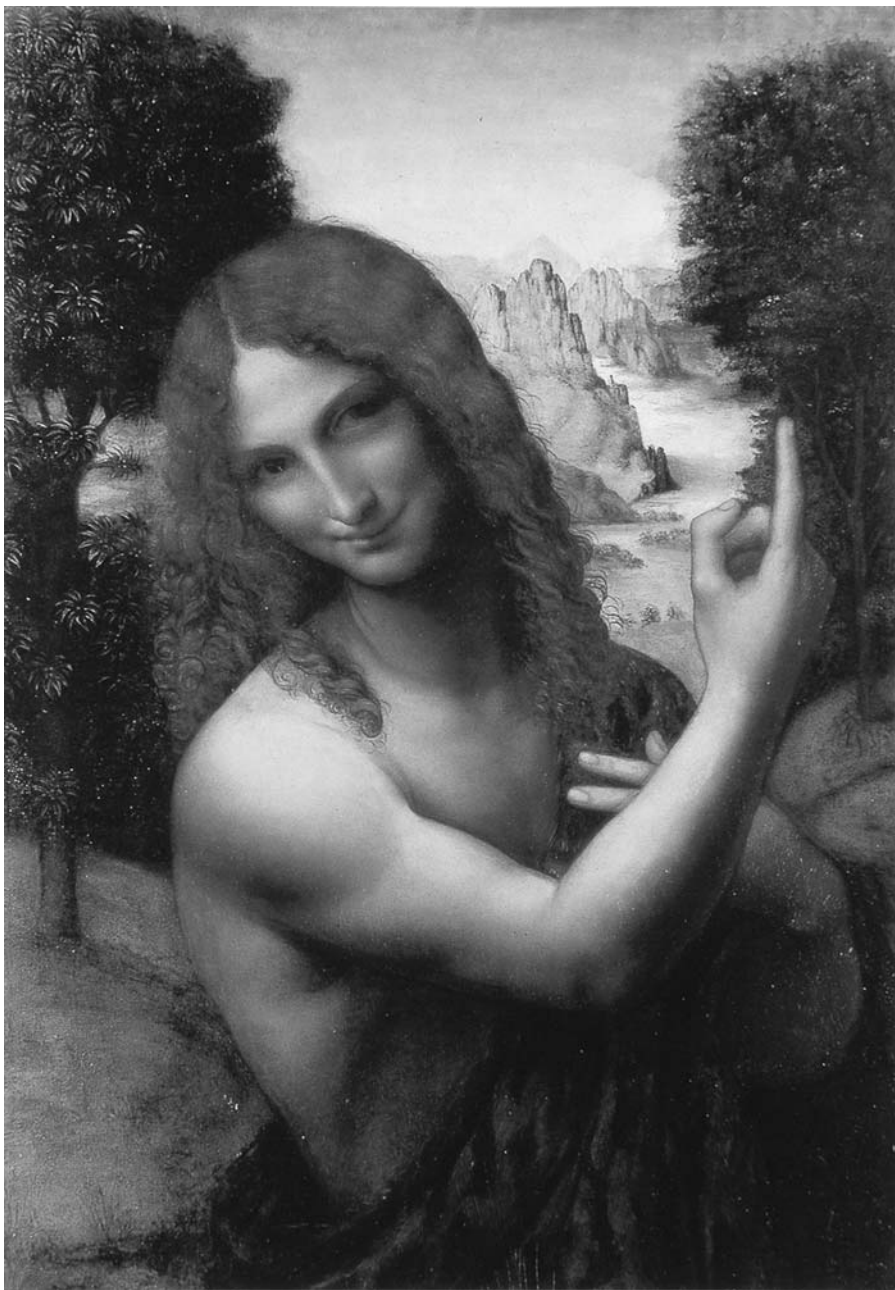


Abb. 14: Gian Giacomo Caprotti (genannt Salai), Johannes der Täufer,  
Mailand, Pinacoteca Ambrosiana



15: Nach Leonardo da Vinci (?), Johannes der Täufer (mit Attributen des Bacchus), um 1513–1519 (?), Öl auf Holz, auf Leinwand übertragen, 17,7 x 11,5 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre (Inv. 780)



Abb. 16: Leonardo da Vinci und Schüler, Studienblatt mit einem Engel der Verkündigung, um 1503–1506, Feder und Sepia auf grauem Papier, 21 x 28,3 cm, Windsor Castle, Royal Library (RL 12328 recto)



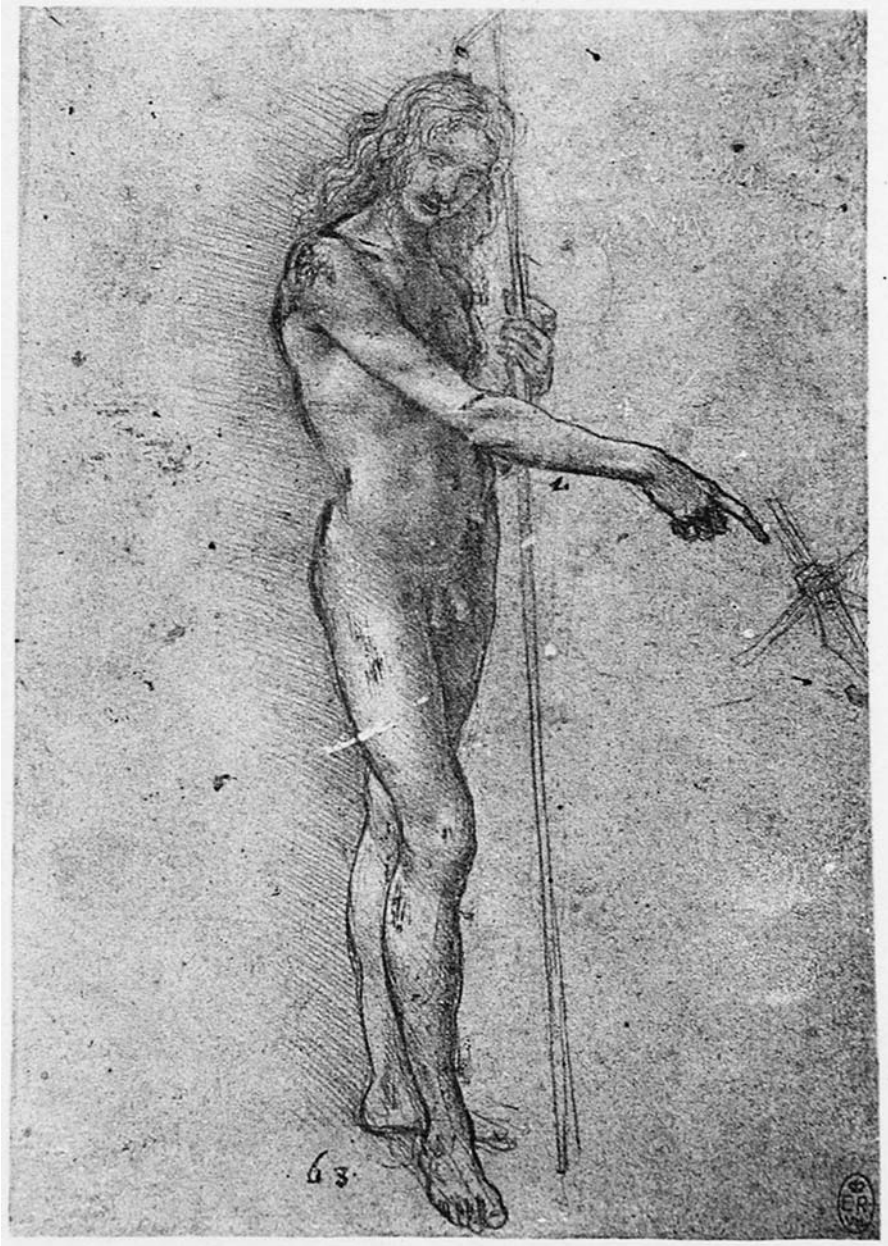


Abb. 17: Leonardo da Vinci, Studie eines nackten, jungen Mannes (Johannes der Täufer?), ca. 1476, Silberstift, erhöht mit oxidiertem Weiß auf blauem Papier, 17,8 x 12,2 cm, Windsor Castle, Royal Library (RL 12572)





## Chapter 16

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### Friendship and Good Counsel: The Discourses of Friendship and Parrhesia in Francis Bacon's *The Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall*

Various treatments of friendship, from the antiquity to the early modern period, draw attention to the role of the friend as a counselor: a true friend, it is repeatedly held, is he who gives honest and faithful advice. Examples may indeed be found in a broad range of texts, from Cicero's *Laelius de Amicitia* and Plutarch's treatise on "How to Tell a Flatterer from a Friend" in Roman and Greek antiquity, to Erasmus's *The Education of a Christian Prince*, Sir Thomas Elyot's *The Boke Named the Governour*, and Francis Bacon's *The Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall* in the early modern era. This paper aims to provide a close reading of Francis Bacon's (1561–1626) treatment of the discourses of friendship and admonition, focusing in particular on his essays "Of Frendship" and "Of Counsell."<sup>1</sup> Situating these essays within a much broader set of ideas that influenced the humanist rhetoric of friendship, my discussion will here concentrate on the various ramifications of Bacon's treatment of the friend as a counselor.

As I will be pointing out, turning his attention to the dangers posed by the possible insincerity of friendship, and the interconnected vices of flattery and self-flattery, Bacon extols the role of the friend as a counselor, ascribing true friendship with the practice defined in ancient Greece as *parrhesia* (free speech). This

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<sup>1</sup> Versions of these two essays first appeared in print in the 1612 edition of Bacon's *Essayes*. Unless otherwise noted, this paper discusses the final versions that appeared in the expanded edition of 1625.

discussion carries a truly fascinating set of political connotations, as Bacon—challenging the egalitarian concept of friendship that stemmed from the classical figure of the friend as “another self”—situates his examination of friendship within the context of hierarchical relationships of patronage, concentrating, in particular, on the relationship between counselor and king. His valorization of the role of the friend as an advisor may well be read, as I will illustrate, within the context of his own attempts to gain aristocratic and royal patronage, by establishing himself as a counselor to various influential figures. Yet, more importantly, as I will further be arguing, while emphasizing the vital significance of the friend-as-counselor for the preservation of sovereign power, Bacon’s discussion of this figure may also be said to intriguingly register the possible disruption of that established order, that Bacon himself sought so earnestly to serve—hinging perhaps at what Markku Peltonen, among other scholars, has read as the “republican inclinations” of Baconian thought.<sup>2</sup>

Bacon’s essay “Of Frenship” starts by addressing the well-known Aristotelian dictum that “*Whosoever is delighted in solitude, is either a wilde Beast or a God.*”<sup>3</sup> Indeed, as Aristotle (384–322 B.C.E.) famously asserts in *Politics*, being political animals, men are drawn by nature to the formation of political communities. He who excludes himself from human community is therefore seen as either sub-human or super-human: “a man who is incapable of entering into partnership, or who is so self-sufficing that he has no need to do so,” it is held, “is no part of a state, so that he must be either a lower animal or a god.”<sup>4</sup> Finding himself in only partial agreement with the Aristotelian dictum, Bacon asserts in his opening remark that “It had beene hard for him that spake it, to have put mor Truth and untruth together, in few Words, then in that Speech.” For, as he suggests, “it is most true, that a Naturall and Secret Hatred, and Aversation towards *Society*, in any Man, hath somewhat of the Savage Beast; But it is most Untrue,” that this delight in solitude “should have any Character, at all, of the Divine Nature” (80)—an exception only to be found in the ascetic withdrawal from community of religious figures like the holy fathers, as their isolation would proceed, “not out

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<sup>2</sup> Markku Peltonen, “Bacon’s Political Philosophy,” *The Cambridge Companion to Bacon*, ed. Markku Peltonen. Cambridge Companions to Philosophy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 283–310; here 299.

<sup>3</sup> The dictum is provided here as it appears in Bacon’s essay. See Francis Bacon, *The Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall*, ed. Michael Kiernan. The Oxford Francis Bacon, 25 (1985; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006), 80. Unless otherwise noted, all references to Bacon’s essays will hereafter be cited from this edition and page numbers will be provided parenthetically in the text.

<sup>4</sup> As the point is expressed elsewhere in *Politics*, “man is by nature a political animal, and a man that is by nature and not merely by fortune citiless is either low in the scale of humanity or above it.” The translation is here cited from Aristotle, *Politics*, trans. H. Rackham. Loeb Classical Library, 264 (1932; Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 2005), 13 (Book I. i. 12) and 9 (Book I. i. 9).

of a Pleasure in *Solitude*, but out of a Love and desire, to sequester a Mans Selfe, for a Higher Conversation" (81).<sup>5</sup> Thus marking proclivity for solitude rather than companionship as the sign of beastly nature, Bacon highlights the indispensable role of friendship for human existence:

it is a meere, and miserable *Solitude*, to want true *Frends*; without which the World is but a Wildernesse: And even in this sense also of *Solitude*, whosoever in the Frame of his Nature and Affections, is unfit for *Frendship*, he taketh it of the Beast, and not from Humanity (81).

Bacon's emphasis on true friendship is qualified in this opening paragraph by his reference to its scarcity and its distinction from mere sociability: "For a Crowd is not Company; And Faces are but a Gallery of Pictures; And Talke but a *Tinkling Cymball*, where there is no *Love*" (81).<sup>6</sup> Indeed, reflecting on the Latin saying found in Erasmus's *Adages*, "*Magna civitas, magna solitudo*"—in English, "A great city, a great solitude"<sup>7</sup>—Bacon suggests that this dearth of friendship is rather paradoxically even more prominent in large cities, as there people find themselves scattered and unable to form and sustain the close, companionate relationships that more often characterize smaller communities.

Similar stress on the rarity of true friendship is laid of course in various other treatments of the concept from the classical period onwards. For instance, in one of the earliest philosophical discussions of this idea in classical Greece, in the *Nicomachean Ethics*, Aristotle terms friendship as "one of the most indispensable requirements of life," but points out that what he defines as perfect friendship is marked by being exceptionally rare.<sup>8</sup> Such a friendship, he suggests, can only be

<sup>5</sup> Bacon's treatment of the Aristotelian dictum has received very little consideration. In his edition of Bacon's major works, Brian Vickers notes that Bacon's interpretation here "is unfair," without yet explaining why. See Francis Bacon. *The Major Works, including New Atlantis and the Essays*, ed. Brian Vickers. Oxford World Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 745 (notes to 391). As I would argue, Bacon's discussion overlooks the implicit connection drawn between bestiality and divinity in Aristotle's text. Though seemingly irreconcilable, the two states are intricately associated by the fact that neither of the two is subject to the law. Contrarily, placed in-between bestiality and divinity, man's existence as a political animal is defined by his subjection to law and justice. "For as man is the best of the animals when perfected," Aristotle comments, "so he is the worst of all when sundered from law and justice." Aristotle, *Politics*, 13 (Book I. i. 13). A similar kind of connection has also been drawn in various other texts between bestiality or animality and sovereignty. For a compelling discussion of this subject, see Jacques Derrida, *The Beast and the Sovereign. Volume I*, trans. Geoffrey Bennington (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

<sup>6</sup> This point is also made in the 1612 version of this essay, where Bacon remarks that "without friendship, society is but meeting." The 1612 version is here cited from Brian Vickers's edition of Francis Bacon. *The Major Works*, 301.

<sup>7</sup> See Erasmus, *Adages II i 1 to II vi 100*, ed. R. A. B. Mynors. The Collected Works of Erasmus, 33 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 219.

<sup>8</sup> Aristotle's discussion of friendship can be found in Books VIII and IX of the *Nicomachean Ethics*.

said to exist where the relationship has endured the test of time, and where friends have acquired the appropriate level of intimacy and proved to each other that they are worthy of that bond. For, he says,

as the saying goes, you cannot get to know a man till you have consumed the proverbial amount of salt in his company; and so you cannot admit to friendship or really be friends, before each has shown the other that he is worthy of friendship and has won his confidence.<sup>9</sup>

Further, for Aristotle, perfect friendship is rare because it may only be established “between the good, and those who resemble each other in virtue,” a category of which there are but few, as he points out.<sup>10</sup> This perfect type of friendship needs to be distinguished, Aristotle argues, from other, defective forms of friendship which are grounded on utility or pleasure. Perfect friends, he points out, are drawn together by their common love of virtue, and not by the hope of having any personal gain.<sup>11</sup> Thus, while such friends enjoy and benefit from each other’s company, pleasure and profit do not form the governing principles behind the formation of their relationship.<sup>12</sup> Ultimately, the spiritual bonding envisioned in this ideal form of friendship is so complete that, as Aristotle memorably remarks, a perfect friend “feels towards his friend in the same way as towards himself (for

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The translation of the text is hereafter cited from Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, trans. Horace Rackham, Loeb Classical Library, 73 (1926; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1934); here 451 (Book VIII. i. 1). For more extensive consideration of Aristotle’s treatment of the concept of friendship, see A. W. Price, *Love and Friendship in Plato and Aristotle* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), esp. Chapter 4, “Perfect Friendship in Aristotle,” 103–30, and Chapter 5, “Aristotle on the Varieties of Friendship,” 131–61; Paul Schollmeier, *Other Selves: Aristotle on Personal and Political Friendship*. SUNY Series in Ethical Theory (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994); Suzanne Stern-Gillet, *Aristotle’s Philosophy of Friendship*. SUNY Series in Ancient Greek Philosophy (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995); and Lorraine Smith Pangle, *Aristotle and the Philosophy of Friendship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

<sup>9</sup> Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 463 (Book VIII. iii. 8–9).

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 461 (Book VIII. iii. 6) and 463 (Book VIII. iii. 8).

<sup>11</sup> Perfect friends, according to Aristotle, wish to benefit each other for their friend’s sake, and not their own. As mentioned in the text, “it is those who wish the good of their friends for their friends’ sake who are friends in the fullest sense, since they love each other for themselves and not accidentally.” See *ibid.*, 461 (Book VIII. iii. 6).

<sup>12</sup> While this description of perfect friendship is often thought to exclude women, Aristotle does not altogether preclude the possibility of male-female friendship being “based on virtue, if the partners be of high moral character.” However, he discusses the friendship between man and woman primarily on the level of utility and pleasure, defining it as a “natural instinct” that serves the purposes of procreation, while also “provid[ing] the needs of life.” See *ibid.*, 503 (Book VIII. xii. 7).

a friend is another self)."<sup>13</sup> Such perfect union, he observes, may best be achieved when friends are equal and alike, for "amity consists in equality and similarity."<sup>14</sup>

According to the *Nicomachean Ethics*, by Aristotle's own time variants of this concept, of the ideal friend as "another self," were already in circulation in the form of proverbs, such as "Friends have one soul between them" and "Amity is equality."<sup>15</sup> However, Aristotle has often come to be credited with the codification of this idea which, as various studies have observed, would later be reproduced and reappropriated in the rhetoric of a great many discussions of the subject from the classical antiquity to the Renaissance, giving shape to what Robert Stretter has rightly termed "a highly theorized tradition of ideal male friendship stretching from Aristotle to Montaigne." As Stretter, among others, has further noted, the tenets of this classical tradition were mainly made available to early modern audiences through the circulation of Cicero's (106–43 B.C.E.) famous treatise on friendship, *Laelius de Amicitia*, one of the most broadly-disseminated Latin texts in early modern Europe.<sup>16</sup> In England, *De Amicitia* was first translated by John Tiptoft and printed by John Caxton in 1481 in a very influential edition, the wide circulation of which came to place the text "at the heart of a secular public culture," and points to "an expanding readership deemed to be actively interested in consuming classical examples by putting them to use to detect and to practice 'true' friendship"—a process that was furthered by the fact that the text came to hold a pivotal role in humanist education, providing one of the major texts used in grammar school curricula for the teaching of Latin.<sup>17</sup>

Like Aristotle's discussion, Cicero's treatise emphasizes the indispensable role of friendship, with Laelius (the main interlocutor in the dialogue provided in the

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 535 (Book IX. iv. 5). Though often credited to Aristotle, the dictum that "a friend is another self" has in fact been traced back to another ancient Greek philosopher, Pythagoras (ca. 531–ca. 490 B.C.E.). See Robert Stretter, "Cicero on Stage: *Damon and Pythias* and the Fate of Classical Friendship in English Renaissance Drama," *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, 47.4 (2005): 345–65 (347).

<sup>14</sup> Acknowledging the difficulties involved in relationships between friends who are not equals, Aristotle argues that such friends may still manage to come close to perfect friendship "by rendering affection in proportion." As he explains it, "the affection rendered in these various unequal friendships should ... be proportionate: the better of the two parties, for instance, or the more useful or otherwise superior as the case may be, should receive more affection than he bestows." This, he suggests, may produce equality between the two parties. See Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 483 (Book VIII. viii. 5) and 479 (Book VIII. vii. 2).

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 549 (Book IX. viii. 2) and 551 (Book IX. viii. 2).

<sup>16</sup> Stretter, "Cicero on Stage," 345. On the Ciceronian influence in Europe, see Barry Weller, "The Rhetoric of Friendship in Montaigne's *Essays*," *New Literary History* 9.3 (1978): 503–23; here 504.

<sup>17</sup> See Laurie Shannon, *Sovereign Amity. Figures of Friendship in Shakespearean Contexts* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 23–30; here 25. See also the bibliographical data compiled by Albrecht Classen and Marilyn Sandidge in their respective sections of the Introduction to this volume.

text) urging that it be put “above all things human.”<sup>18</sup> Pointing to the rarity of true friendship (*amicitia perfecta*) by remarking that “in the whole range of history only three or four pairs of friends are mentioned” (presumably a reference to the exemplary pairs of Theseus and Pirithous, Achilles and Patroclus, Orestes and Pylades, and Damon and Pythias), Laelius further re-iterates the idea that the true friend is “another self” (“alter idem”).<sup>19</sup>

Michel de Montaigne’s well-known essay “De l’amitié” (first published in French in 1580 and in an English translation by John Florio in 1603) exemplifies the significant impact of this classical codification of friendship, with its special emphasis on the elements of similarity and equality between friends, on humanist treatments of the subject in the early modern period. As Montaigne asserts in this text, the relationship of perfect friends is “that of one soul in bodies twain, according to that most apt definition of Aristotle’s.” This “unique, highest friendship loosens all other bonds,” he says, allowing one to share even the most intimate of secrets without having to worry about any possible breach of confidentiality, as that is like making a confession to one’s own self: “That secret which I have sworn to reveal to no other, I can reveal without perjury to him who is not another: he *is* me.”<sup>20</sup> So absolute is the union of friends in this vision of ideal friendship that individual identities collapse, becoming virtually indistinguishable.

Scholars have long remarked upon the considerable impact of this idea on the literature of early modern England. As shown by Laurens J. Mills’s seminal study, *One Soul in Bodies Twain*—published in 1937, but still an indispensable survey of the literary representations of friendship in the English Renaissance—the tropes of ideal friendship found an almost ubiquitous presence in the literature of this period.<sup>21</sup> In one of the more recent and most incisive contributions to the field,

<sup>18</sup> Cicero’s treatise is hereafter cited from Cicero, *De Senectute, De Amicitia, De Divinatione*, trans. William Armistead Falconer. Loeb Classical Library, 154 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1923), 108–211; here 127.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 125 and 188–89. Similar codifications of the ideal friend may also be found in various other classical texts, such as Seneca’s *Epistulae Morales ad Lucilium* and Plutarch’s *Moralia*. A useful survey of classical theories of friendship may be found in Reginald Hyatte, *The Arts of Friendship: The Idealization of Friendship in Medieval and Early Renaissance Literature*. Brill’s Studies in Intellectual History, 50 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994), Chapter 1, “The Pre-Christian Polemic about the Theory and Praxis of Friendship,” 1–42. A more extensive consideration of the subject is provided by David Konstan, *Friendship in the Classical World*. Key Themes in Ancient History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

<sup>20</sup> The essay is here cited from Michel de Montaigne, *The Complete Essays*, trans. and ed. M. A. Screech (1987; London: Penguin Books, 2003), 205–19; here 214–15. The title “De l’amitié,” more often translated in English as “On friendship,” is rendered in this edition as “On affectionate relationships” since, according to Screech, the word *friendship* does not sufficiently cover the broad range of affectionate relationships suggested by the term *amitié* in Renaissance French.

<sup>21</sup> Laurens J. Mills, *One Soul in Bodies Twain: Friendship in Tudor Literature and Stuart Drama* (Bloomington, IN: Principia Press, 1937).

Laurie Shannon also demonstrates the amazingly broad range of texts in which the classical figures of the friend as “another self” and the pair as “one soul in two bodies” made their appearance during this period in England.<sup>22</sup> From humanist advice-books, like Sir Thomas Elyot’s *The Boke Named the Governour* (1531), to poems, such as Nicolas Grimald’s “Of Friendship” (published in *Tottel’s Miscellany* in 1557), and plays, such as Richard Edwards’s *Damon and Pithias* (first performed at Whitehall in 1564), the classical concept of perfect friendship is elevated to a venerated ideal, valorized even more for its rarity and apparent unattainability.

In Elyot’s *The Governour*, for instance, while being offered as a model for emulation, “The wonderfull history of Titus and Gisippus” is also praised for its unique, one would say unmatched nature. As Laurens J. Mills notes, while this ideal kind of friendship was “made high” in humanist rhetoric, and “the longing for it became widespread, there was frequently a sense of failure,” with numerous complaints being voiced that friendships like those found in such exemplary pairs of friends as Titus and Gysippus, or in those other legendary pairs from classical antiquity, were not to be found anymore.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Shannon, *Sovereign Amity*. Various other studies in the last couple of decades have also contributed significantly to the study of the discourses and practices of friendship in early modern England, giving new impetus to the field by exploring it in relation to issues like patronage, kinship, marriage, gender and sexuality. See, for instance, Bruce R. Smith, *Homosexual Desire in Shakespeare’s England: A Cultural Poetics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); *Renaissance Discourses of Desire*, ed. Claude J. Summers and Ted-Larry Pebworth (Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 1993); Lorna Hutson, *The Usurer’s Daughter: Male Friendship and Fictions of Women in Sixteenth-Century England* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994); Jeffrey Master, *Textual Intercourse: Collaboration, Authorship, and Sexualities in Renaissance Drama*. Cambridge Studies in Renaissance Literature and Culture, 14 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Alan Stewart, *Close Readers: Humanism and Sodomy in Early Modern England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997); Harriette Andreadis, *Sappho in Early Modern England: Female Same-Sex Literary Erotics, 1550–1714*. The Chicago Series on Sexuality, History, and Society (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001); Gregory Chaplin, “‘One Flesh, One Heart, One Soul’: Renaissance Friendship and Miltonic Marriage,” *Modern Philology* 99.2 (2001): 266–92; *Love, Sex, Intimacy, and Friendship Between Men, 1550–1800*, ed. Katherine O’Donnell and Michael O’Rourke (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Tom MacFaul, *Male Friendship in Shakespeare and his Contemporaries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Penelope Anderson, “The Absent Female Friend: Recent Studies in Early Modern Women’s Friendship,” *Literature Compass* 7.4 (2010): 243–53; Allison Johnson, “‘Virtue’s Friends’: The Politics of Friendship in Early Modern English Women’s Writing,” Ph. D. diss., University of Miami, 2010. See also the articles on English Renaissance friendship included in the special issue of *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* on “The Culture of Early Modern Friendship,” vol. 47, no. 4 (Winter 2005), under the guest editorship of Gregory Chaplin: Robert Stretter, “Cicero on Stage”; John Gouws, “Nicholas Oldisworth, Richard Bacon, and the Practices of Caroline Friendship,” 366–401; Rachel Warburton, “‘The Lord hath joined us together, and wo be to them that should part us’: Katharine Evans and Sarah Cheevers as Traveling Friends,” 402–24.

<sup>23</sup> Mills, *One Soul in Bodies Twain*, 112.

Indeed, as scholars such as Tom MacFaul and Robert Stretter have further pointed out, the theory of ideal friendship often came to be treated with direct skepticism, its rhetoric frequently exposed as a mere illusion that failed to take into account the complexities of real-life social interactions. Early modern dramatists in particular found fertile ground in the gap between the theory of ideal friendship and its practice, bringing on stage an array of imperfect friends who deviated from the model celebrated by classical authors and humanists alike.<sup>24</sup>

For Francis Bacon, as for various other classical and humanist writers, the argument about the rarity of true friendship provided both a cause of lament and an opportunity to valorize its significance. Yet, quite importantly, his discussion of the subject may be said to challenge some of the main precepts of that idealized type of friendship found in the Aristotelian and Ciceronian tradition. Bacon, in particular, casts doubt on that tradition's emphasis on the element of likeness between friends, suggesting that the significance of the element of equality in friendship has been unduly exaggerated. As he famously concludes in his essay "Of Followers and Friends," "There is Little Friendship in the World, and Least of all between Equals, which was wont to be Magnified. That that is, is between Superiour and Inferiour, whose Fortunes may Comprehend, the One the Other" (149).<sup>25</sup>

Ben LaBreche has rightly observed that "this conclusion departs from a long classical and humanist tradition of idealistic, egalitarian friendship and instead emphasizes the patronage relationships that Bacon examines earlier in his essay."<sup>26</sup> Indeed, treating the terms "follower" and "friend" as interchangeable, Bacon's discussion of friendship in this text turns attention to hierarchical relationships, as it concentrates on giving advice concerning the proper choice of followers and friends—or clients, as the language of patronage would have it—by great men. This includes caveats against "Costly," "Factious," and "Glorious" (i.e. boastful) followers, and a special warning about those who are "Espials; which enquire the Secrets of the House, and beare Tales of them to Others" (148–49).

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<sup>24</sup> Romantic rivalries especially—such as that between Palamon and Arcite, the two sworn friends whose relationship is brought to a test when they both fall in love with the same woman, Emilia, in Shakespeare and Fletcher's *The Two Noble Kinsmen*—often served to parody the conventional terms of ideal friendship. MacFaul's *Male Friendship in Shakespeare and his Contemporaries* provides a compelling exploration of numerous such friendships in early modern English literature that fail to match up to the ideal of *amicitia perfecta*. See also Stretter, "Cicero on Stage," 349–51; moreover, cf. his contribution to this volume.

<sup>25</sup> Versions of this essay had also appeared in the editions of 1597 and 1612. Like the essays "Of Friendship" and "Of Counsell" it is here cited from Michael Kiernan's edition of the 1625 *Essays*.

<sup>26</sup> Ben LaBreche, "Patronage, Friendship, and Sincerity in Bacon and Spenser," *Studies in English Literature 1500–1900* 50.1 (2010): 83–108; here 83.



As the following discussion will show, the dangers posed by friends' potential insincerity or lack of fidelity in such hierarchical relationships also provide a constant preoccupation for Bacon in those two longer treatments of the subject in his essays "Of Friendship" and "Of Counsell." Addressing the "*Inconveniences of Counsell*" in the latter essay, for instance, Bacon comments on the potential betrayal of the patron's confidence—"the Revealing of Affaires, whereby they become lesse *Secret*," as he says—but also on "the Danger of being unfaithfully *counselled*, and more for the good of them that *counsell*, then of him that is *counselled*" (64–65). Time and again in such passages, Bacon acknowledges that the language of friendship may be skillfully used to disguise self-interest and that true friendship may be hypocritically simulated to serve the purposes of social aspiration. Attention to this utilitarian use of friendship has also been drawn in recent years by a number of scholars, who have convincingly argued that the humanist rhetoric of friendship ought not to be taken at face value as it often provides a rhetoric of social advancement and a means by which to gain patronage.<sup>27</sup>

Within the context of such hierarchical and potentially treacherous relationships, Bacon's emphasis on the rarity of true friendship gains a special edge as, besides valorizing the significance of the true friend when he is found, it also highlights the significance of the good counselor in matters concerning the choice of friends. The role of the counselor to various influential figures is one that, as Michael Kiernan notes, Bacon himself

craved from his earliest days and one which he performed, often unbidden and still more often unhearkened to throughout his adult life, when he wrote numerous advices, memoranda, drafts of proclamations, and suggested speeches for the King—offered either directly or through the reigning favorite.<sup>28</sup>

As has often been remarked, Bacon's social and political aspirations were thwarted at various points in his career by setbacks that prompted him to launch particularly urgent pleas for patronage. The first of those occurred in 1579 when his father Nicholas—an immensely successful statesman in the service of Queen Elizabeth who had also risen to considerable economic affluence as member of a new administrative elite—died, without, however, having made any financial provisions for Francis, the youngest of six sons. This, as one scholar has noted, left Bacon, at the age of eighteen, "into the unfortunate position in which so many younger sons of the aristocracy found themselves: deprived of patrimony yet

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<sup>27</sup> See, for instance, Hutson, *The Usurer's Daughter*; Stewart, *Close Readers*; John Huntington, *Ambition, Rank, and Poetry in 1590s England* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2001).

<sup>28</sup> See Kiernan's "General Introduction" to his edition of Bacon, *The Essays or Counsels, Civill and Morall*, xxvi.

raised with a taste for the privileges and lifestyle that only a generous settlement could secure."<sup>29</sup>

His lack of means and thirst for advancement would lead him to make constant appeals to figures such as William Cecil, Lord Burghley (his uncle by marriage), as well as to Queen Elizabeth directly. His earnest desire to promote himself as royal counselor is manifested as early as 1584 when, still in his twenties, he wrote a letter to the Queen offering his advice on domestic and foreign affairs.<sup>30</sup> To his great dismay, such attempts proved ineffectual and his hopes for advancement were largely frustrated during that decade.

Likewise in the 1590s, despite that he managed to form a significant connection with such a prominent figure as the Earl of Essex, who tried hard, albeit unsuccessfully, to convince the Queen to appoint Bacon to the position of Attorney General when that became vacant in 1593. However, Bacon's vigorous pursuit for royal patronage continued tirelessly during the reign of James I, when he eventually saw his career get in a track of remarkable ascendance with his appointment as Solicitor General in 1607, Attorney General in 1613, Lord Keeper in 1617, and Lord Chancellor in 1618.<sup>31</sup>

As I will be pointing out in the following part of this paper, the different editions in which Bacon's essays appeared may well be read within the context of these constant attempts to secure aristocratic and royal patronage, as they may be said to advertise their author's skills in counseling. The title under which these texts were published in the expanded edition of 1625, *Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall*, notably serves to introduce counseling as one of their primary purposes. As my discussion will show, Bacon's need to advertise his advisory skills acquired a particularly great degree of urgency following his unexpected fall in 1621, after which he tried hard to re-ingratiate himself with the king.

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<sup>29</sup> Julie Robin Solomon, *Objectivity in the Making: Francis Bacon and the Politics of Inquiry* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 113.

<sup>30</sup> This letter, according to Perez Zagorin, provided "an acute, well-informed political analysis covering various features of England's international and internal situation." As Zagorin further notes, another paper that looked at the religious controversies between the ecclesiastical authorities and Puritan non-conformists, written by Bacon around 1589, also points to his attempt to catch the eye of the Queen and her council. See Perez Zagorin, *Francis Bacon* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 6.

<sup>31</sup> More detailed information about Bacon's life and the constant bids for patronage that informed his political career may be found in James Spedding's monumental edition of *The Letters and Life of Francis Bacon, including all his Occasional Works*, 7 vols. (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1861–74). For more recent biographies, see also Fulton H. Anderson, *Francis Bacon: His Career and his Thought* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of Southern California Press, 1962); Catherine Drinker Bowen, *Francis Bacon: The Temper of a Man* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1963); Joel J. Epstein, *Francis Bacon: A Political Biography* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1977); Lisa Jardine and Alan Stewart, *Hostage to Fortune: The Troubled Life of Francis Bacon, 1561–1626* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1998).

In this light, drawing a close link between friendship and good counsel, the essays “Of Frenship” and “Of Counsell” —both of which appeared in expanded versions in the edition of 1625—are invested with a distinctly poignant edge, especially as the figure of the counselor-friend is mainly examined with regards to its hierarchical relationship to those “of the greater Sort” (“Of Frenship,” 85). Indeed, as I will be demonstrating, much of Bacon’s discussion highlights the overarching significance of friendship and good counsel for kings and monarchs, and may be placed within a much larger tradition of texts that sought to give advice to rulers, promoting at the same time the author’s own social aspirations.

The benefits of having a true and faithful friend are outlined by Bacon in his discussion of the so-called “*Fruit[s] of Frenship*” (in “Of Frenship”). His valorization of friendship in the description of these fruits is largely based on the great importance attributed to it by kings and monarchs, who often “purchase it, many times, at the hazard of their owne Safety, and Greatnesse.” Princes, he suggests, are unfortunate, “in regard of the distance of their Fortune, from that of their Subjects and Servants” (81), since that renders them unable to enjoy the fruits of friendship. “Except,” he comments, “(to make Themselves capable thereof) they raise some Persons to be as it were Companions, and almost Equals to themselves, which many times,” he admits, “sorteth to Inconvenience” (81–2). This has been done, he points out, not only by “Weake and Passionate *Princes*” (82), but also by the wisest and strongest ones who found themselves incomplete—“but as an Halfe Peece” (83)—without a friend, and chose men of lower status to give them “the Comfort of *Frenship*” (83), as that might not be found in marital or familial relations. Such companions, he says, often called by “the Name of *Favorites*, or *Privadoes*; As if it were Matter of Grace, or Conversation,” are best described by the Roman term “*Participes Curarum*” (82), or partners in cares. To prove his point, Bacon makes reference to a number of such close friendships between emperors and men of lower status in Roman history.

Within this context, Bacon’s discussion of the fruits of friendship gains an intriguing set of political connotations. In the third and final of these fruits, “which is like the *Pomgranat*, full of many kernels,” he invites his reader to consider “how many Things there are, which a Man cannot doe Himselfe.” It is ever so common, for instance, for men to die without having managed to fulfill various desires, such as the completion of a work, or as he says, in a reference that no doubt reflects on his own personal plight after the death of his father, “The Bestowing of a Child.” Yet, “If a Man have a true *Frend*,” he points out, “he may rest almost secure, that the Care of those Things, will continue after Him.” Likewise, even while living, “How many Things are there,” he wonders, “which a Man cannot, with any Face or Comelines, say or doe Himself?” —from praising one’s own merits to imploring others for various issues. “But all these Things,” he argues, “are Gracefull in a *Frends* Mouth, which are Blushing in a Mans Owne” (86).

Thus enabling the friend to have his purposes served without violating social decorum, the friend may further be used to deliver messages in cases where affective bonds of kinship (as with wife and children), or political terms and agendas (as with enemies), restrict one's capacity to do so, for "a *Friend* may speak, as the Case requires, and not as it sorteth with the Person" (87). This way, Bacon suggests, "a Man hath as it were two Lives in his desires." Laying emphasis on the corporeal redoubling of the self that is meant to take place, this statement radically extends and redefines the conventional trope of the friend as "another self." As Bacon further comments, "it was a Sparing Speech of the Ancients, to say, *That a Friend is another Himselfe*: For that a *Friend* is farre more then *Himselfe*" (86). In this clone-like configuration that drastically expands the self, the friend executes the friend's desires and designs, enabling him to transcend the limitations imposed by time and space upon his own natural body:

A Man hath a Body, and that Body is confined to a Place; But where *Friendship* is, all Offices of Life, are as it were granted to Him, and his Deputy. For he may exercise them by his *Friend* (86).

This is a structure, as Laurie Shannon acutely observes, that

echo[es] not only theories of kingship and of political organization in general but even those of modern corporation laws: a supersession of the natural body's spatial and temporal limitations, an expansion of implementable "Offices of Life," and a protocol of deputation, proxy, or agency by which this larger body may enact "desires."<sup>32</sup>

The political ramifications of this configuration of friendship are indeed particularly hard to miss, as the friend, as deputorial agent in full conformity with the friend's desires, may serve in the exercising of power and kingly rule.

Yet, quite importantly, as this paper will later illustrate, Bacon's discussion does not always cast the friend within the model of full conformity, especially as he addresses the figure of the friend-as-counselor. The significance of this figure is more clearly outlined in Bacon's first two fruits of friendship. Stressing the overarching import of having true friends, the first fruit ascribes friendship with a certain medicinal value that serves as a determinant of mental health. "A principall *Fruit of Friendship*," Bacon argues,

is the Ease and Discharge of the Fulnesse and Swellings of the Heart, which Passions of all kinds doe cause and induce. We know Diseases of Stoppings, and Suffocations, are the most dangerous in the body; And it is not much otherwise in the Minde (81).

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<sup>32</sup> Shannon, *Sovereign Amity*, 196–97.

Listing sarza, steel, flowers of sulphur and castoreum as elements that may serve to relieve suffocating organs like the liver, the spleen, the lungs, and the brain, Bacon then points out that:

no Receipt openeth the Heart, but a true *Frend*; To whom you may impart, Griefes, Joyes, Feares, Hopes, Suspensions, Counsels, and whatsoever lieth upon the Heart, to oppresse it, in a kind of Civill Shift or Confession (81).

While this first fruit of friendship ensures the balancing of affections, the second one, according to the Bacon, “is Healthfull and Sovereigne for the *Understanding*” (84), for the act of communicating one’s thoughts to someone else is seen as a process that enables the individual to clarify and order those thoughts in a much more efficient way than to indulge in silent meditation:

. . . certaine it is, that whosoever hath his Minde fraught, with many Thoughts, his Wits and Understanding doe clarifie and breake up, in the Communicating and discoursing with Another: He tosseth his Thoughts, more easily; He marshalleth them more orderly; He seeth how they looke when they are turned into Words; Finally, He waxeth wiser than Himselfe; And that more by an Houres discourse, then by a Dayes Meditation (84).

So important is this process of giving voice to one’s thoughts considered to be, that it is suggested that even the act of talking about one’s preoccupations to inanimate objects, like a statue or a picture, would be much preferable than to allow thoughts to be smothered in silence. Yet, it is only when it meets with the response of a true friend, who will be able to provide sound and faithful advice, that the process finds completion, thereby becoming more fruitful and beneficial.

Indeed, the role of the friend-as-counselor is in many ways valorized in this essay “Of Frenship.” Counsel falls in two categories, Bacon suggests here: “the one concerning *Manners*, the other concerning *Businesse*”. Commenting on the latter, he points out that, while one may consider himself able to manage situations single-handedly, “think[ing] Himselfe All in All,” ultimately business may only be effectively conducted with the help of a good counselor. The idea that “two Eyes see no more then one; Or that a Gamester seeth alwaies more then a Looker on; Or that a Man in Anger, is as Wise as he, that hath said over the foure and twenty Letters; Or that a Musket may be shot off, aswell upon the Arme, as upon a Rest,” is thereby exposed as nothing more than a foolish illusion. One may indulge himself, Bacon suggests, in such “fond and high Imaginations,” but “when all is done, the Helpe of good *Counsell*, is that, which setteth *Businesse* straight.” Likewise, the friend’s faithful counsel in issues that concern one’s manners, is presented as “the best Preservative to keep the Minde in Health,” a medicine that is much more effective than any other method that may be used for the correction of morals, such as “reading good Bookes of *Morality*” or “observing our Faults in Others.” Indeed, many are the cases, Bacon suggests, of individuals, “especially

of the greater Sort," who end up committing "grosse Errours, and extreme Absurdities," thereby damaging their fame and fortune, due to lack of a friend who might give them faithful admonition: "For, as *S. James* saith, they are as Men, that looke sometimes into a Glasse, and presently forget their own Shape, and Favour" (85).

Quite intriguingly, this reference to the distortion of one's image in the mirror points to the inability to see and clearly evaluate or judge one's own self without bias. In this respect, the friend's good counsel enables one to acquire a better understanding of one's behavior and actions. Evoking an apophthegm from the ancient Greek philosopher Heraclitus (ca. 535–ca. 475 B.C.E.) that "*Dry Light is ever the best*,"<sup>33</sup> Bacon suggests that the light received from a good friend's faithful counsel is "Drier, and purer" than that which comes from one's own understanding, as personal judgment is likely to be unreliable, "ever infused and drenched" (84) in one's own "Affections and Customs" (85). This idea is reiterated in his *Novum Organum*, where he states that "human understanding is not composed of dry light, but is subject to influence from the will and the emotions, a fact that creates fanciful knowledge."<sup>34</sup>

Largely impaired by the distorting influence of feelings and emotions, human understanding is thus prone to errors and miscalculations, Bacon argues, as man is often inclined to believe what he wishes to be true, rather than what is actually true. By the same token, the mind often turns away from the experimental kind of research he so earnestly advocates in *Novum Organum* and elsewhere, as man

rejects what is difficult because he is too impatient to make the investigation; he rejects sensible ideas, because they limit his hopes; he rejects the deeper truths of nature because of superstition; he rejects the light of experience, because he is arrogant and fastidious, believing that the mind should not be seen to be spending its time on mean, unstable things; and he rejects anything unorthodox because of common opinion. In

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<sup>33</sup> Bacon revisits this concept in various places, as in *The Advancement of Learning*, where he observes that "Heraclitus the profound said, *Lumen siccum optima anima*." According to Heraclitus, the constitution of the soul was based on a mixture of fire and water, the former providing the noble part, while the latter the ignoble part. As Arthur Johnston notes in his edition of Bacon's *The Advancement of Learning*, Heraclitus "is reported to have said that 'the dry soul is the wisest and best'." However, "by a corruption in the Greek the sentence became 'the dry light (*lumen siccum*) is the wisest soul'." See, Francis Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning, and New Atlantis*, ed. Arthur Johnston (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), 251. For a discussion of Heraclitus's apophthegm and its subsequent corruption, see also *The Art and Thought of Heraclitus: an Edition of the Fragments with Translation and Commentary*, ed. and trans. Charles H. Kahn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 245–54.

<sup>34</sup> Book I, Aphorism XLIX. Here cited from Francis Bacon, *The New Organon*, ed. Lisa Jardine and Michael Silverthorne. Cambridge Texts in the History of Philosophy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 44.

short, emotion marks and stains the understanding in countless ways which are sometimes impossible to perceive.<sup>35</sup>

While the *Novum Organum* turns attention to the significance of experimental research as a means of acquiring pure knowledge and understanding, "Of Friendship" similarly emphasizes the importance of the friend's good counsel as a means of acquiring a better and clearer perspective on any given situation. For, "there is as much difference, betweene the *Counsell* that a *Frend* giveth, and that a Man giveth himselfe, as there is between the *Counsell* of a *Frend*, and of a *Flatterer*," Bacon points out. Ultimately, faithful counsel is what serves to distinguish a true friend from a flatterer, but also to protect whoever receives it from flattery to himself, for "there is no such *Flatterer*, as is a Mans *Selfe*" (85).

Similar commentary on friendship in relation to these forms of flattery may be found in various other treatises in the early modern period. Early modern commentators on the court, in particular, often pointed to the dangers posed by self-flattery on the one hand, but also, on the other, by the practices of those who use praise to simulate the language of friendship, so as to ingratiate themselves with those in power and promote their self-interests.

A direct link between these two forms of flattery is drawn, for instance, by Erasmus in *The Education of a Christian Prince*, (first published in Latin in 1516, under the title *Institutio principis Christiani*, when in the second part titled "The prince must avoid flatterers," he suggests that "[Y]outhful innocence in itself is particularly exposed to this evil [flattery], partly because of the natural inclination to enjoy compliments more than the truth, and partly because of inexperience."<sup>36</sup> Erasmus, therefore, advises the prince to be constantly alert to the possibility that he may be flattered and, further, prompts him to take all necessary precautions so as to eliminate that possibility. A similar point is made in Castiglione's *The Book of the Courtier* (first published in Italian in 1528, under the title *Il Cortegiano*, and in an English translation by Sir Thomas Hoby in 1561), by Count Lodovico da Canossa, who suggests that the courtier should always be on his guard, since the deceptive words of dissembling flatterers are all the more dangerous because of a natural thirst we all have for praise:

For we are instinctively all too greedy for praise, and there is no sound or song that comes sweeter to our ears; praise, like Sirens' voices, is the kind of music that causes shipwreck to the man who does not stop his ears to its deceptive harmony.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 44–45.

<sup>36</sup> Erasmus, *The Education of a Christian Prince*, trans. Neil M. Cheshire and Michael J. Heath, with the *Panegyric for Archduke Philip of Austria*, trans. Lisa Jardine, ed. eadem. Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought (1997; Cambridge, New York, et al.: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

<sup>37</sup> Here cited from Baldesar Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, ed. George Bull, trans. with an

Acknowledging the important danger posed by flattery, some of the ancient philosophers, the Count further points out in *The Courtier*, turned themselves to the writing of books offering advice on how to discern a true friend from a mere flatterer.

Indeed, various authors in antiquity engaged themselves with this question. As David Konstan has noted, flattery in its relation to friendship, but also more specifically to patronage, provided a particularly important point of consideration for philosophers during the Hellenistic period, as the idea largely held in the classical era of friendship as a relationship between individuals of a roughly equal social station, was gradually replaced during the Hellenistic years by a discourse of friendship that laid greater emphasis on relations that involved inequalities of status and power. Thus, “instead of attending to the bond between independent and, at least in principle, autarkic individuals,” Konstan points out, “writers in the Hellenistic epoch tended to focus rather on monarchs or wealthy men and their retainers, who were conceived of as bound to their patron by amicable ties.”<sup>38</sup>

Quite importantly, various treatises giving advice on how to distinguish a flatterer from a friend produced during this period may be read within the context of their authors’ own attempts to establish themselves as true friends and frank counselors, so as to ultimately secure the patronage of influential figures. An example may be found in the Epicurean philosopher Philodemus (ca. 110–ca. 40/35 B.C.E.), whose works show considerable preoccupation with flattery and its connections to friendship and patronage.<sup>39</sup> His work *On Vices and the Opposing Virtues* notably contains three books *On Flattery*. Interestingly, as Clarence E. Glad has remarked, in these writings Philodemus “contrasts flattery with friendship as he defensively justifies his relationship with his patron Piso.”<sup>40</sup> The need to discuss the issue, Glad further notes, “was incumbent on Philodemus, not only in view of his relationship with Piso but also because flattery was part of the charge of servility in anti-Epicurean philosophy.” In such invectives, Epicurus himself was charged with flattery as he was thought to have used that practice in his relationships with Mithras and Idomeneus, while his symposia were considered as “assemblies of flatterers, excessively praising each other.”<sup>41</sup>

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Introduction by id. (London: Penguin Books, 1967), 91.

<sup>38</sup> David Konstan, “Friendship, Frankness, and Flattery,” *Friendship, Flattery and Frankness of Speech: Studies on Friendship in the New Testament World*, ed. J. T. Fitzgerald. Supplements to Novum Testamentum, 82 (Leiden and New York: E. J. Brill, 1996), 7–20; here 9–10. See also Konstan’s discussion in his book *Friendship in the Classical World*, esp. Chapter 3, “The Hellenistic World,” 93–121.

<sup>39</sup> On the philosopher’s views on flattery, see Clarence E. Glad, “Frank Speech, Flattery, and Friendship in Philodemus,” *Friendship, Flattery and Frankness of Speech*, 21–59.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 22.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 25. As Clarence E. Glad also notes here, a disparaging account of Philodemus himself as a



Of course, discovered as late as the mid-eighteenth century, Philodemus's texts would not have been available to either Castiglione or his reading public.<sup>42</sup> Early modern audiences would have had the opportunity, however, to read various other treatments of flattery in relation to friendship produced by some of the philosopher's contemporaries. In *De Amicitia*, for instance, Cicero castigates flattery as "the handmaid of vice" that has no place in relationships of friendship.<sup>43</sup> "Nothing is to be considered a greater bane of friendship than fawning, cajolery, or flattery," he affirms.<sup>44</sup> And yet, at the same time it is suggested that "however deadly" the vice of flattery may be, it "can harm no one except him who receives and delights in it." For, "it follows that the man who lends the readiest ear to flatterers is the one who is most given to self-flattery and is most satisfied with himself."<sup>45</sup>

However, a much more extensive treatment of the problem of flattery in relation to friendship may be found in the essay on "How to Tell a Flatterer from a Friend," from the *Moralia*, by the Greek historian, essayist and biographer Plutarch (ca. 46–120 C.E.). Perhaps this text did not have such a wide-ranging impact in humanist education as *De Amicitia*. Like Cicero's treatise though, it followed various lines of transmission that made it largely available to audiences across Europe. The text was translated by Erasmus into Latin and printed in an edition that appeared in Basel in 1514, to be subsequently also included in the edition of *The Education of a Christian Prince* in 1516.<sup>46</sup> At the request of King Henry VIII, Erasmus's Latin translation was then turned into English by Sir Thomas Elyot,<sup>47</sup> while Plutarch's text was also made available in another English translation by Philemon Holland in 1603.<sup>48</sup>

As has been noted, "How to Tell a Flatterer from a Friend" provided the *locus classicus* for a number of early modern texts that concerned themselves with the

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flatterer may be found in the writings of his contemporary Cicero, whose views on flattery as those are expressed in his essay *De Amicitia* are cited in the following paragraph.

<sup>42</sup> Thirty-six treatises that are thought to have been written by Philodemus, including the texts on flattery, were discovered in the mid-eighteenth century during excavations at Piso's Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum. Up until that time, Philodemus was known mainly for his epigrams, thirty-four of which were preserved in the *Greek Anthology*. For a survey discussion of the Herculanean papyri, see Marcello Gigante, *Philodemus in Italy. The Books from Herculaneum*, trans. Dirk Obbink. *The Body in Theory: Histories of Cultural Materialism* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995).

<sup>43</sup> Cicero, *De Amicitia*, 197.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 199.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 203.

<sup>46</sup> See Lisa Jardine's Introduction to her edition of Erasmus, *The Education of a Christian Prince*, xiv.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, xxiii.

<sup>48</sup> Plutarch, *The philosophie commonlie called, the morals, written by the learned philosopher Plutarch of Charonea. Translated out of Greeke into English, and conferred with the latine translations and the French, by Philemon Holland* (London: Arnold Hatfield, 1603).

various problems posed by flattery.<sup>49</sup> Indeed, Bacon's discussion in "Of Friendship," Erasmus's "The prince must avoid flatterers," and Castiglione's treatment of flattery in *The Courtier*, all seem to draw extensively on this source.<sup>50</sup> Itself drawing on Plato's *Laws*, Plutarch's essay notably begins by making reference to the way in which self-love eliminates one's capacity to provide honest judgment of himself:

Plato says, my dear Antiochus Philopappus, that everyone grants forgiveness to the man who avows that he dearly loves himself, but he also says that along with many other faults which are engendered thereby the most serious is that which makes it impossible for such a man to be an honest and unbiased judge of himself.<sup>51</sup>

Causing blindness to one's own faults, self-love ultimately generates self-flattery, according to Plutarch's discussion. At the same time, an intriguing link is drawn between flattery to oneself and flattery from others, who may use their words of praise to present themselves as friends. Indeed, it is the tendency to indulge one's self in self-flattery that opens up the ground for flattery from others, as the need to find confirmation for the self-aggrandizing image one has constructed for himself renders words of flattery from others particularly welcome:

This fact affords to the flatterer a very wide field within the realm of friendship, since in our love of self he has an excellent base of operations against us. It is because of this self-love that everybody is himself his own foremost and greatest flatterer, and hence finds no difficulty in admitting the outsider to witness with him and to confirm his own conceits and desires (265).

Just like self-flattery, flattery from others counters the process towards self-knowledge, since "the flatterer always takes a position over against the Maxim 'Know thyself'" (267), causing one to have a distorted view of himself and a dangerously self-deceiving understanding or ignorance of issues that concern him, both good and evil: "the good he renders defective and incomplete, and the evil wholly impossible to amend" (267).

Quite importantly, Plutarch further points out that the problem of flattery primarily concerns those in powerful or privileged positions, since the hope of financial or other profit attracts many who do not hesitate to merely simulate friendship. The evil of flattery, he observes, "does not attend upon poor, obscure,

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<sup>49</sup> See Shannon, *Sovereign Amity*, 47.

<sup>50</sup> The influence of Plutarch's treatise has also been traced in other texts. See, for instance, an essay by Robert C. Evans that concentrates on the lines of connection between "How to Tell a Flatterer from a Friend" and Shakespeare's *Othello*: "Flattery in Shakespeare's *Othello*: the Relevance of Plutarch and Sir Thomas Elyot," *Comparative Drama* 35.1 (2001): 1–41.

<sup>51</sup> Translation cited from Plutarch, *Moralia: Volume I*, trans. Frank Cole Babbitt. Loeb Classical Library, 197 (1927; Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 2005), 261–395; here 265. Page numbers are hereafter cited parenthetically in the text.

or unimportant persons" (267). On the contrary, it "makes itself a stumbling-block and a pestilence in great houses and great affairs, and oftentimes overturns kingdoms and principalities" (267). Likened to vermin that parasitically feed on the body's blood for as long as it maintains its strength and vitality, flatterers, we are told, "are never so much as to be seen coming near where succulence and warmth are lacking, but where renown and power attend, there do they throng and thrive" (267, 269).<sup>52</sup>

Intriguingly, as with Philodemus's works on flattery, Plutarch's treatise may be placed within the context of his own attempts to establish his own credentials as a genuine friend and advisor to an important figure of his day. As mentioned in the extract quoted above, the treatise is addressed to Prince Antiochus Philopappus, who is admonished how to choose his friends carefully and avoid the flattering parasites that usually swarm around powerful figures like him. "Though standing in a long and variegated moral philosophical tradition," Troels Engberg-Pedersen comments, Plutarch's essay "is topical and directly concerned with an issue of immediate relevance to its author and addressee." Ultimately, the text may be said to express Plutarch's own desire to present himself as a true friend who takes interest in warning his powerful patron against the dangers of flattery. It may be seen, to use Engberg-Pedersen's words again, as "a direct appeal clothed in general, philosophical dress."<sup>53</sup>

It should be no surprise that in the early modern period as well, the simulation of friendship by flatterers is often discussed as a problem attending specifically to those in power. As Erasmus emphasizes in *The Education of a Christian Prince*, echoing Plutarch, "the well-being of great princes is extremely vulnerable to this particular plague," to further give a warning concerning the potentially destructive consequences of flattery, when that is allowed to have influence over the prince: "the most flourishing empires of the greatest kings have been overthrown by the flatterer's tongue."<sup>54</sup>

Following the same logic, Sir Thomas Elyot's advice-book for princes, *The Governour*, also devotes a chapter to "The election of frendes and the diuersitie of flaterars."<sup>55</sup> An example may further be found in that other well-known advice-

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<sup>52</sup> For a more comprehensive discussion of Plutarch's views on flattery, see T. Whitmarsh, "The Sincerest Form of Flattery: Plutarch on Flattery," *Greeks on Greekness: Viewing the Greek Past under the Roman Empire*, ed. David Konstan and Suzanne Saïd. Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society, Supplement, 29 (Cambridge: Cambridge Philological Society, 2006), 93–111. See also Troels Engberg-Pedersen, "Plutarch to Prince Philopappus on How to Tell a Flatterer from a Friend," *Friendship, Flattery and Frankness of Speech*, 61–79.

<sup>53</sup> Engberg-Pedersen, "Plutarch to Prince Philopappus on How to Tell a Flatterer from a Friend," 64.

<sup>54</sup> Erasmus, *The Education of a Christian Prince*, 54.

<sup>55</sup> Thomas Elyot, *The Boke Named the Governour*, ed. Foster Watson. Everyman's Library, 227 (1907; London: J. M. Dent and Sons; New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1937), 189–94.

book produced during this period, Niccolò Machiavelli's *The Prince* (in its original title *Il Principe*; written in 1513, but first published in 1532, five years after the author's death). As Machiavelli points out in a chapter titled "How flatterers should be shunned," flattery provides an important point to consider, "about which rulers easily make mistakes, unless they are very shrewd and skilful at choosing men." Flatterers, he further remarks, "are found everywhere in courts; for men are so wrapped up in their own affairs, in which they are so liable to make mistakes, that it is hard to defend oneself from this plague."<sup>56</sup>

Such discussions may of course be situated within the much larger tradition of the so-called "mirrors for princes" (in Latin, "*specula principum*"), texts that aimed at instructing rulers on matters of government and behavior, either directly (as is the case with various advice manuals dedicated to kings) or indirectly, by creating more broadly models for emulation or avoidance. A number of texts belonging to this genre were notably produced in Continental Europe as well as in England in the Middle Ages.<sup>57</sup> As Judith Ferster has noted, the issue concerning the advising of kings came to be considered particularly important in England during this period, especially in cases of kings who were inexperienced in governing or, for whatever reason, incapable of doing so.

Examples like that of Edward III who was weakened by old age in the final years of his rule, Richard II who ascended the throne at the early age of ten, Henry IV who faced periods of serious illness during his rule, and Henry VI who was still an infant (aged just one) when he ascended the throne, and suffered periods of mental breakdown later in adulthood, led to the development of the king's council into an important institution that often came to acquire considerable power in royal administration.<sup>58</sup>

Indeed, in such contexts, the issue of advice given to rulers by their councils, as well as by their personal friends and advisors, came to provide a very central point of consideration. Texts like Chaucer's *The Tale of Melibee*, for instance, pay special emphasis to the significance of counsel from one's circle. Read by a number of

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<sup>56</sup> Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince*, ed. Quentin Skinner and Russell Price. Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought (1988; Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 81–82; here 81.

<sup>57</sup> For examples of mirrors for princes produced in England during the Middle Ages, see John Gower's *Confessio Amantis* (Book VII), Thomas Hoccleve's *Regement of Princes*, and Geoffrey Chaucer's *The Tale of Melibee* in *The Canterbury Tales*. For a discussion that historicizes various English mirrors for princes written during this period, including the texts by Gower, Hoccleve, and Chaucer, see Judith Ferster, *Fictions of Advice. The Literature and Politics of Counsel in Late Medieval England*. Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996). As Ferster notes, an overview of the complete range of texts in the mirrors-for-princes tradition is offered in Wilhelm Berges, *Die Fürstenspiegel des hohen und späten Mittelalters* (Leipzig: Verlag Karl W. Hiersemann, 1938).

<sup>58</sup> Ferster, *Fictions of Advice*, 2.

scholars as a pointed, albeit indirect, comment on the political situation in England in the mid- to late 1380s<sup>59</sup>—when growing discontent with the role played by young Richard II's inner circle of advisors in various matters and with what was perceived as the king's overwhelming dependence on this set of people, led to a rebellion by a group of powerful noblemen (the so-called "Lords Appellant" of 1387)—Chaucer's *Melibee* provides an exploration of the process whereby friends and counselors ought to be chosen. As Prudence proposes, calling on her husband Melibeus to be governed by her advice, "I wol enforme yow how ye shul governe yourself in chesynge of youre conseilours."<sup>60</sup>

Highlighting the ruler's own responsibility in making a careful choice of friends and advisors,<sup>61</sup> Prudence's admonition to her husband includes, like so many of the other texts examined in this essay, a special caveat about flattery as one of the principal vices the ruler "oghte to eschewe." As she points out to Melibeus,

Thou shalt eek eschue the conseillyng of alle flattereres, swiche as enforcen hem rather to preise youre persone by flaterye than for to telle yow the soothfastnesse of thynges. Wherefore Tullius seith, 'Amonges alle the pestilences that been in frendshippe the gretteste is flaterie.' And therefore is it moore need that thou eschue and drede flatereres than any oother peple.<sup>62</sup>

As one would probably expect, the question of how to discern true friendship from mere flattery provided a topic of acute interest for early modern authors as well, and numerous texts were written during this period with the purpose of advising rulers on how to avoid flatterers and, thereby, how to make a good choice of friends who will be able to give them honest and faithful counsel. Interestingly, like the works discussed earlier on by Philodemus and Plutarch, such projects were often linked to the author's own attempts to establish himself as a faithful counselor and make a bid for patronage. As Laurie Shannon highlights, "the texts of friendship and flattery produced during the Renaissance substantially overlap

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<sup>59</sup> For discussions that analyze the tale as a comment on the political scene in England during this period see, for instance, Lynn Staley Johnson, "Inverse Counsel: Contexts for the *Melibee*," *Studies in Philology* 87.2 (1990): 137–55; David Aers and Lynn Staley, *The Power of the Holy: Religion, Politics, and Gender in Late Medieval English Culture* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996), 217–33; Ferster, *Fictions of Advice*, 89–107; and David Wallace, *Chaucerian Polity: Absolutist Lineages and Associational Forms in England and Italy* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 212–46.

<sup>60</sup> Cited from *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. Larry D. Benson, 3rd ed. (1988; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 217–39; here 222.

<sup>61</sup> In Lynn Staley Johnson's words, "Chaucer's *Tale of Melibee* explores the responsibility a ruler has for the bad advice he receives and takes." As Staley Johnson further suggests, "if we choose to look at the *Tale of Melibee* as directed at the domestic crisis of the late 1380's, it emerges as a strong, if carefully crafted, statement about the nature of regal responsibility." See her article, "Inverse Counsel: Contexts for the *Melibee*," 150.

<sup>62</sup> *The Riverside Chaucer*, 223.

with this complicated genre involving both advice to princes and, often enough, the solicitation of a post."<sup>63</sup>

A telling example may be found in Erasmus's publication of *The Education of a Christian Prince*, as it testifies to the author's zealous, though largely unsuccessful, attempts to secure royal patronage. In Lisa Jardine's words, the volume "draws attention to the fact that the genre of 'advice to princes' is pragmatically linked to the practical project of finding a generous and committed patron."<sup>64</sup> The publication of the book in 1516 was notably dedicated to the young Charles V, who had recently acceded to the throne of Aragon. Erasmus's translation of Plutarch's "How to Tell a Flatterer from Friend" was further marked in the title-page of this edition as "addressed to his Serene Highness, Henry the Eight, King of England." It is to Henry VIII that Erasmus turned the following year, sending him a copy of the 1516 edition, when his hopes of procuring a position at the court of Charles, that would give him substantial and regular income, were frustrated. This episode, Jardine comments, provides an example of the kind of political use such advice-to-princes volumes were often expected to serve for their authors: "that of literally advertising the author's competences, in the hope of getting him a job as adviser or secretary in the administration of a powerful prince."<sup>65</sup>

As I mentioned earlier in this paper, Bacon's *Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall* may also be said to have targeted to a similar set of political functions for the author, as they may be read, to use David Wootton's words, as "gifts exchanged within networks of patronage and friendship."<sup>66</sup> Indeed, the various editions of the essays that appeared during Bacon's lifetime (from the first one in 1597, to the expanded version of 1612, and then the further expanded version of 1625), have all been seen as attempts to promote himself as a counselor to various influential figures. Dedicated to Bacon's brother Anthony, the first edition of 1597 is perhaps a more indirect attempt to catch the eye of potential patrons. The latter two editions though carry much clearer signs of Bacon's earnest desire to gain aristocratic and royal patronage. A manuscript copy of the 1612 edition—in which versions of the essays "Of Frenndship" and "Of Counsell" first appeared—was notably prepared for presentation to the young Prince Henry, whose favor Bacon was apparently hoping to earn. As has been noted, Bacon's expectations were, in

<sup>63</sup> *The Riverside Chaucer*, 48.

<sup>64</sup> Erasmus, *The Education of a Christian Prince*, "Introduction," xviii.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, xxi. For further details concerning Erasmus's various attempts to make use of this volume so as to bid for royal patronage, see this Introduction, xvi–xxiv. Jardine notes that Erasmus's attempt to receive Henry VIII's patronage and to become his Latin secretary was also unsuccessful. See also Lisa Jardine, *Erasmus: Man of Letters: The Construction of Charisma in Print* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

<sup>66</sup> David Wootton, "Francis Bacon: Your Flexible Friend," *The World of the Favourite*, ed. J. H. Elliott and L. W. B. Brockliss (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), 184–204; here 184.

this instance, thwarted due to Prince Henry's death on 6 November 1612, an event that led the author to cancel the dedication he was planning to make to the prince and hastily draft a new one to his brother-in-law Sir John Constable.<sup>67</sup>

The 1625 edition, the title of which also demonstrates a renewed emphasis on counseling, carries a dedication to the royal favorite, George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, and may no doubt be read within the context of Bacon's desperate attempts to reestablish himself in the years that followed his impeachment in Parliament for judicial bribery in 1621—an event that led not only to his imprisonment, but also to his removal from the prestigious position of Lord Chancellor, his banishment from Court, and, additionally, to a sentence banning him from sitting again in Parliament or holding any other office in the Commonwealth.<sup>68</sup>

As Michael Kiernan notes, even though this prohibition was subsequently repealed and Bacon was allowed to return to his lodgings, "he never enjoyed the access of counselor again. His letters of this period are filled with anguish at the loss of his advisory role and with his fruitless efforts to regain the King's ear."<sup>69</sup> This poignant sense of loss and his earnest desire to re-ingratiate himself with the King is registered, for instance, in a letter of petition he drafted (but apparently never sent) in 1622, that contemplates, according to Kiernan, on

his sixteen years of 'prosperity' under King James (who 'raised and advanced me nine times; thrice in dignity, and six times in office') and recalls that he had been 'even the prime officer of your kingdom. Your Majesty's arm hath been often over mine in council, when you presided at the table; so near I was.'<sup>70</sup>

In yet another letter addressed to the Duke of Buckingham, on 18 April 1623, Bacon "insists upon his expertise: 'My good Lord, somewhat I have been, and much have I read; so that few things which concern states or greatness, are new cases unto me'."<sup>71</sup>

In circumstances like this, Bacon might indeed have tried with vigor what, according to David Wootton, characterized his entire career: "to adapt the language and sentiments of friendship to the demands of court life, where friendship was inseparable from flattery, patronage and favouritism."<sup>72</sup> The

<sup>67</sup> See Bacon, *The Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall*, "General Introduction," xxiii–xxiv.

<sup>68</sup> An account of the parliamentary meetings that led to Bacon's impeachment is provided by Robert Zaller in *The Parliament of 1621* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1971), chapter 2. See also Conrad Russell, *Parliaments and English Politics 1621–1629* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), 111–13.

<sup>69</sup> Bacon, *The Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall*, "General Introduction," xxvi.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, xxvi–xxvii.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, xxvii.

<sup>72</sup> Wootton, "Francis Bacon: Your Flexible Friend," 201.

emphasis he pays to the role of the friend as a counselor in his essays, especially in the expanded edition of 1625, may also acquire a particularly sharpened edge within the context of his tireless attempts to gain aristocratic and royal patronage. However, as I will be arguing in the rest of this paper, while aiming to advertise the importance of counsel and its contribution to the preservation of the sovereign's power and authority, Bacon's essays in fact insistently point to the possibility of inversion of that established order, that he appears to have wanted to serve so earnestly.

Quite importantly, what defines true friendship for Bacon may be found in what he calls, in his essay "Of Friendship," "the Liberty of a *Friend*." This element may be said to distinguish the true friend from the flatterer, but also to provide the appropriate measures against the dangers of self-flattery. "There is no such Remedy, against *Flattery* of a Mans Selfe," he asserts, as the liberty that a friend takes to observe his friend's faults and to use faithful admonition as a corrective measure. Just like Bacon's first fruit of friendship, this is said to have a medicinal quality: "The Calling of a Mans Selfe, to a Strict Account," he observes, "is a Medicine, sometime, too Piercing and Corrosive," but its value is undeniable as it can help one acknowledge his errors and thereby prevent his own ruin. In this respect, the admonition of a friend is regarded as "the best Receipt," the value of which is further highlighted by Bacon's reference to its rarity. The medicine may only be administered, he suggests, by "a perfect and entire friend," for it is otherwise extraordinarily rare "to have Counsell given, but such as shalbe bowed and crooked to some ends, which he hath that giveth it" (85).

Once again, Bacon's discussion seems to draw on classical discourses of friendship, evoking in particular the ancient Greek concept of *parrhesia*. This idea notably forms part of Plutarch's discussion of flattery and friendship in "How to Tell a Flatterer from a Friend." Emphasizing the friends' likeness in character and conduct, Plutarch's text evokes the conventional definition of the friend as "another self":

that which most especially cements a friendship begun is a likeness of pursuits and characters ... to take delight in the same things and avoid the same things is what generally brings people together in the first place (51).

Also, as Philemon Holland's translation of Plutarch's text reads,

The originall of friendship among men (for the most part) is our conformitie of nature and inclination, embracing the same customs and maners, loving the same exercises, affecting the same studies, and delighting in the same actions and imployments.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Plutarch, *The philosophie commonlie called, the morals*, 87.



And yet, at the same time, a friend who is always pleasant and agrees in everything is to be suspected. Indeed, the element that best serves to discern a friend from a flatterer who may merely pretend to have common interests and ideas, is one that actually points to the break from that conformity. In Laurie Shannon's words, "speech can ultimately be discerned as that of a true friend, intriguingly, by its acidity in a conflict situation." As Shannon further highlights, "Plutarch's chapter on the discernment of true from false friends substantially entails a very practical protocol for the proper uses of candor and rebuke."<sup>74</sup>

The distinctive mark of friendship is what the Greek text refers to as *parrhesia*—in Holland's translation, just as in Bacon's essay, "libertie of speech" (87). Deriving etymologically from the words *pas* (all, the whole) and *rhesis* (speech), the term could ordinarily be translated in English as free speech, openness or frankness. Accordingly, the word *parrhesiastes* would refer to the one who expresses his feelings and opinions frankly. "The one who uses *parrhesia*, the *parrhesiastes*," Michel Foucault highlights in his discussion of this ancient Greek practice, "is someone who says everything he has in mind: he does not hide anything, but opens his heart and mind completely to other people through his discourse."<sup>75</sup> In Plutarch's text, the true friend is a *parrhesiastes*, one who opens his heart and mind to speak the truth, even when his opinion departs from that of his friend. "Insomuch, as where there is not this freedome of speaking frankly, there is no true friendship or generosity indeed," Holland's translation mentions. Thus while a flatterer may praise indiscriminately, a true friend only praises what is worthy in his friend, and may further "frankely finde fault with our doings, and reprove us."<sup>76</sup> He may, in addition, use sharp or vehement language to rebuke his friend, when he believes that he is on an errant course that requires remedial action. Yet, "the admonition and reprehension of a friend, being sincere and cleansed pure from all private affection, ought to be revered." Indeed, the friend is prompted to use that kind of language when need arises:

... then, spare him not, but pierce and bite to the quick: vehemency of such free speech is invincible . . . for the mildness and good will of the chastiser doth fortifie the austerity and bitterness of the chastisement.<sup>77</sup>

References to the element of *parrhesia*—what would later be termed in Latin texts as *licentia*—may of course be found in various other classical sources. David

<sup>74</sup> Shannon, *Sovereign Amity*, 49.

<sup>75</sup> Foucault provided an extensive consideration of *parrhesia* in a series of six lectures he delivered at the University of California at Berkeley in 1983. The transcribed recordings of these lectures have been published under the title *Fearless Speech* (Los Angeles: Semiotext(e), 2001). Also available online at: <<http://foucault.info/documents/parrhesia/>>

<sup>76</sup> Plutarch, *The philosophie commonlie called, the morals*, 87.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 88.

Colclough notes that in ancient Greek literature the term *parrhesia* first appears in texts that celebrate the Athenian democracy as a constitution that gave its citizens the privilege to participate and speak freely among their equals in the proceedings of the political assembly (*ekklesia*).<sup>78</sup>

An example may be seen in Euripides's *Hippolytus* (first performed in 428 BCE), where Phaedra wishes that "God grant [her husband and children] rich and glorious life in Athens – / famous Athens – freedom in word and deed" (lines 422–23).<sup>79</sup> Beyond this context of the Athenian *ekklesia* though, the concept of *parrhesia* subsequently acquired much greater currency in situations that involved social inequality and where the social inferiority of the *parrhesiastes* introduced an element of risk or danger in the utterance of his opinion. So there is an apparent shift in the use of the term when that is applied to relations of patronage, or to situations where a philosopher addresses himself to a tyrant to point out issues that may be unpleasant for him to hear, thus risking to be punished. Drawing an inseparable link between *parrhesia* and danger, Foucault argues that "someone is said to use *parrhesia* and merits consideration as a *parrhesiastes* only if there is a risk or danger for him or her in telling the truth." Thus,

when a philosopher addresses himself to a sovereign, to a tyrant, and tells him that his tyranny is disturbing and unpleasant because tyranny is incompatible with justice, then the philosopher speaks the truth, believes he is speaking the truth, and more than that, also takes a risk (since the tyrant may become angry, may punish him, may exile him, may kill him). And that was exactly Plato's situation with Dionysus in Syracuse.

In effect, for Foucault, *parrhesia* is "linked to courage in the face of danger: it demands the courage to speak the truth in spite of some danger. And in its extreme form, telling the truth takes place in the 'game' of life or death."<sup>80</sup>

No doubt Bacon's long career as a politician and a statesman at the courts of Elizabeth I and James I made him well aware of the possible risks involved in displeasing the sovereign. Surely his own frank speech in the Parliament of 1593, when he opposed the imposition of heavy taxation over, what seemed to him, too short a period of time, did not cost him his life. Yet the incident, that caused Queen Elizabeth's fury, still made him realize the possible dangers involved in the act of

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<sup>78</sup> David Colclough, *Freedom of Speech in Early Stuart England*. Ideas in Context, 72 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 16. It needs to be noted that the *ekklesia* excluded categories like women and slaves. However, all those who took part in it were, theoretically at least, considered to be equal. For another discussion of the practice of *parrhesia* in the ancient world, see Arnaldo Momigliano, "Freedom of Speech in Antiquity," *Dictionary of the History of Ideas*, 6 vols., ed. Philip Wiener (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973), vol. II, 252–63.

<sup>79</sup> Euripides, *Euripides I: Four Tragedies*, trans. David Grene (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955), 181; example here cited from Colclough, *Freedom of Speech in Early Stuart England*, 17.

<sup>80</sup> Foucault, *Fearless Speech*, 16.

speaking frankly, depriving him of his hopes for preferment as the queen was thereafter unwilling to appoint him to any of the leading offices he sued for. This might well have been, as Perez Zagorin observes, the last instance when Bacon "ever took an independent stand in disagreement with authority or allowed his conscience to have precedence over his political interests."<sup>81</sup>

However, his essays clearly advocate the model of the friend-counselor as a *parrhesiastes*, who courageously speaks the truth in the face of authority, even when his frank speech is bound not to please. It is within the context of this tradition, rather than that of a "tradition that emphasizes the honesty and disinterest that can exist within egalitarian friendship," as Ben LaBreche has tried to suggest in his recent article on Bacon and Spenser, that Bacon's discussion of friendship more firmly situates the idea of frankness and truth.<sup>82</sup>

Taking the argument one step further, Bacon also moves on to suggest that kings should rather embrace and look for, rather than punish, the frankness of the counselor-friend. Indeed, his essay "Of Friendship" makes the implicit suggestion that the pursuit of true friendship should not simply be seen as a matter of choice, but as a matter of duty, for rulers. His discussion of friendship as a medicinal element that ensures the health and well-being of the mind and heart finds a compelling set of connotations when applied to the body of the king. In this light, a sovereign's failure or refusal to find comfort in friendship suggests a potentially destructive set of implications that extends well beyond his body natural, to the body politic.

This danger is registered in an intriguing image of autophagy, used by Bacon to refer to those that do not open themselves to friendship. This is drawn from a saying of Pythagoras that is recorded in Plutarch's "The Education of Children" (in the *Moralia*). "The Parable of *Pythagoras* is darke, but true," Bacon comments: "*Cor ne edito, Eat not the Heart*. Certainly, if a Man would give it a hard Phrase, Those that want *Friends* to open themselves unto are cannibals of their owne *Hearts*" (83). In his discussion of this extract, Milad Doueihi cogently comments that, "the absence of friends necessitates a dangerous turn within, a turn that eliminates the possibility of any discursive communication and therefore contaminates the body and devours the self."<sup>83</sup>

As I would further like to argue here, this image of self-cannibalism carries an implicit warning to the sovereign whose lack of friends suggests an act that violates the body politic, ultimately subverting his own power and authority and throwing the country into confusion. The sovereign therefore has a duty, as well

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<sup>81</sup> Zagorin, *Francis Bacon*, 9.

<sup>82</sup> LaBreche, "Patronage, Friendship, and Sincerity in Bacon and Spenser," 87.

<sup>83</sup> Milad Doueihi, *A Perverse History of the Human Heart* (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 1997), 63.

as a vested interest, in the pursuit friendship—but also, by extent, in the pursuit of faithful counsel from true friends.

In this respect, the friend as a good counselor becomes an integral part of good governance, one that is indispensable for the preservation of the established order and the sovereign's power and authority. This is further highlighted in Bacon's "Of Counsell." "The wisest *Princes*," he affirms there, "need not thinke it any diminution to their Greatnesse, or derogation to their Sufficiency, to rely upon *Counsell*." This is supported by a reference to the figure of Christ and his role as counselor to God, an image that suggests the significance of counsel as a constituent part of an indivisible form of power: "God himselfe is not without: But hath made it one of the great Names, of his blessed Sonne; *the Counsellour*," to add that, "Salomon hath pronounced, that *In Counsell is Stability*." To run affairs without heeding to counsel is likened to the "Reeling of a drunken man," full of instability and danger, as when one is "tossed upon the Waves of *Fortune*" (63). In this essay, just as in "Of Frenship," the counselor is cast in the role of the *parrhesiastes* and the sovereign is given practical advice as to how to ensure that his advisors will deliver their minds freely, without being influenced either by the opinions of others or by the disposition of the sovereign himself. When presiding in council, for instance, the king is advised to refrain from expressing himself too openly before hearing out his counselors, otherwise they "will but take the Winde of him," realize in other words his own disposition, and "in stead of giving Free Counsell, sing him a Song of *Placebo*" (68) that will simply conform with his own wishes.

Yet, quite intriguingly, at the same time as they advertise the vital importance of good counsel and its contribution to the preservation of the sovereign's power and authority, the *Essayes* seem to point insistently toward the possibility of disruption for that established order, that Bacon himself appears to have been so desirous to serve. As I would like to argue, Bacon's configuration of the friendship between king and counselor registers a largely ambivalent and strained relationship, one of discomfiting harmony that constantly threatens them both with dislocation.

The following example from the essay "Of Counsell" is highly suggestive, I believe, of this fragile and discomfiting balance in the relationship between king and counselor. This is the story of Jupiter and Metis, various dimensions of which point to a profound sense of ideological ambivalence that disrupts the very purpose seemingly served by the inclusion of the myth in this essay *Essayes*.<sup>84</sup> This

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<sup>84</sup> Bacon's interpretation of this myth had first appeared in print in 1609 in *De Sapientia Veterum* (*The Wisdom of the Ancients*), a book that provided in Latin his reading of the allegorical connotations of thirty-one classical myths. For discussions that cogently analyze some of the conceptual and political ramifications of Bacon's treatment of the story of Jupiter and Metis, see Christopher

powerful mythological template that introduces yet another instance of cannibalistic indulgence, registers, according to Bacon,

both the Incorporation, and inseparable Conjunction of *Counsel* with *Kings*; And the wise and Politique use of *Counsell* by *Kings*: The one, in that they say, *Jupiter* did marry *Metis*, which signifieth *Counsell*: Whereby they intend, that *Soveraignty* is married to *Counsell*: The other, in that which followeth, which was thus: They say, after *Jupiter* was married to *Metis*, she conceived by him, and was with Childe; but *Jupiter* suffered her not to stay, till she brought forth, but eat her up; Whereby he became himself with Child, and was delivered of *Pallas Armed*, out of his head (64).

Scholars have already commented on the significance of gender configurations in this extract.<sup>85</sup> Casting the relationship between king and counselor in terms of the marital relationship between Jupiter and the goddess of wisdom, Metis, serves to not only draw a link between sovereign power and counsel, but also to point to a distribution of power that, in the first instance, appears to affirm the authority of kings. While the gender configuration suggests the feminization of the counselor who is presented in terms of the figure of Metis, sovereignty is ascribed with the masculine power of Jupiter, who demonstrates his potency by impregnating the goddess. Jupiter's supreme control is further testified by his cannibalistic ingestion of Metis, a violent act of incorporation that signifies the absolute nature of sovereign power and its potential to control everything in its territory.

Rather surprisingly, little attention seems to have been paid to Bacon's choice to make no reference to the reasons why Jupiter does not allow Metis to give birth, but decides to eat her up instead. This may be said to point to Bacon's attempt to excise any potentially unsettling elements found in the myth: a reader familiar with the original story in Hesiod's *Theogony* would know that Jupiter had received a prophecy that Metis would give birth to extremely powerful children that would eventually overthrow Jupiter himself. Thus his cannibalistic act comes as a result of his anxiety to secure his power and authority.

Quite importantly, while this element is carefully excised by Bacon, the possibility of Jupiter's overthrow ultimately remains present in his retelling of the narrative. Indeed, the former distribution of power is in many ways challenged as the narrative unfolds. Quite intriguingly, following his cannibalistic act, it is Jupiter himself who seems to be feminized by having to carry Pallas and subsequently suffer the pains of childbirth. The potential inversion of Jupiter's power is further signified by the figure of Pallas herself. The way in which she is born provides a distortion of the normative biological account of childbirth, not

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Holcomb, "Kings and Counselors: the Politics of Francis Bacon's Rhetorical Theory," *Philological Quarterly* 74.3 (1995): 227–47, and Solomon, *Objectivity in the Making*, Chapter 4, "Bacon's Myth of Metis. The Fabrication of Consensus," 103–60.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid. See, also, Laurie Shannon's discussion in *Sovereign Amity*, 198–99.

only because she comes out of his head, but, more importantly, because she is paradoxically born armed, embodying in a certain sense her father's prior act of violence. A female figure with masculine power, Pallas ultimately renews the possibility of her father's overthrow that he tried to extinguish through his cannibalistic act and the violent incorporation of Metis.

The sovereign's incorporation of the counselor's advice has a similarly enervating effect that threatens to undermine his power and authority. This is suggested by Bacon's explication of the myth, despite his attempt to convince the reader to the contrary. This "monstrous Fable," he suggests,

containeth a Secret of *Empire*; How *Kings* are to make use of their *Councell* of *State*. That first, they ought to referre matters unto them, which is the first Begetting or Impregnation; But when they are elaborate, moulded, and shaped in the Wombe of their *Councell*, and grow ripe, and ready to be brought forth; That then, they suffer not their *Councell* to goe through with the Resolution, and direction, as if it depended on them; But take the matter backe into their owne Hands, and make it appeare to the world, that the Decrees, and finall Directions, (which, because they come forth with *Prudence*, and *Power*, are resembled to *Pallas Armed*) proceeded from themselves: And not onely from their *Authority*, but (the more to adde Reputation to Themselves) from their *Head* and *Device* (64).

As Christopher Holcomb comments in his analysis of this extract, "at the very moment Bacon affirms the authority of the kings, he undermines it, first by showing their dependence on counselors, and second, by exposing the basis of their authority as trickery."<sup>86</sup> In effect, far from pointing to the affirmation of kingly authority as it purports to do, Bacon's explication rather exposes that authority as a mere trick played by the king who appropriates the matter shaped and grown ripe in his counselors' wombs, to present it to his subjects as his very own. The process ultimately reveals the king's dependency and partly his own incapacity, as he has to rely on the generative powers of his counselors.

A similar interplay between capacity and incapacity, powerfulness and powerlessness may of course be found in the role of the counselor as well. While having the generative powers to "mould" and "shape" in his womb the matter provided by the king, the counselor then lacks the means or the power to bring that matter to life. Or to continue that metaphor used by Bacon, without kingly power to bring the counselor's ideas to fruition, the matter grown ripe in the counselor's womb would have to be still-born. Finally, the presentation of the king's incorporative powers in terms of a cannibalistic act suggests a fragile balance of terror in the exchange between king and counselor—whose desire to serve the king and thereby achieve advancement is constantly weighed against the

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<sup>86</sup> Holcomb, "Kings and Counselors: the Politics of Francis Bacon's Rhetorical Theory."

danger of being eaten up by the absolute power of the man he serves. In this relation of interdependence, there is a constant reminder of how one's best friend may potentially be one's worst enemy.

This dangerous balance is ironically also illustrated by those examples from Roman history, used by Bacon in his essay "Of Frenship" to show the importance historically laid by rulers on friendship. Among them is the story of Tiberius and Sejanus, to whose putative friendship "the whole Senate, dedicated an Altar ... as to a *Goddess*" (83). But, as Bacon's readers would have known—from, among other sources, perhaps Ben Jonson's dramatization of the story in his 1603 play, *Sejanus, his Fall*—despite the immense power accumulated by Sejanus as the emperor's favorite, his friendship with Tiberius ended with his fall from power and his eventual execution.

This unsettling piece of information is here altogether silenced by Bacon, but the potentially disturbing consequences of such friendships is registered in his reference to another example, that of Julius Caesar and Brutus—that his audience would also have been familiar with from another, this time more popular dramatization, William Shakespeare's 1599 play, *Julius Caesar*. In a reverse scenario to that of Tiberius and Caesar, the break of friendship is, in this instance, marked by the ruler's dire end. As Bacon notes, Brutus was "the Man, that had power with [Julius Caesar], to draw him forth to his death," convincing him, despite his inclination to pay heed to the ill foreboded by the dream of his wife Calpurnia, to go to the Senate, where he would be attacked and killed (82).

In effect, despite its constant valorization, Bacon's configuration of the friendship between king and counselor registers a largely ambivalent and strained relationship that is potentially enervating for both. This perhaps suggests a broader ambivalence concerning the limits of sovereign power, pointing, as I mentioned in my introduction to this paper, to what Markku Peltonen, among others, has called the "republican inclinations" of Bacon's thought.<sup>87</sup> Departing from the view of Bacon as an unambiguously royalist figure, this reading explores those elements in his work that suggest that, despite his long career as a statesman in the service of Queen Elizabeth I and King James I, during which he often defended the sovereign's inherent prerogatives, Bacon might in fact have been closer to anti-absolutism than absolutism.

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<sup>87</sup> See note 2. For other readings that also challenge the image of Bacon as an unwaveringly royalist figure, see Christopher Hill, *Intellectual Origins of the English Revolution – Revisited* (1965; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), esp. 77–117; Richard Tuck, *Philosophy and Government 1572–1651. Ideas in Context*, 26 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), esp. 108–114; Diana B. Altegoer, *Reckoning Worlds: Baconian Science and the Construction of Truth in English Renaissance Culture* (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2000).

In Peltonen's words, it is "arguable that although Bacon defended the king's prerogative in general and his right of imposition in particular, and although he sometimes employed absolutist arguments, he cannot be classified as an absolutist"—an argument that is largely based on the idea, often re-iterated in Bacon's writings, that sovereign power derived, and was thereby limited, by the common law, and that "every time he defined sovereignty as law-making authority, he attached it to the Parliament."<sup>88</sup> But, as has been further suggested, Bacon's republican leanings may also be traced in his passionate commitment to the Ciceronian idea of the *vita activa*, and the citizen's right, and duty, to have an active engagement in public affairs for the good of the commonwealth.

Bacon's persistent emphasis on the role of the counselor, and the freedom of speech he should be allowed to enjoy, may no doubt be read within the broader context of these ideas. Powerless and powerful at the same time, this figure fascinatingly registers both the all-incorporating power of the sovereign power, but also the possibility of its radical subversion. Indeed, if, as Richard Tuck has also put it, Bacon's political thought "had more of a republican than a princely spirit to it,"<sup>89</sup> this spirit is perhaps nowhere more intriguingly registered than in Bacon's compelling discussion of the relationship between friend-as-counselor and ruler.

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<sup>88</sup> Peltonen, "Bacon's Political Philosophy," 290.

<sup>89</sup> Tuck, *Philosophy and Government*, 112.



# Chapter 17

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## Painted Friends: Political Interest and the Transformation of International Learned Sociability

### Intimacy and Politics

In his best-seller, *De constantia* (*On Constancy*, 1584), the Flemish humanist Justus Lipsius (1547–1606) painted, as it were, an alluring portrait of intellectual friendship. A young Lipsius paced through a beautiful, enclosed garden in the company of his elder friend and mentor, Langius. Their learned companionship flourished in a secluded nook, shielded from the harsh winds and tempests of a world shaken by rebellion and religious wars. Lipsius suggested that through the rule of one's own mind and the support of like-minded friends, one might find shelter from the chaos of a wider world out of the individual's control. The painter Rubens lushly allegorized Lipsius's intimate neo-Stoic friendships in his *Four Philosophers* (Fig. 1) as a vase of precious tulips snugly lodged in a niche beneath a bust of Seneca and behind the fur-wrapped philosopher and his friends. Lipsian constancy has profoundly shaped our view of learned friendships at the turn of the seventeenth century.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Mark Morford, *Stoics and Neostoics: Rubens and the Circle of Lipsius* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991). Another exemplary friendship was that between Lipsius and Welser. Jan Papy, "Lipsius and Marcus Welser: the Antiquarian's Life as *via media*," *The World of Justus Lipsius: a Contribution Toward His Intellectual Biography*, ed. Marc Laureys with the assistance of Christoph Bräunl, Silvan Mertens, and Reimar Seibert-Kemp. *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome* 68 (1998): 173–90. The number of contributions to this volume focusing on small circles or relationships (Lipsius and Causabon, Lipsius and the Dousa family, Lipsius and Clusius, Lipsius and Pighius, Lipsius and Delrio) points to the importance of the idea of the small intellectual

Lipsius, however, did not intend this portrait of intellectual friendship to stand on its own. *De constantia* was but one wing of a triptych which eventually included Lipsius's *Politiorum sive civilis doctrinae libri sex* (*Six Books on Politics or Civil Doctrine*, hereafter *Politica*) of 1589 and his *Monita et exempla politica* (Political advice and examples) of 1605 as well. While Lipsius aimed the Neo-Stoic *De constantia* at subjects, he composed the Tacitist *Politica* and *Monita* for rulers.<sup>2</sup> In sharp contrast to the warm, enveloping tones of the *De constantia*, the *Politica* and *Monita* were panels painted in the unforgiving grisaille of *realpolitik*. The cold world of politics necessitated the reason of state, that is, those calculations of interest over affection which could be learned from ancient historians, primarily Tacitus. Tacitists—those cutting-edge political commentators such as Lipsius who drew lessons in the reason of state from the annals of ancient history—revealed a world where honesty was not the best policy, and political interest, rather than justice, was served.<sup>3</sup>

In such a world, the prudent ruler could not trust in friendship. As Lipsius said in the *Politica*, quoting Pliny, “in the palace of the Prince, only the name of Friendship has survived, a worthless and empty shell.”<sup>4</sup> The contrast between the false friendships portrayed in the *Politica* and the sheltering embrace of the learned friend in *De constantia* could not be greater. Such a contrast might serve a political design. Flipping open the triptych of *Constantia*, *Politica*, and *Monita*, we realize the artful composition of *De constantia*'s jewel-like scene. If private men embraced constancy in the face of hardship, they were less likely to rebel. While subjects responded to the troubles of the times through immersion in learning, intellectual companionship, and gardens, they left princes free rein to construct their courtly halls of mirrors. As Peter Burke has suggested, for Lipsius Neo-Stoicism and Tacitism functioned together as “complementary opposites” “like *yin* and *yang*,” the former showing subjects how to obey through virtue and endurance, and the latter teaching princes how to rule through skill and dissimulation.<sup>5</sup>

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sodality in studies of Lipsius. I would like to express my thanks to Hana Takusagawa, John Gagné, Kevin Pask, Anthony Grafton, and the editors of this volume for reading this essay. All errors are, of course, my own.

<sup>2</sup> Justus Lipsius, *Politica: Six Books of Politics or Political Instruction*, trans., intro. and ed. Jan Waszink (Assen: Royal van Gorcum, 2004), Introduction, 28.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, Introduction, 88.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, Book IV, Chapter 14, 515.

<sup>5</sup> Peter Burke, “Tacitism, Scepticism, and Reason of State,” *The Cambridge History of Political Thought 1450–1700*, ed. James Henderson Burns with the assistance of Mark Goldie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 479–98; here 492.

Lipsius, like many others who attempted to harmonize religion and new theories of the reason of state, defended the morality of his political theory.<sup>6</sup> The application of the reason of state might violate moral norms, but it served a higher good by maintaining stability.<sup>7</sup> It was not merely the prerogative of power, but was grounded upon learning and skill, rather than military violence alone, or on *ars* (skill) together with *mars* (war). Such political calculations required both information and individuals skilled in collecting, analyzing, and organizing that information.

Thus, the two worlds of intellectual and political friendships represented respectively by "*De constantia* and the *Politica*," were not as separate as they might at first appear. In early modern Europe, information collection was performed through the institution of learned friendship. Pragmatic readers and international agents gathered the learning needed for a new information-based political practice through learned travel (the *ars apodemica*) across the international Republic of Letters.<sup>8</sup> Such information gatherers cast their "knowledge transactions" in the language of friendship, drawing upon the humanist ideal of *amicitia* based on Aristotle's and Cicero's teachings to gain information for political ends.<sup>9</sup> The beautifully rendered image of friendship in *De constantia* thus might be stripped away to reveal a design as cold as the *Politica*. Rising absolutism, which Lipsius's *Politica* and even (one might argue) his *Constantia* served, opened friendly intimacy up to the suspicions of politics.

Politically motivated methodical travel made the utilitarian nature of learned friendship manifest and precipitated a crisis for the ancient models of *amicitia* (friendship) central to practices of learning. Seventeenth-century learned friendship was not the sheltered refuge it appears to be in Rubens's painting.

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<sup>6</sup> Inter alia, Robert Bireley, *The Counter-Reformation Prince: Anti-Machiavellianism or Catholic Statecraft in Early Modern Europe* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), and Michel Senellart, *Machiavélisme et raison d'état: XIIe – XVIIIe siècle*. Philosophies, 21 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1989).

<sup>7</sup> Lipsius, 102.

<sup>8</sup> On methodical travel, see Justin Stagl, *A History of Curiosity: The Theory of Travel, 1500–1800*. Studies in Anthropology and History, 13 (Chur, Switzerland: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1995).

<sup>9</sup> Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, "'Studied for Action': How Gabriel Harvey Read his Livy," *Past and Present* 129 (1990): 3–50; Lisa Jardine and William Sherman, "Pragmatic Readers: Knowledge Transactions and Scholarly Services in Late Elizabethan England," *Religion, Culture and Society in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Honor of Patrick Collinson*, ed. Anthony Fletcher and Peter Roberts. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 102–24. Hans Cools, Marika Koblusek, and Badeloch Noldus, *Your Humble Servant: Agents in Early Modern Europe* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2006); David J. Baker, "'Idiote': Politics and Friendship in Thomas Coryate," *Borders and Travellers in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Thomas Betteridge (Aldershot, England, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 129–46. Cf. Laurie Shannon, *Sovereign Amity: Figures of Friendship in Shakespearean Contexts* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

Contemporary critics pointed to the ways statist thinking had invaded all of sociability.<sup>10</sup> Proponents of rival political views prepared guides to “civil conversation,” finding in the minutiae of proper dinner table behavior an important grounding for an alternative politics.<sup>11</sup> Others recommended a prudent retreat into silence as a reaction to the Tacitist politics of the day.<sup>12</sup> Seemingly intimate sociability became a matter of great political moment, because learned friendships were bound by chains of political interest.

Historians have traced a net of *quid pro quo* exchanges fastened onto apparently secluded intellectual friendships. Disruptions in any one relationship, as the story of Lipsius’s friendship with the political theorist and polemicist Kaspar Schoppe (1576–1649) attests, ignited a “chain reaction” amid all these contacts.<sup>13</sup> Such congeries of friendship not only accomplished the intellectual work of collecting, editing, translating, and publishing knowledge, but recruited participants in personal, confessional, and even national rivalries.<sup>14</sup>

The politicized historians who followed Lipsius in collecting information for the service of the state criticized the ways their own practices had transformed scholarship into learned statism. The critique of learned charlatans and Machiavellians operating secretly within a purported Republic of Letters has been seen as an attack launched by eighteenth-century enlightened men of *belles lettres*

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<sup>10</sup> Horst Dreitzel, “Reason of State and the Crisis of Political Aristotelianism: An Essay on the Development of 17th century Political Philosophy,” *History of European Ideas* 28 (2002): 163–87; here 178, n. 32.

<sup>11</sup> Peter N. Miller, “Friendship and Conversation in Seventeenth-Century Venice,” *The Journal of Modern History* 73 (2001): 1–31. Martin van Gelderen, “The State and its Rivals in Early Modern Europe,” *States and Citizens: History, Theory, Prospects*, ed. Bo Strath and Quentin Skinner (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 79–97; here 87.

<sup>12</sup> Martin Mulsow, “Harpocratism: Gestures of Retreat in Early Modern Germany,” Pamela E. Selwyn, trans. *Common Knowledge* 16.1 (2010): 110–27; here 116–17.

<sup>13</sup> Jan Papy, “Manus manum lavat: Die Briefkontakte zwischen Kaspar Schoppe und Justus Lipsius als Quelle für die Kenntnis der sozialen Verhältnisse in der Respublica litteraria,” *Kaspar Schoppe (1576–1649): Philologe im Dienste der Gegenreformation: Beiträge zur Gelehrtenkultur des europäischen Späthumanismus*, ed. Herbert Jaumann. Zeitsprünge. Forschungen zur Frühen Neuzeit, 2.3.4 (Frankfurt a. M.: Vittorio Klostermann, 1998), 276–97. For Schoppe’s influential political writings, see inter alia his *Elementa Philosophiae Stoicae Moralis* (Maintz: Albinus, 1606), and *Paedia Politices*, ed. Hermann Conring (Helmstadt: Muller, 1663).

<sup>14</sup> Anne Goldgar, *Impolite Learning: Conduct and Community in the Republic of Letters, 1680–1750* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), Françoise Waquet, “La République des Lettres: un univers de conflits,” *Pouvoirs, contestations et comportements dans l’Europe moderne*, ed. Bernard Barbiche, Jean-Pierre Poussou, and Alain Tallon. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de l’Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2005), and Martin Mulsow, *Die Unanständige Gelehrtenrepublik: Wissen, Libertinage und Kommunikation in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 2007). For a more sympathetic view of intellectual friendships in the Republic, see Anthony Grafton, “A Sketch Map of a Lost Continent: The Republic of Letters,” *Worlds Made by Words: Scholarship and Community in the Modern West* (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 2009), 9–34.

upon antiquated and pedantic men of learning.<sup>15</sup> However, the Tacitist historian and master of information collection, Johann Heinrich Boeckler (1611–1672), made this criticism already in the mid-seventeenth century from deep within the ranks of learned men. What Boeckler criticized as a learned statist was not the outmoded pedant who could not evolve into a sociable and worldly *honnête homme*, but the all too politically savvy and innovative scholar.<sup>16</sup>

In this chapter, I will show that critiques of the new political nature of learning were made in the seventeenth century by scholars themselves, that such critiques were linked to the practices of methodical travel and its new apparatus, the *album amicorum* (book of friends), and that this seventeenth-century perception of the changed nature of friendship was so fundamental that it might inform our historical category of “late humanism.” In 1931, Erich Trunz devised the term “late humanism” to refer to a perceived shift in learned culture around 1600, at a time when a new literary nobility advanced the status of humanists as a group.<sup>17</sup> The meaning of this term has been hotly debated since then.

For some, the stylistic and political changes introduced by Lipsius and other Tacitists forever changed the Republic of Letters.<sup>18</sup> Richard Tuck saw Tacitism as a “new humanism.”<sup>19</sup> For Wilhelm Kühlmann, late humanism referred to a feeling of “lateness” expressed by humanists themselves, prodded by the complicated

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<sup>15</sup> Wilhelm Kühlmann, *Gelehrtenrepublik und Fürstenstaat: Entwicklung und Kritik des deutschen Späthumanismus in der Literatur des Barockzeitalters*. Studien und Texte zur Sozialgeschichte der Literatur, 3 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1982), 320–21. Cf. Joseph M. Levine, “Strife in the Republic of Letters,” *Commercium Litterarium: Forms of Communication in the Republic of Letters, 1600–1750*, ed. Hans Bots and Françoise Waquet. Studies van het Instituut voor intellectuele betrekkingen tussen de Westeuropese Landen in de zeventiende eeuw, 25 (Amsterdam and Maarssen: APA-Holland University Press, 1994), 301–19; here 315–16. Levine casts J. B. Mencke among the men of letters mocking the learned.

<sup>16</sup> Johann Heinrich Boeckler, *C. Velleii Paterculii Libri Duo . . . cum annotatis Joannis Henrici Boeckleri* (Strasbourg: Mülbe, 1642), 90–101, discussed further below. On Boeckler, see *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 2 (1955), 372–73; vol. 19 (1999), 404; vol. 24 (2010), 117..

<sup>17</sup> Erich Trunz, “Deutscher Späthumanismus um 1600 als Standeskultur,” originally in *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Erziehung und des Unterrichts* 21 (1931: 17–53, rpt. in *Deutsche Barockforschung: Dokumentation einer Epoche*, ed. Richard Alewyn. Neue wissenschaftliche Bibliothek, 7 (Cologne and Berlin: Kiepenheuer and Witsch, 1965), 147–81; here 165.

<sup>18</sup> This point was debated in Ulrich Muhlack, “Der Tacitismus - ein Späthumanistisches Phänomen?” *Späthumanismus: Studien über das Ende einer kulturhistorischen Epoche*, ed. Notker Hammerstein and Gerrit Walther (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2000), 160–82, and Conrad Wiedemann, “Fortifikation des Geistes: Lipsius, der *Cento* und die *prudencia civilis*,” in *ibid*, 183–207.

<sup>19</sup> Richard Tuck, *Philosophy and Government, 1572–1651*. Ideas in Context, 26 (Cambridge, and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

relations between an international republic of letters and competitive territories.<sup>20</sup> For others, religious polemics introduced by the Reformation changed the politics, tenor, and dynamics of learning.<sup>21</sup> Antje Stannek pointed to the importance of methodical travel and the way it transformed both the education of nobles and humanism by emphasizing an empirical, pragmatic politics and the collection of useful ideas and inventions while abroad for the benefit of a particular territory.<sup>22</sup>

Like most periodizations, the term “late humanism” is vague and contested. By referring to “humanists,” it does not, for instance, account for the majority of learned men in the various professions of the period.<sup>23</sup> Johann Heinrich Boeckler had explicitly criticized the way political practices had affected not only humanists (“Philologi”), but also theologians, lawyers, doctors, and philosophers.<sup>24</sup> Despite such difficulties with the category of late humanism, it is clear that the term refers to a period of great expansion in the extent of learning and learned sociability.

Trunz pointed out that the number of the academically educated continually increased as new schools were founded, while the size of personal libraries mushroomed.<sup>25</sup> Correspondence and expressions of “friendship” exploded as well. New media, such as the *album amicorum* (book of friends) facilitated the practice of friendship. Trunz saw the cold, formulaic friendship of the period as a particularity of late humanism. “Als Gelehrter war man *amicus* und *amicissimus* einer Vielzahl anderer Gelehrter (As a learned man, one was *amicus* and *amicissimus* with many other learned men),” he wrote, and it was not unusual to list thirty or fifty individuals as one’s friends. It was in letters, *alba amicorum*, poems, and printed collaborative works celebrating friendship circles that such relationships found expression. As Trunz said, “. . . mancher liebte schließlich

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<sup>20</sup> Wilhelm Kühlmann, *Gelehrtenrepublik*, (1982) and Martin Opitz: *Deutsche Literatur und Deutsche Nation*, ed. Kühlmann (Heidelberg: Manutius, 2001), and Gerhard Oestreich, *Geist und Gestalt des frühmodernen Staates: ausgewählte Aufsätze* (Berlin: Duncker & Humbolt, 1969). See the discussion of Oestreich in Kühlmann (1982), 6–7.

<sup>21</sup> Axel E. Walter, *Späthumanismus und Konfessionspolitik: Die europäische Gelehrtenrepublik um 1600 im Spiegel der Korrespondenzen Georg Michael Lingelsheims*. Frühe Neuzeit, 95 (Tübingen: Max Neimeyer, 2004).

<sup>22</sup> Antje Stannek, “*Peregrinemur non ut aranae sed ut apes*: Auslandserfahrungen im Kontext adeliger Standeserziehung an der Wende vom 16. zum 17. Jahrhundert,” *Späthumanismus. Studien über das Ende einer kulturhistorischen Epoche*, ed. Notker Hammerstein and Gerrit Walther (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2000), 208–26.

<sup>23</sup> Anthony Grafton made this point in a talk, “What was Late about Late Humanism?” presented at the Centre for Research in the Arts, Social Sciences and Humanities Conference, Cambridge, UK, 10–11 July 2007. I would like to express my thanks to Anthony Grafton for sharing this piece with me before its publication.

<sup>24</sup> Boeckler, C. *Velleii*, 97.

<sup>25</sup> Trunz, “Deutscher Späthumanismus,” 163 (see note 17).

diese Formen mehr als die Freunde und die Freundschaft selbst (many finally loved these forms more than friends and friendship itself)."<sup>26</sup>

The classical patronage network of *amicitia* had made friendship a utilitarian institution since ancient Rome. However, while historians describe twelfth-century *amicitia* as "very much a pragmatic activity founded on mutual self interest," the truth remains that in the twelfth century there was no discourse of self interest like the one which developed over the course of the seventeenth century.<sup>27</sup> The ambiguity of *amicitia* between affection and a *quid pro quo* relationship had allowed friendship to flourish for centuries as a central mechanism for interpersonal relationship in everything from international politics to church administration to learned exchange.<sup>28</sup> In the late sixteenth century an explicit discourse of reason of state and the "reason of state of the self" or self interest generated a crisis for the institution of *amicitia*.

The political usefulness of learned friendship generated at first an escalation in utilitarian friendships supported by relatively new media, such as the *album amicorum*. In the mid-seventeenth century, this escalation stimulated a critique of the state of learning which expanded through the eighteenth century. Simultaneously, the professional deployment of the *album* by men of learning and politicians declined. Taken at face value, the outpouring of expressions of friendship of the period, from the enormous popularity of Lipsian constancy to the expansion of the *album amicorum*, might point to a golden age of intellectual fellowship. Viewed in the context of political discussions of friendship and an emerging criticism of the links between learning and politics, such portrayals of learned friendship take on a different hue. Tracing the changing form of the *album amicorum* alongside political views of learned sociability and methodical travel will throw this context into relief. Such a study will help to show how new political theories transformed the long-lived institution of learned *amicitia* and thus learning itself, while learned friendship in turn contributed to the emergence of new political practices of information collection.

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid, 167.

<sup>27</sup> John McLoughlin, "Amicitia in Practice: John of Salisbury (c. 1120–1180) and His Circle," *England in the Twelfth Century*, ed. D. Williams. Proceedings of the 1988 Harlaxton Symposium (Woodbridge, Suffolk, and Wolfeboro, NH: Boydell Press, 1990), 165–81; here 167. The use of the term "interest" increased over the course of the century, replacing or complementing the term "reason of state," which had achieved currency earlier. See Burke (see note 5).

<sup>28</sup> On *amicitia* as an expression of solidarity beyond both need and personal affection, see Julian Haseldine, "Understanding the Language of *Amicitia*: the Friendship Circle of Peter of Celle (1115–1183)," *Journal of Medieval History* 20 (1994): 237–60. See also his contribution to the present volume.

## An Honest Man Sent to Lie Abroad for his Country: Politics in the Book of Friends

It was vital for a politician to recognize that the division between the intimate friendships of *De constantia* and the utilitarian calculations of the *Politica* was a mirage. The implosion of the career of Henry Wotton (1568–1639), the English ambassador to Venice, dramatized the dangers of turning a blind eye to the political nature of late humanist friendships. The seeds of scandal were planted on a journey in 1604, when Wotton paused at the home of his old friend Christoph Fleckhammer. There he inscribed in Fleckhammer's *album amicorum* the following *bon mot* concerning the political importance of international deception: "*Legatus est vir bonus, peregrè missus, ad mentiendum Reipublicae causa*," that is, "A diplomat is an honest man sent to lie abroad for his country."<sup>29</sup>

The *album amicorum*, although ostensibly memorializing the relationship between just two people—the inscriber and the book's owner—in fact was read and used (both to establish contacts and to defame enemies) within far-flung networks. This meant that Wotton's joke was far from private. Years after Wotton wrote it, Kaspar Schoppe saw Wotton's joke in Fleckhammer's album and seized upon it to attack both Wotton and his master King James, in a work of political and religious polemic aimed at James, his *Ecclesiasticvs auctoritati serenissimi d. Iacobi Magnae Britanniae regis oppositvs* of 1611.

Schoppe made the most of the *Sitz-im-Leben* in which Wotton's gaffe had appeared. He cited Wotton's album inscription word for word. He even had the type laid out on the printed page in exactly the same form in which it would have appeared in the album, signed and dated, with the full title of both Wotton and King James. The typographically simulated album inscription transports the reader instantly from religious polemic to a social setting and back again. "Haec multi primarii viri Augustae non sine admiratione viderunt, quorum est Illustris Marcus Velserus, reipub. Augustanae Praefectus, vir acrimonia iudicii, literarum elegantia & morum suavitate nemini secundus (Many of the foremost men of Augsburg saw this inscription, not without amazement, and among them was the illustrious Marc Welser, mayor of Augsburg, a man second to none in the sharpness of his judgment, the elegance of his writing, and the charm of his manners)," wrote Schoppe.<sup>30</sup> Schoppe staged Wotton's inscription as a shocking blunder committed within a suave and well-connected social network which stretched, via Marc Welser (1558–1614), to Schoppe himself.

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<sup>29</sup> The inscription was first reprinted by Kaspar Schoppe in *Ecclesiasticvs auctoritati serenissimi d. Iacobi Magnae Britanniae regis oppositvs* (Hartberg [in reality: Meitbingen]: n.p., 1611), 13.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*



Wotton attempted to defend himself in 1613 by printing an open letter to this same Marc Welser, a mutual friend of his and of Lipsius and Schoppe. In writing to Welser, he attacked Schoppe for dragging an intimate inscription into a political and religious polemic. He “had chanced to set down at my Friend’s Mr. Christopher Fleckamor, in his Album of Friends, after the German custome, (a white Paper—Book used by the Dutch for such kind of Mottos)” his little pun on ambassadors. “Now, what, I pray, think you doth this Scioppius hereupon?” wrote an aggrieved Wotton. Schoppe threw “open the Cabinet of familiarity, after so many years” and dragged a private joke into a public battle.

Wotton distinguished sharply between public, political organs of communication and the intimate, manuscript culture of the *album amicorum*. While he had made a harmless joke in private about politics, Catholic polemicists like Schoppe routinely twisted the words of sacred Scripture itself, “not by the by, nor in jest, or in the Album of Friends, where idle things and truths us’d to be set down with equal security, but on set purpose, and from the Pulpit.” There was a major difference, Wotton contended, between his own playful, amicable *album amicorum* inscription and what he cast as the printed, polemical, and above all pedantic *Ecclesiasticus* Schoppe had composed. This “new Ecclesiastick, not in the Album of Friends, but in the 485th Page of his fine Syntagma” pronounced words contrary to Scripture “with a blasphemous and shameless mouth.” Wotton contrasted the unimpeachable *album* with Schoppe’s flagrant Papist polemics, averring that he should not be faulted for words spoken in the privacy of friends.<sup>31</sup>

This was hardly persuasive. The *album amicorum*, although containing deceptively intimate inscriptions, had long served as a tool for international networking on a grand scale. By 1604, there was little that was intimate about it. The *album* was a tool young would-be politicians used to survey distant lands, as they systematically travelled with diaries, *itineraria*, maps, and *alba amicorum* in hand.<sup>32</sup> The methodization of travel made international friendship explicitly political. A central part of a new political practice was the collection of information both through the study of history (above all ancient Roman historians such as Tacitus) and methodical travel.

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<sup>31</sup> Henry Wotton, “Letter to Welser,” *Reliquiae Wottonianae* (London: Roycroft, 1672), e6v–f2r. Henry Wotton, *Epistola* (Amberg: Schönfeld, 1613). On this incident, see, inter alia, Winfried Schleiner, “Scioppius’ Pen against the English King’s Sword: The Political Function of Ambiguity and Anonymity in Early Seventeenth-Century Literature,” *Renaissance and Reformation* 26 (1990): 271–84, and Logan Pearsall Smith, *The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966).

<sup>32</sup> Pietro Canoniero, for example, cited Meier and Rantzau’s list at length in his *Dell’Introduzione all’Politica* (Antwerp: Trognesium, 1614), 142–43.

Methodical travel through the Republic of Letters was a different affair from travel to lands largely uninhabited by Europeans.<sup>33</sup> Learned contacts provided passports to the homes and dinner tables of foreign scholars, making methodical travel a series of social encounters. New genres such as the *album amicorum* were designed to foster, collect, and record such moments of intimacy in the course of methodical travel. However, travelers's re-enactments of the intense amicability exemplified by Lipsius and Langius in *De constantia* occurred in passing and between individuals who were largely strangers. Such facile friendships, however eloquently they were celebrated within the *album amicorum*, were not shelters from the world of politics, but points of encounter on a purposeful survey of foreign lands.<sup>34</sup>

Theodore Zwinger, who methodized travel as a way to import competitively information home just "Ut ergo è toto terrarum orbe preciosae merces in celeberrima convehuntur emporia" ("as precious goods are transported from the whole world to the most famous emporia"), broke the experience of travel down to that of collecting desirable objects, including people.<sup>35</sup> Zwinger published lists of men notable for letters, mechanical arts, arms, and so forth, and methodical travelers thereafter approached a foreign destination with a list of individuals in mind whom they wished to collect within a book of friends.<sup>36</sup> There was thus nothing at all unusual in the utilitarian collection of friends through travel. In fact, it was part of the definition of methodical travel. Only those who travelled with politically utilitarian motives could aspire to the title of "peregrinator."<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Françoise Waquet, "L'Espace de la République des Lettres," *Commercium Litterarium: Forms of Communication in the Republic of Letters, 1600–1750*, ed. Hans Bots and Françoise Waquet. *Études de l'Institut Pierre Bayle, Nimègue*, 25 (Amsterdam and Maarssen: APA-Holland University Press, 1994), 175–89.

<sup>34</sup> Paul Dibon et Françoise Waquet, *Johannes Fridericus Gronovius, Pèlerin de la République des Lettres: Recherches sur le Voyage Savant au XVIIe Siècle*. *Hautes études médiévales et modernes*, 53 (Geneva: Droz, 1984).

<sup>35</sup> Theodore Zwinger, *Methodus Apodemica* (Basle: Episcopius, 1577), preface, translated by Stagl, *A History of Curiosity*, 122.

<sup>36</sup> For Padua, for instance, Zwinger listed four theologians, twenty-five lawyers and judges, twenty-four philosophers and doctors, fifteen rhetoricians, five warriors, fifteen painters, sculptors, engravers and scribes (with the locations of their works), etc. Zwinger, 275–76.

<sup>37</sup> Georg Loysius, *Pervigilium Mercurii* (1598; Leiden: Verbiest, 1667), 220. "Est autem peregrinatio nihil aliud quam studium perlustrandi terras exoticas, & insulas, ab homine idoneo suscipiendum, ad artem vel ea acquirenda, quae usui & emolumento patriae vel Rei esse publicae possunt. Talem peregrinationum regionum perlustratorem & diligentem earum rerum observatorem, qui suam peregrinationem non temeritate, sed utilitate motus instituit, Peregrinantem appellare licebit (Peregrination is nothing other than the pursuit of surveying foreign lands and islands, to be taken up by a fit man, for the acquiring of art or those things which can be of use and profit to the fatherland or the republic. One may call the sort of diligent observer of those things and surveyor of foreign lands who set up his journey not moved by rashness, but by utility, a "Peregrinator") [*italics original*]."

Across large swathes of Northern, Central, and Eastern Europe, determined collectors of men and things prepared luxuriously bound blank volumes to take on their journey. When they succeeded in making the passing acquaintance of targeted individuals, they asked them to sign the usually hierarchically arranged book on the page which represented the perceived value of the inscriber. This value was determined relative to anyone else the book's owner was likely to meet. The owner of the *album* had to have a very lucid idea of his own social place in order to judge how many famous people he could persuade to sign his book and on what page in that book he should ask them to sign. Books with many blank pages to the fore and the inscriptions clustered at the end give away highly ambitious album owners who anticipated, but did not succeed, in collecting many very valuable protestations of friendship.

The encounter with people of diverse ranks and the practice of album inscription helped to clarify social hierarchies in culturally, politically, and geographically complex regions of Europe and beyond. From the beginning, therefore, the inscription was not the same as a letter written from one person to another, as public as letters were in the period. Rather, the page of the inscription represented a carefully defended and eagerly observed status defined, like prices in the emporium, not only between buyer and seller but in relation to all the other available goods. The resulting inscriptions, as saccharine as they often are, should certainly not be read at face value as a refuge from the otherwise competitive nature of learned friendships.<sup>38</sup>

This was Henry Wotton's mistake. Wotton's flimsy defense of friendly intimacy as sacred ground not to be troubled by politics only succeeded in making him an object lesson in imprudence back home.<sup>39</sup> Anything uttered within the garden of *De constantia* would be instantly reported back to the court of the *Politica*, especially when the stroll in the garden was but a stop on an information-gathering tour. For his part, Schoppe highlighted his awareness of the political nature of friendship by entitling the narrative of his career as a statist and polemicist the *Philotheca*, or "treasury of friends" (another term for the *album amicorum*).<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Cf. Jason Harris, "The Practice of Community: Humanist Friendship during the Dutch Revolt," *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 47.4 (2005): 299–325.

<sup>39</sup> On Wotton as an example of imprudence, see David Lloyd, *The States-Men and Favourites of England* (London: Speed, 1665), 1032, and Nathaniel Wanley, *The Wonders of the Little World, or, A General History of Man in Six Books* (London: Basset, 1673), Chapter XX, "Of the oversights of some Persons of great abilities: and their imprudence in their speeches, or affairs," 398.

<sup>40</sup> Kaspar Schoppe, *Philotheca Scioppiana sive Gasparis Scioppi, Comites a Claravalle, narratio annis distincta de benefactoribus, amicis et familiaribus suis, quos in omni vita habuit: quidque apud illos, per illos, ac propter illos in Dei gloriam et utilitatem publicam inter annos quinquaginta molitus et emolitus fuerit*. Bibliotheca Medicea-Laurenziana, Cod. S.N. 243. Reproduced in Mario d'Addio, *Il Pensiero*

The story of Wotton and Schoppe reveals the way the book of friends was linked to vast, combative networks with an electric intensity which at any moment might turn and strike back at a hapless inscriber out of a seemingly blue sky. This energy sprang from the crackling religious and political tensions invading practices of learned sociability in the early seventeenth century, even during a period of relative peace following the bloody religious wars of the previous century. Schoppe himself had converted to Catholicism, as did Justus Lipsius. As linchpins of learned networks turned to Rome, their former co-religionists often correctly surmised that intellectual and social networks had guided them to their new faiths.<sup>41</sup>

When smoldering hostilities erupted again into the full-blown Thirty Years War, the many sudden defections to Catholicism seemed to strike staggering blows to the Protestant cause.<sup>42</sup> These converts were not only important nodes of learned correspondence. They were also key political experts at a time when the knowledge of ancient and modern history was believed to confer distinct advantages in theaters of both war and peace. Their conversions represented a surrender of massive intellectual firepower to Catholic armories.

Tacitism, or the erudite study of reason of state, needed learned men to feed the growing information state. Humanists now were not only valuable as orators who could fulfill diplomatic missions, compose elegant occasional poetry, or gently admonish rulers as to the ideal state. They were sophisticated operatives who scoured the pages of history as well as domestic and foreign lands in search of information useful as precious "secrets of state."<sup>43</sup> A new political culture heightened the value of international networks, at once expanding and methodizing the construction of such networks within the Republic of Letters and opening up such relationships to suspicions of political utilitarianism. The tactic of using international networks to gain the upper hand in bloody political and confessional conflicts by winning converts offered evidence in support of such suspicions.

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*politico di Gaspare Scioppio e il Machiavellismo del Seicento*. Istituto di studi storico-politici, Università di Roma, Facoltà di scienze politiche, Pubblicazioni, 4 (Milan: Giuffrè, 1962), 609–725.

<sup>41</sup> Silvia de Renzi, "Courts and Conversions: Intellectual and Natural Knowledge in Counter-Reformation Rome," *Studies in the History and Philosophy of Science* 21.4 (1996): 429–49; here 432.

<sup>42</sup> Robert John Weston Evans, *The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy, 1550–1700: an Interpretation* (Oxford and New York: Clarendon Press, 1979), 41–116.

<sup>43</sup> Jessica Wolfe drew elegant links between the sophisticated needs of international diplomacy and espionage and the literary artifice deployed to meet such needs in *Humanism, Machinery and Renaissance Literature* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

## The Constant Traveler, or How to use Friends to Collect Information

Through the seventeenth century, methodizers of travel and historico-political writers offered explicit advice on the utilitarian cultivation of friendship. They recommended to travelers how they might use the institution of scholarly exchange—learned friendship—to collect materials for a new information-based political practice. The cosmopolitan mores of international learned friendship were encouraged and exploited as means of acquiring advantages for the benefit of a particular territory.<sup>44</sup> As Johann Heinrich Boeckler advised, friends granted travelers information which was otherwise carefully guarded in archives.<sup>45</sup> They offered access to the *arcana* (secrets of state) and *notitia* (information) which methodical travelers with a political agenda sought.

After the return home, international friends continued to remain a crucial source of information for the politician. The body of knowledge gathered in travel could continue to produce fruits useful for the state only if it was constantly updated. Travelers were advised to “plot to have dayly intelligence” about domestic and foreign affairs. By these means, “the observations made in travaile, shal be kept in continuall tilthe.”<sup>46</sup> The traveler ought to find friends who could accurately inform the traveler about political secrets (*arcana Reipublicae ac aulae*) from abroad. The best way to keep information flowing through the fields of knowledge was to cultivate carefully those friends made while travelling abroad, even after the return home.<sup>47</sup> This must be done, stressed the Tacitist Johann Andreas Bose (1626–1674), not only with empty words and greetings, but through the exchange of favors and benefices. Without this it would be impossible for the traveler to

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<sup>44</sup> There was thus not only a conflict between the internationality of the Republic of Letters and the chauvinism of patriotism. On patriotism and the Republic of Letters, see Waquet (1994), 176 and 188 (see note 34).

<sup>45</sup> Johann Heinrich Boeckler, “De Peregrinatione Germanici Caesaris,” *Dissertationes Academicae* (Strasbourg: Bockenhofer, 1658), 42–43. “Non pacebunt [sic, read as “patebunt”] tibi durae, sed praesertim peregrinis Archivi fores . . . Sed reperiuntur fortasse ubique viri, omnem suae reipublicae aulae conditionem ingenio usuque complexi: qui nefas non putabunt, cum Peregrinatore digno & capace, conciliandisque illustribus amicitis per virtutis indolem apto, sermones de republica accuratiores & secretiore sapientia plenos caedere (The unyielding doors of the Archive will not open for you, especially as a foreigner . . . But perchance somewhere men who have skillfully grasped the entire condition of their republic or court are found who will not think it wrong to converse about the republic in a very accurate and informed way with a Traveler who is worthy and competent and apt by nature at acquiring distinguished friendships).”

<sup>46</sup> Thomas Palmer, *An Essay of the Meanes How to Make Our Travailes, into Forraigne Countries, the More Profitable and Honourable* (London: Lownes, 1606), 131.

<sup>47</sup> Johann Andreas Bose, *Introductio Generalis in Notitiam Rerumpublicarum Orbis Universi* (Jena: Krebs, 1676), 75.

maintain his knowledge of foreign affairs, since political matters were always changing.<sup>48</sup>

Travel was essential to a new information-based political practice, and the gathering of political knowledge through travel was done in the company of friends. The form of the resulting political works reflected the importance of sociability to empirical politics. Writers who advocated travel as the basis of gathering information cast their political treatises as intimate conversations. Such writers mixed the affective register of Lipsius's *Constantia* with the political lessons of his *Politica*. Jakob Bornitz, for instance, who introduced a discussion of the reason of state to German-speaking lands in his *Discursus politicus de prudentia politica comparanda* (*On Acquiring Political Prudence*, 1602), stressed that his work was not a strictly theoretical treatise, but an informal "discourse among friends."<sup>49</sup> Writers on the reason of state stressed that they did not compose closed, systematic treatises, but informal *discorsi* and conversations developed in amicable company.<sup>50</sup>

The intertwining of intellectual intimacy and vast information gathering tours explains such seemingly contradictions as the works of the Catholic convert Hieronymus Elver (1584–1624), agent to Habsburg Emperors Matthias and Ferdinand II. Elver could publish, on the one hand, a collection of political discourses gathered from his travels to Italy, France, the Netherlands, Britain, Germany, and Poland, and on the other hand, his *Spring Walks*, praising intimate gardens and Lipsian constancy. These two worlds converged in a third work, his *Consualia, Hoc est: de Conciliis, Consiliariis et Consiliis, Doctrina Politica* (*Feast of Consus, or the Political Doctrine of Councils, Counsellors and Counsels*), set at a cozy dinner party in the house of a friend, where Elver paused on his way home from

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid, 76. "Reverso e Peregrinatione amicitia cum exteris sacita [sic] sollicite & studiose observanda alendaque est, crebris non litteris tantum, & salutationibus, sed etiam officiis & beneficiis, si maxime id interdum cum aliquo facultatum, temporis, negotiorumque impendio fieri necesse sit. Nam absque hoc adiumento res Imperiorum, quae saepe intra exiguum tempus magnam mutationem subeunt, recte pleneque cognosci non possunt (Upon the return from a journey, friendship with foreigners should be assiduously cultivated and maintained, not only through frequent letters and greetings, but also through services and favors, even if it requires now and then the expenditure of many resources and much time and trouble. For without this, the affairs of empires, which often undergo a great change in an extremely short time, cannot be known properly)."

<sup>49</sup> Jakob Bornitz, *Discursus Politicus de Prudentia Politica Comparanda* (Erfurt: Birnstilius, 1602). On Bornitz, see Michael Stolleis, *Pecunia Nervus Rerum: zur Staatsfinanzierung in der frühen Neuzeit* (Frankfurt a. M.: Klostermann, 1983); and Michel Senellart, "La Critique allemande de la raison d'état machiavélique dans la première moitié du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Jacob Bornitz," *Corpus: revue de philosophie* 31 (1997): 175–87.

<sup>50</sup> Merio Scattola, *Dalla virtù alla scienza: la fondazione e la trasformazione della disciplina politica nell'età moderna*. Per la storia della filosofia politica, 11 (Milan: Angeli, 2003), 427–28.

his English voyage.<sup>51</sup> Viewed from the perspective of the methodical traveler and political writer, even the most friendly dinner party, walled garden, or sheltered study was but one stop in an information-gathering tour.

### *Ars and Mars in the Book of Friends*

The *album amicorum* held an important place in the Northern European politician's information-collecting tool kit. The *album* began in the last decades of the first half of the sixteenth century as an aid to Reformed sociability in Wittenberg but soon spread across several confessions and countries from Hungary to Scotland.<sup>52</sup> Despite its popularity in early modern Europe, only in the past few decades has this largely overlooked genre begun to be analyzed as a source for social, educational, and intellectual history.<sup>53</sup>

In the four and a half centuries of its existence, the *album* has evolved in dramatic ways, pointing to critical changes in the institution it served—friendship. The learned *album* of refined classical, Biblical and patristic inscriptions originally co-existed alongside a quite distinct genre of the nobleman's heraldic *Stammbuch*. In the late sixteenth century, these two genres merged, pointing to the rise of the nobility of the robe and the integration of *ars* and *mars*.<sup>54</sup> Over the course of the eighteenth century, the album split away from politics again, morphing into the poetry album associated with women and eventually girls. Distinct women's

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<sup>51</sup> Hieronymus Elver, *Deliciae Apodemicae: Hoc est, Selectiorum discursuum Ethico-Politicorum Sylloge Epistolica: Nata In peregrinatione Italica, Gallica, Belgico-Britannica, Germanica, Polonica* (Leipzig: Apelius, 1611), *Deambulationes Vernae* (Frankfurt a. M.: Jennis, 1620), and *Consualia, Hoc est: de Conciliis, Consiliariis et Consiliis, Doctrina Politica* (Frankfurt a. M.: Schönwetter, 1620). On Elver, see Oswald von Gschliesser, *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 4 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1959), 471.

<sup>52</sup> But not including, oddly, England. For Scottish albums, see James Fowler Kellas Johnstone, *The Alba amicorum of George Strachan, George Craig, Thomas Cumming*. Aberdeen University Studies, 95 (Aberdeen: University of Aberdeen, 1924), and Jan Papy, "The Scottish Doctor William Barclay, his Album Amicorum, and His Correspondence with Justus Lipsius," *Myrica: Essays on neo-Latin Literature in Memory of Jozef Ijsewijn*, ed. Dirk Sacré and Gilbert Tournoy. Supplementa humanistica Lovaniensia, 16 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2000), 333–96. The album of the Scot Thomas Seghetus is now Codex vaticanus latinus 9385. See Baumgarten, "Ein schottisches Stammbuch," *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Literaturgeschichte* (1892): 88–95.

<sup>53</sup> Walther Ludwig, *Das Stammbuch als Bestandteil humanistischer Kultur: Das Album des Heinrich Carlhack Hermeling (1587–1592)*. Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, 274 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006).

<sup>54</sup> See the *album* of notable agents and diplomats such as Philip Hainhofer (Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 210 Extrav), and Axel Oxenstierna. Lotte Kurras, and Werner Taegert, *Axel Oxenstiernas album amicorum und seine eigenen Stammbucheinträge* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 2004).

albums had existed throughout the history of the *album amicorum*, but as the political and learned versions of the album declined, women's albums emerged as the dominant form at the end of the eighteenth and through the nineteenth centuries.<sup>55</sup> The evolving *album* offers a means to interrogate the intersection of sociability and politics in the early modern period.

In its very structure and genre, the *album amicorum* fits a political culture encouraging cleverness through the collection of sharply pointed observations, clever emblems, and sophisticated *argutiae* (jests or verbal cunning). Several scholars have pointed to the nexus of new political cultures and the *album* genre. Walther Ludwig suggested the use of Lipsius's *Politica* in the album as a topic worthy of study. The *Politica*, as a loose patchwork of politically useful sentences gathered out of ancient historians, served as a particularly popular source for *album* inscriptions. Werner Wilhelm Schnabel too has suggested that the character of the album as a gathering of *sententiae* and epigrams might be seen in a Lipsian context, particularly among the many students of the Tacitist historian at the University of Strasbourg and authority on methodical travel, Matthias Bernegger (1582–1640).<sup>56</sup> Like epigrams, emblems too were considered excellent exercises in political cleverness.<sup>57</sup> Emblem books were popular supports for albums, and several collections of political emblems in particular were printed for use as albums, pointing to the *album's* role in the training of politicians.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Johan Oosterman, "Women's Albums: Mirrors of International Lyrical Poetry," *I Have Heard About You: Foreign Women's Writing Crossing the Dutch Border: From Sappho to Selma Lagerlöf*, ed. Suzan van Dijk, Petra Broomans, Janet F. van der Meulen, and Pim van Oostrum, trans. Jo Nesbitt (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2004), 94–99, Alfred Fiedler, *Vom Stammbuch zum Poesiealbum: eine volkskundliche Studie*. Kleine Beiträge zur Volkskunstofforschung, 7 (Weimar: Böhlau, 1960), and Kees Thomassen, *Alba Amicorum: Vijf Eeuwen Vriendschap op Papier gezet: Het Album Amicorum en het Poeziealbum in de Nederlanden* (s'Gravenhage: Maarssen, 1990), and Gertrude Angermann, *Stammbücher und Poesiealben als Spiegel ihrer Zeit: Nach Quellen des 18.–20. Jahrhunderts aus Minden-Ravensberg*. Schriften der Volkskundlichen Kommission des Landschaftsverbandes Westfalen-Lippe, 20 (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 1971).

<sup>56</sup> Ludwig, *Das Stammbuch*, 70. Werner Wilhelm Schnabel, *Das Stammbuch: Konstitution und Geschichte einer textsortenbezogenen Sammelform bis ins erste Drittel des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Frühe Neuzeit, 78 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2003), 514. On Bernegger, see Wilhelm Kühlmann, "Paradigmenwechsel: Matthias Bernegger (1582–1640) als Vertreter der politisch-historischen Philologie des Frühbarock," *Gelehrtenrepublik und Fürstenstaat: Entwicklung und Kritik des deutschen Späthumanismus in der Literatur des Barockzeitalters* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1982), 44–63, and Wilhelm Kühlmann and Walter E. Schäfer, *Frühbarocke Stadtkultur am Oberrhein: Studien zum literarischen Werdegang J. M. Moscheroschs (1601–1669)*. Philologische Studien und Quellen, 109 (Berlin: E. Schmidt, 1983).

<sup>57</sup> Johann Balthasar Schupp, *Salomo, oder Regenten-Spiegel* (Hamburg: Pfeiffern, 1657), Gii – Giii.

<sup>58</sup> Georgette de Montenay, *Monumenta Emblemata Christianorum Virtutum, Tum Politicarum, tum Oeconomicarum chorum Centura Una. . . ad instar Albi Amicorum exhibita* (Frankfurt: Unckel, 1619). Daniel Meisner, *Thesaurus Philo-Politicus, Hoc est, Emblemata sive Moralia Politica Figuris Aeneis Incisa et ad Instar Albi Amicorum exhibita* (Frankfurt a. M.: Kieser, 1623). The Meisner emblem book



The collision within the *album* between a new politics of cunning and the celebration of friendship, however, raised serious queries concerning the honesty of affection. In the seventeenth century, rulers and politicians did not hide the fact that dissimulation had become the new foundation of politics. Duke Heinrich Julius of Braunschweig-Lüneburg even selected the aphorism of Louis XI, “*qui nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare* (He who cannot dissimulate, cannot rule)” as his inscription within the *album amicorum*, in other words, within a volume dedicated to memorializing and dilating upon friendship.<sup>59</sup> Such odd juxtapositions between deceit and affection posed an immense problem for early modern friendship. Who could be called a true friend in a world where friendship was a political matter and dissimulation a matter of course? This was a question raised by many in their writings within and about books of friends.

Explicit views of the album are difficult to trace, since the album was not a heavily theorized or codified genre. The first systematic treatment of the genre, a dissertation entitled *Schediasma critico-literarium de philiothecis varioque earundum usu et abusu* (A critico-literary Account of Albums and their Use and Abuse) was defended by Michael Lilienthal at Königsberg only in 1711 and printed in 1712.<sup>60</sup> Some album owners did, however, preface their volumes with their own preferences for their album, and such prescriptive prefaces might also be printed separately.

One such writer was Peter Ailber, who printed several pages of directions for his album within a collection of his poetry.<sup>61</sup> Ailber emphasized the popular theme of *ars et mars*, a new political ideal merging skill and war. Since *mars* was the *de facto* requirement for political leadership, discussions of this ideal often served as defences of the newer virtue of *ars* and its equality with or even superiority to *mars*.<sup>62</sup> This was a debate illustrating the rise of the nobility of the robe and the new emphasis on political knowledge rather feudal hierarchy alone, two phenomena which broke down the distinctions between the noble *Stammbuch* and the learned *album*. “*Ars et mars*” justified the political use of the learned *album* as the fulfillment of an ideal.

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appeared in more than five versions until 1631, always by the same publisher in Frankfurt a. M., 1628 even in two German translations as *Politisches SchatzKästlein*.

<sup>59</sup> Christiane Schwarz, *Studien zur Stammbuchpraxis der Frühen Neuzeit: Gestaltung und Nutzung des Album amicorum am Beispiel eines Hofbeamten und Dichters, eines Politikers und eines Goldschmieds (etwa 1550 bis 1650)*. Mikrokosmos, 66 (Frankfurt a. M., Berlin, et al.: Peter Lang, 1999), 106.

<sup>60</sup> Michael Lilienthal, *Schediasma critico-literarium de philiothecis varioque earundum usu et abusu, vulgo von Stamm-Büchern* (Königsberg and Leipzig: Hallervordius; Königsberg: Zäncker, 1712).

<sup>61</sup> Peter Ailber, *Centuria anagrammatum prima cum genio mensae, gratiarum theculis, & carminum ac epigrammatum primitiis; additae sunt orationes solemnes de deo & intelligentiis: Item de eloquentia cum praescriptiones philothecae & trophaeo* (Leipzig: Lantzenberger, 1611), 537–44.

<sup>62</sup> As was the case in a dissertation on the topic, Jacob von Bruck-Angermundt, *Ars et Mars, sive discursus politicus de literis et armis* (Brieg: Sigfried, 1612).

Ailber was an imperial poet laureate, a Lutheran preacher, a client of the Saxon court, and a teacher in the newly founded Lutheran school in the old city of Prague.<sup>63</sup> He stressed that his volume welcomed “Magni, minuti, maximi, medioximi, / Verae pietatis sanctitate nobiles, / Virtutis altae claritate nobiles, / Avita vel patrita sit, Sudore multo vel labore parta sit, / Armata vel togata sit (The great, the least, the greatest, and the middling sort, nobles through the sanctity of true piety, nobles through the lofty renown of virtue, whether ancestral or from one’s father, whether born from much sweat or labor, whether armed or wearing the toga).”<sup>64</sup> This endorsement of all sorts, including the learned who gained nobility through the trials of scholarship rather than the fields of war permitted Ailber shameless references to his own careerist aspirations and potential *quid pro quo* exchanges. He unabashedly requested inscriptions which would commend him and commanded his inscribers, “Manu Clientem auxilii / Sublevate, promovete (Lift and promote [your] client with a helping hand).”<sup>65</sup> Such favors would oblige him to serve them in return, “nodoque stricto me vobis sic obligo (and thus I bind myself to you with a tight knot).”<sup>66</sup>

Many other album owners and inscribers echoed Ailber’s stress on the political usefulness of both *ars* and *mars*. Christiane Schwarz has studied the album of the politician Nicolaus von Vicken, who prefaced his volume with extensive remarks preferring *ars* to *mars*, a preference reflected thereafter in many of the inscriptions in the album. “Sunt duo quae faciunt ut quis sit nobilis, Ars, Mars: / Maior ab arte venit gloria, Marte minor (There are two qualities which ennoble an individual, *ars* and *mars*, yet more glory comes from *ars* and less from *mars*).” wrote Vicken.<sup>67</sup> *Ars*, especially the *ars apodemica* (the art of methodical travel), offered a surer path to political fortune than *mars*; “Homo verò in multis regionibus versatus, astutiam acquirit (a man who travels in many lands acquires cleverness).”<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Christian Adolph Pescheck, *The Reformation and Anti-Reformation in Bohemia*, trans. Daniel Benham (1844; London: Houlston and Stoneman, 1845), 238.

<sup>64</sup> Ailber, *Centuria anagrammatum*, 1611, 538 (see note 61)

<sup>65</sup> Ibid, 539.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid, 539–40.

<sup>67</sup> Schwarz, *Studien zur Stammbuchpraxis*, 79 (see note 59). Nicholas Reusner and Albert Friedrich Mellemann had said the same in a poem on the motto of Heinrich Rantzau one of the chief proponents of methodical travel, and the couplet appeared in other *album* inscriptions. Albert Friedrich Mellemann, “In arma Ranzoviorum equitum Cimbrorum,” *Delitiae Poetarum Germanorum*, Vol. 4 (Frankfurt a. M.: Jacob Fischer, 1612), 500. Walther Ludwig, “Non cedit umbra soli’: Joachim Graf zu Ortenburg als Humanist und Leser von Justus Lipsius,” *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 51 (2002): 207–43; here 224. The phrase appeared in the album of Eberhard Avercamp. J. Nanninga Uitterdijk, “Het Album Amicorum van Dr. Everhardus Avercamp, 1619,” *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis van Overijssel* 6 (1880): 219–64; here 258.

<sup>68</sup> Schwartz, 80.

Von Vicken's remarks on the greater glory accruing to *ars* than to *mars*, could, like Wotton's inscription in the album of Fleckhammer, be understood in an innocent and a less than innocent fashion. What precisely did *ars* mean in these verses? Learning? Skill? Art? Or cleverness? Tricks? Deception? The emphasis upon cleverness, dissimulation, and networking within politics raised questions about the often overwrought declarations of undying love filling many an album page. A popular album illustration of the ideal of "*ars et mars*" showed a man split down the middle, half arrayed for battle and half dressed in scholarly robes fit for the library.<sup>69</sup> While heralded as a new political ideal, such a split between scholar and soldier could also be interpreted as a form of hypocrisy. The same, very striking image was deployed in a book of political emblems by Jakob Bornitz not to symbolize *ars* and *mars*, but to convey the idea that learning or theology might serve to justify political or military ends. The man divided between soldier and scholar held an open book upon which were written the words "*Re(li)gionis Amor*" ("*Love of Re(li)gion*") to show that "*Der Soldat list Religion / Und doch nur meint die Region*" ("*The soldier reads religion / and yet means only the region*").<sup>70</sup> Men divided between *ars* and *mars* might say one thing and mean another.

The massive expansion of the album also encouraged doubts about the sincerity and motivations of album owners. Those who valued the intimacy of humanist sodalities criticized this escalation in learned friendship. As early as 1613, the rector of the Herborn academy and encyclopedist Johann Heinrich Alsted (1588–1638) deplored the rapid mushrooming of books of friends. In a dissertation on the ethics of friendship, Alsted argued that true friendship took time and care to cultivate. He criticized those who collected too many names within their *alba amicorum*, for he who was at the beck and call of too many friends must constantly either dissimulate his true intentions or conform himself to their wills. With so many friends, it would be practically impossible to be true to everyone. Such advice, however, did not prevent Alsted from signing the shockingly enormous *album amicorum* of Joachim Morsius (on page 774!) as a token of his "sincere friendship" in 1619.<sup>71</sup> Alsted's treatment of friendship as a topic in ethics was a far cry both from his own practice of *album* inscriptions and from the instrumental view of friendships found among political writers.

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<sup>69</sup> Marie Ryantová selected this image for the cover of her book, *Památníky aneb štambuchy, to jest alba amicorum: kulturně historický fenomén raného* (České Budějovice: Historický Ústav Filozofické Fakulty Jihočeské Univerzity., 2007). Waszink included another version of it in his edition of Lipsius's *Politica*.

<sup>70</sup> Jakob Bornitz, *Emblematum sacrorum et civilium miscellaneorum sylloge I miscellanea* (Frankfurt a. M. and Hamburg: Zetter, 1638), 30.

<sup>71</sup> Johann Heinrich Alsted, *Disputatio ethica de amicitia* (Herborn: Johannes Portmann, 1613), 36–37 and the Album of Joachim Morsius, Staatsbibliothek Lübeck Ms. 4a 25, 774.

Those who signed such massive books of friends were transparently not generally on intimate terms with the book's owner and curator. Rather, they sought to join a broad network of contacts collected in the album. This is clear from a story one Bernegger student, the poet Daniel Czepko, recounted to another, the poet Christoph Coler, in 1626:

Adiit me Praestantissimus iste Vir Iuvenis, et una manu album porrigebat, alterâ commendatitias petebat. Persuadebat ille sibi amicos ibi vivere non de vulgo, quibuscum necessitudo et familiaritas mihi intercederet maxima, et officium amicitiae tantum, ut, quod peterem, facilè consequar . . .

[An outstanding young man came to me, holding out in one hand an album and begging with the other a letter of recommendation. He was convinced that in a certain place I had friends, with whom I was connected with such a strong bond, intimacy, and obligations of friendship that whatever I asked, I would easily obtain . . .]<sup>72</sup>

Through the album inscription, one sought to ally one's self to a network of well-connected people through a public letter of recommendation, rather than to develop an intimate friendship between the album inscriber and owner alone.

Many read albums seeking to trace networks and uncover connections. Knowing who had befriended whom fell among the "arcana Notitiae Authorum" ("secrets of information about writers"), and, pointed out Michael Lilienthal, *album* inscriptions were often a means to discover this useful information. Those who wished to demonstrate (or perhaps claim) a particularly close friendship with an individual would inscribe an album on the page following, or even on the same page as the inscription of their friend.<sup>73</sup> The *album* was not the intimate, secluded genre which Wotton claimed it to be, but a node connecting far-flung networks often composed of near or total strangers seeking information, contacts, and favors.

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<sup>72</sup> 30 December 1626, Daniel Czepko to Christoph Coler in Daniel Czepko, *Sämtliche Werke: Briefwechsel und Dokumente zu Leben und Werk*, vol. VI, ed. Lothar Mundt and Ulrich Seelbach. Ausgaben deutscher Literatur des XV. bis XVIII. Jahrhunderts, 146 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1995), 10–11.

<sup>73</sup> Lilienthal, *Schediasma critico-literarium*, 6 (see note 60): "Inter arcana Notitiae Authorum merito refertur, nosse quinquam ex Viris doctis arcto amicitiae & familiaritatis vinculo invicem fuerint conjuncti . . . Facile vero ista e Philothecis cognoscere possumus utpote in quibus observare licet, Doctorum quosdam, ad testandam suam animorum & sententiarum harmoniam, vel in una eademque libri pagina nomina sua scripsisse, vel certe in vincino folio" (Among the secrets of information concerning authors rightly belongs knowing which learned men are joined by a tight bond of friendship and familiarity . . . We can learn this easily from friendship books in which one may observe that certain learned men have written their names either on the same page or on the next . . .).

## Ars and Mars in a Time of War

The theater of war raised the stakes for the machinations of politics within the world of learning. Matthias Bernegger, in his 1620 *Proaulium tubae pacis, occentae Scioppiano belli sacri* (*Clarion of Peace Sounded against the Schoppean Trumpet of Holy War*), warned against the Tacitean arts threatening mankind. Bernegger accused not only Schoppe but also the Jesuits of fomenting inter-confessional strife for political ends. Their political arts hid beneath a sanctimonious façade. Such duplicity threatened the bonds of human society which were woven of trust.<sup>74</sup> The Jesuits, experts in the study of reason of state and the *arcana imperii*, were suspected of infiltrating and manipulating international learned networks through their superior coffers, organization, and collections of books and curiosities.<sup>75</sup>

While Jacob Soll has argued that the reason of state served to “master the passions of the religious wars,” many in the seventeenth century held such calculations of interest accountable for the Thirty Years War, as did the eirenic Bohemian Jan Amos Comenius (1592–1670).<sup>76</sup> For other like-minded Protestants such as John Dury (1596–1680) and Samuel Hartlib (1600–1662), the dissensions of the Thirty Year War were a sign of the impending apocalypse brought on by the reason of state. According to Dury and Hartlib, the reason of state spilled out of the second vial of *Revelations* as it poured destruction and mayhem over the fourth monarchy (the Holy Roman Empire).<sup>77</sup> For them, the reason of state triggered a massive shift in human relations, sending shockwaves across Central Europe, and initiating the final downward slide of civilization.

The reason of state distilled, as it were, the essence of discord. According to Dury and Hartlib, the self-serving statist who poured the acid of interest upon

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<sup>74</sup> Matthias Bernegger [published under the pseudonym, Theodosius Berenicus], *Proaulium Tubae Pacis, Occentae Scioppiano Belli Sacri* (Strasbourg: Wyriot, 1620), A3v.

<sup>75</sup> On Jesuit reason of state, see Robert Bireley, *The Counter-Reformation Prince* (see note 6), and Harro Höpfl, *Jesuit Political Thought: The Society of Jesus and the State, c. 1540–1630*. Ideas in Context, 70 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

<sup>76</sup> Jacob Soll, *Publishing the Prince: History, Reading, and the Birth of Political Criticism* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005), 27. Jan Amos Comenius, *Historia Persecutionum Ecclesiae Bohemicae . . . in qua inaudita hactenus Arcana Politica, consilia, artes, praesentium bellorum verae causae & judicia horrenda exhibentur* (S.l.: n.p., 1648). Comenius identified the reason of state as one of the greatest threats to mankind at the end of days. J. A. Comenius, *Unum Necessarium* (Amsterdam: n.p., 1668), 51. See, as a particularly fine example of the “Raison d’etat” as the cause of the imbalance in the Holy Roman Empire, the “Grosse Weltt Uhr,” in Peter Schmidt, *Spanische Universalmonarchie oder ‘teutsche Libertet’: das spanische Imperium in der Propaganda des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*. Studien zur modernen Geschichte, 54 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2001), 367.

<sup>77</sup> Samuel Hartlib and John Dury, *The Revelation Revealed* (London: William Du-Gard, 1651), 101. Compare Hartlib and Dury to the pamphlet in Hartlib’s papers, *Erkänntnüss Der Zergehung oder undergangs dieser vierden Monarchiae* (s.l.: n.p., 1641), 5, on the “Teuffelslarven Ratio status.”

mankind dissolved the ties that bound society and unleashed the end of days. "Politique reasonings of men" formed "the beast" which the false church "rideth upon," they wrote in their political interpretation of Revelations.<sup>78</sup> Dury blamed the difficulties of making peace among Christians in part upon the "reason of state as some Politicians [sic] who find out and foment differences betwixt parties that they may rise or stand in the midst of their divisions."<sup>79</sup>

Reason of state threatened the foundations of Christian fellowship and thus the world. The paranoia the reason of state induced in such writers can be linked to the very real violence wreaking havoc in their lives and hometowns. Lipsius and other political writers often advocated pursuing a military prudence in times of war and a learned, civil prudence in times of peace.<sup>80</sup> With the increasing political urgency accorded to men of letters, however, *prudentia togata* (toga-wearing, or civil) and *sagata* (cloak-wearing, or military) merged, with destabilizing consequences for international scholarly networks, especially when intellectual friendships were the means by which opposing sides sought converts in a politico-religious war.

Johann Balthasar Schupp (1610–1661), a preacher, satirist, University of Marburg professor and agent of the Swedish crown, framed a book of political advice as a guidebook intended for a young man about to set off on his methodical travels.<sup>81</sup> He advised *Philanderson* that one can sometimes serve the state more with a quill than with a sword, even in a time of war. He gave the example of a member of the Swedish army who said,

Der Raub den ich in Teutsch-land gethan habe / ist ein Briefe Raub. Wann wir mit der Armee an einen Ort / sonderlich in ein Kloster oder Jesuiter-Colleg kamen / habe ich alsobald geeilet nach dem Archive zu / und habe alle Brief eingepacket. Wann ich dann Zeit gehabt / habe ich sie durch gelesen /dadurch bin ich hinter so viel *arcana*, hinter so viel Stücklein kommen / dass ihr es nicht wol glauben könnet.

[The pillage I practice in Germany is a pillage of letters. Whenever the army reaches a town with a cloister or a Jesuit college, I go immediately to their archive and take all their letters. When I have time, I read them through, and I find so many secrets there, that you would not believe it].<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> Copy of a Letter on "Mercy and Truth," Samuel Hartlib and the University of Sheffield, *The Hartlib Papers* CD. 2nd ed. (1995; Sheffield, 2002), 4 November 1637, 26/19/4B.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid, Dury, 31 March, 1634, 1/9/1B.

<sup>80</sup> Lipsius, *Politica*, 387 and Hippolytus à Collibus, *Princeps* (Frankfurt a. M.: Corner, 1658), 370.

<sup>81</sup> On Schupp see Hildegard E. Wichert, *Johann Balthasar Schupp and the Baroque Satire in Germany*. Columbia University Germanic Studies, 22 (New York: King's Crown Press, 1952), and Kühlmann, *Gelehrtenrepublik und Fürstenstaat* (1982), passim (see note 56).

<sup>82</sup> Johann Balthasar Schupp, *Salomo* (Hamburg: Pfeiffern, 1657), Ev-Evi. For the Swedish takeover of the postal system and thus the control of political information during the Thirty Years War, see Paul Ries, "The Politics of Information in Seventeenth-century Scandinavia," *The Politics of*

Whether or not statist, Jesuits, or other secret manipulators were in fact abusing learned networks to the extent feared is beside the point. The distrust alone of international learned friendship generated by a political practice founded upon scholarly dissimulation would have profound consequences for the future of learning.

### Scholars Behaving Badly: the Critique of Learned Statism

Johann Balthasar Schupp continued to trace the adventures of his young would-be politician in his 1657 *Der Freund in der Not* (*A Friend in Need*). Set against the backdrop of war between Denmark and Sweden, the work began as Philander sent his son Ascanius off on his travels. Before he departed, Ascanius visited the friends of his father and asked them to sign his *album amicorum*. They filled the volume with bombastic expressions of friendship, claiming to be his friends and patrons “amore, more, ore, re, ad ultimum aeternitatis punctum, und noch 25 Jahr drüber (in love, in behavior, in speech, and in fact, until the end of time, and for 25 years after that).” Ascanius was very pleased to be enriched with so many promises and thought he was now supplied with a great deal of “Capital.” “Sohn, du bist nicht klug (You are not clever, my son),” said his father, shaking his head. “Du weist noch nicht, was für ein Unterscheid sey, zwischen einem Freund, und einem Aufschneider, oder Complement-macher (You do not yet know the difference between a friend and a fibber or a brown-noser).” Philander went on to recount to Ascanius stories of the many false friendships in the world, citing to him the principle, “Ratio Status, non agnoscit patrem aut matrem, non fratres aut sorores” (reason of state does not recognize mothers or fathers, sisters or brothers).<sup>83</sup> The calculation of interest had rendered the bonds of affection not only negligible but downright detrimental to the new politics.<sup>84</sup>

The back-stabbing deceptions of a new political culture infiltrated ancient learned practices and called into question protestations of friendships. The recommendation letter, for instance, was and remains the omnipotent voice of authority within the Republic of Letters.<sup>85</sup> Within the *album*, such letters were not

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*Information in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Brendan Dooley and Sabrina A. Baron. Routledge Studies in Cultural History, 1 (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 237–72.

<sup>83</sup> Johann Schupp, *Der Freund in der Not*. Neudrucke deutscher Literaturwerke des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts, 9 (1657; Halle a. d. S.: Max Niemeyer, 1878), 3–4, and 20.

<sup>84</sup> See also the discussion of the fourteenth-century Spanish writer Don Juan Manuel by Albrecht van Classen in the introduction to this volume.

<sup>85</sup> On the ancient letter of recommendation, see Roger Rees, “Letters of Recommendation and the Rhetoric of Praise,” *Ancient Letters: Classical and Late Antique Epistolography*, ed. Ruth Morello and A. D. Morrison (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 149–68.

signed and sealed, but appeared in the form of an open claim to friendship. However, as Christian Georg Bessel, the writer of a political guidebook, warned, false friendship and deception flourished in this genre. Many could cleverly compose a letter that at first glance appeared to be a recommendation, but was in fact a condemnation. Bessel devoted an entire chapter of his *Schmiede des politischen Glücks* (*Smith of Political Fortune*) to the false recommendation and proffered several unsavory examples.<sup>86</sup>

Such cleverly damning protestations of friendship generated many criticisms of the learned Machiavellism infesting the world of learning. The most famous of these critiques is Johann Burckhard Mencke's *De charlataneria eruditorum declamationes duae* (*Two Orations on the Charlatanry of the Learned*) of 1713 and 1715, yet the theme was by no means original to Mencke. Satires upon political charlatans had abounded since Traiano Boccalini's *De' Raggaugli di Parnaso* (*Advertisements from Parnassus*) of 1612, considered the apotheosis of reason of state literature.<sup>87</sup> Boccalini cast his novel work as a series of journalistic reports from a mythical state of the learned. There "*Letterati*" and "*Vertuosi*" such as Tacitus and Lipsius stood trial in the court of Apollo for their various faults, deceptions, and trespasses. The *Advertisements* attacked reason of state and the world of learning as one of a kind. Subsequent critics of learned *moeurs* would continue to bring a political perspective to their satires.

Johann Heinrich Boeckler (1611–1672), a student and the successor of Matthias Bernegger at Strasbourg, wrote on this theme long before the more famous eighteenth-century critiques of learned *moeurs*. Boeckler himself would suggest that the traveler should attempt to wheedle secrets of state from their influential, foreign friends (discussed above). No doubt his own intimacy with practices of information collection through friendship informed his account of learned statism. Boeckler's critique of learned sociability may have evaded modern scholarly attention due to its location; Boeckler embedded his ten page diatribe upon "learned statistas" ("*litterarios statistas*") deep within his 1642 commentary on Velleius Paterculus's Roman history. The seemingly obscure location of this very

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<sup>86</sup> Christian Georg Bessel, *Schmiede des politischen Glücks* (Hamburg: Naumann, 1669), 91–98.

<sup>87</sup> Traiano Boccalini, *De' Raggaugli di Parnaso* (Venice: Farri, 1612). Maurizio Viroli, *From Politics to Reason of State: The Acquisition and Transformation of the Language of Politics, 1250–1600*. Ideas in Context, 22 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 258. Cf. István Gombocz, who argues for Mencke's stylistic novelty in "De Charlataneria eruditorum: Johann Burckhard Mencke as a Forerunner of the Enlightened Satire," *Daphnis* 28.1 (1999): 187–200. For Boccalini and the skepticism concerning information which the reason of state unleashed, see Brendan Dooley, "News and Doubt in Early Modern Culture, or, Are we having a Public Sphere Yet?" *The Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Brendan Dooley and Sabrina A. Baron. Routledge Studies in Cultural History, 1 (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 275–90; here 281–83.



topical digression, however, was no accident. The practices of information collection fostered by Bernegger through both travel and commentaries upon ancient history trained the would-be politician to dig through the particulars of experience and history in order to learn lessons of political prudence. Tacitists routinely incorporated discussions of politically pertinent contemporary phenomena in their fine-print commentaries upon the classics of Roman history, and well-trained readers knew to look to the commentary for engaging discussions of the topics of the day.<sup>88</sup>

Writing during the on-going hostilities of the Thirty Years War, Boeckler blamed self-love in the republic of letters upon the new statist politics wreaking havoc across Europe in all arenas. His digression was triggered by the Roman historian's suggestion that sometimes the envy of scholars can advance learning by promoting competition. It was true, Boeckler conceded, that learning had progressed to its acme throughout Europe. He reviewed the state of learning in Spain, Italy, France, England, Scotland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Poland, the Netherlands, and Germany, where in particular learning had miraculously sprung forth from the ashes of war. Libraries had flourished everywhere.

Despite the advancement of learning, hidden political maneuvering had dissolved the bonds of friendship between learned men of different nations and professions, as party politics invaded the Republic of Letters. "Theologi, Jurisconsulti, Medici, Philosophi, Philologi, nomina sunt non tam artis & scientiae, quam saluberrimae societatis & amicae pro rep. conjunctionis: sed *ratio illa status*, quae cum ambitione in studia irrepsit, factionum & partium titulos facit (Theologians, Doctors, Philosophers, and Philologists are not so much the names of different arts and sciences as of a benevolent joint pursuit and a friendly association on behalf of the *res publica*, but that *ratio status*, which has insinuated itself into studies, has made them into the names of factions and parties)."<sup>89</sup>

By fighting with each other, these factions weakened the whole, degenerating the natural links and friendship between parts of study. "Studia in mutuas operas nexu naturali deincta, in amicitiam proprio instituto ordinata; in consensum salutis publicae Christiana religione consecrata, tantum à se ipsis degenerare, ut in diffidiorum, aemulationum, caussas & artificia non raro valeant (Studies bound to each other's care through a natural tie, arranged for friendship according to its own principle, and consecrated for the harmony of the public good by the Christian religion, have degenerated so much from those very things, that not

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<sup>88</sup> For Boeckler's views on travel, including the importance of learned sociability in travel, see his *de Peregrinatione*, cited above.

<sup>89</sup> Johann Heinrich Boeckler, *C. Velleii Paterculi Libri Duo . . . cum annotatis Joannis Henrici Boecleri* (Strasbourg: Mülbe, 1642), 97.

infrequently they serve as the origins and tools of suspicions and rivalries)."<sup>90</sup> A new spirit of self-serving ambition splintered the Republic of all learned men into jealous cliques and antagonistic specialties. Boeckler wanted to see less courtly politicking and more republicanism return to the governance of the Republic of Letters.<sup>91</sup>

To Boeckler, the threat to knowledge lay not in the actions of military men, but in the undermining of German learning by scholars themselves. Despite the ravages of the Thirty Years War, Boeckler believed that learning had reached previously unscaled heights. He did not observe that scholarship had been decimated by the violence, as one might expect, but rather that social relationships among the learned had become hopelessly politicized.

Boeckler was far from alone in this ambivalent view. In 1639 Johann Balthasar Schupp had delivered an oration "On the happiness of the age" at the University of Marburg, although his view of seventeenth-century felicity was notably equivocal.<sup>92</sup> Two decades later in a "melancolischer Discurs" on reason of state within the church in 1662, Schupp admitted that learning had never progressed as far as at the present time, especially in theology. The universities were teeming with young *Magistri*. And yet, despite the intellectual boom, being an excellent scholar was no longer sufficient. One had to learn a "ratio status" in order to achieve a position in the church.<sup>93</sup>

Scholarship might well have become more sophisticated and clever over the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, yet such sophistication might also be a sign of moral decline, as a virtuous simplicity gave way to new techniques of information collection. Tacitists such as Matthias Bernegger, and his students Boeckler and Bose were notable in their time as indexers, bibliographers and collectors of *notitia* (information) concerning learning, as well as experts on methodical travel and critics of character.<sup>94</sup> We have already heard the advice of Boeckler and Bose on how to use friends to gain information. These students of Matthias Bernegger turned their critical gaze, honed by the utilitarian study of

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<sup>90</sup> Ibid, 98.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid, 101.

<sup>92</sup> Johann Balthasar Schupp, *De Felicitate Huius Seculi XVII* (Marburg: Chemlin, 1639). See Kühlmann (1982), 150–51 (see note 56).

<sup>93</sup> Johann Balthasar Schupp, *Ratio Status in Promotione Ministrorum Ecclesiae Lutheranae* (s.l.: n.p., 1662), 3.

<sup>94</sup> Johann Heinrich Boeckler, *Bibliographia Historico-Politico-Philologica Curiosa* (Frankfurt a. M.: Schrey and Hamm, 1677) and *Characteres Politici Velleiani sive Notitia ingeniorum* (Strasbourg: Mulbius, 1642). Johann Andreas Bose, *Notitia Scriptorum Historiae Universalis* (Jena: Nisius, 1699), and *Characteres Beatae Reipublicae, e prooemio vitae Agricola a Cornelio Tacito scriptae* (Jena: Krebs, 1658). On Matthias Bernegger and Johann Heinrich Boeckler as indexers, see Noel Malcolm, "Thomas Harrison and his 'Ark of Studies': An Episode in the History of the Organization of Knowledge," *The Seventeenth Century* 19.2 (October 2004): 196–232; here 215.

human nature, onto *historia literaria* (the history of learning) as well as onto the world of politics. Pragmatic information collection, born out of Tacitism, went hand in hand with a critical, politicized view of learning. This was why the late seventeenth-century bibliographers discussed by Martin Gierl cast their new manuals of learned sociability as guides to political and courtly behavior.<sup>95</sup> Such writers simultaneously suggested how to act politically and decried the politicization of learning.

The critique of learned mores was not an Enlightenment, *belles-lettres* riposte to an outmoded world of learning, but a part of the very erudite, yet also very politically informed genre of *historia literaria*. It was in this context that the political role of the *album amicorum* first attracted a systematic, critical treatment. We have already encountered Michael Lilienthal's *Schediasma critico-literarium de philiothecis varioque earundum usu et abusu* of 1711. This work had followed close on the heels of a work on the history of learning of 1710, and Lilienthal placed his critical survey of the *album amicorum* squarely in the discipline of *historia literaria* in his introduction.<sup>96</sup> He also looked forward to his next work. When describing how inscribers of albums write in many foreign languages, which they themselves do not even understand, he commented that "Sed haec & similia ad Machiavellismum Literarium. . . pertinent, quod de forte alio tempore scribendi dabitur occasio (but these and similar things belong to the Machiavellism of the Learned. . . and an opportunity for writing about this will arise perhaps at another time)."<sup>97</sup>

The year after publishing his critical survey of the album, Lilienthal indeed found occasion to print his *De Machiavellismo literario (On Learned Machiavellism)* of 1713. Lilienthal pointed out in his introduction that he had turned to his systematic study of learned tricks after finishing his study on the *album amicorum* in 1711, and his study of the abuses of the *album* contributed to his critique of learned behavior. One of the "secrets of state" deployed by the learned was the advertisement of false friendship. As Lilienthal wrote, those who wished to glorify themselves would rattle on about their friendships with famous men whom they had in truth barely met once. These boasters of friendship would publish (without permission) their letters with famous men as a way to publicize their relationship

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<sup>95</sup> Christoph August Heumann, *Der politische Philosophus* (Frankfurt a. M. and Leipzig, Renger, 1724) and Christian Thomasius, *Introductio ad Philosophiam Aulicam, seu Lineae Primae Libri de Prudentia Cogitandi et Ratiocinandi* (Leipzig: Thomasius, 1688). Martin Gierl, *Pietismus und Aufklärung: Theologische Polemik und die Kommunikationsreform der Wissenschaft am Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts*. Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 129 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997), 559. I would like to express my thanks to Anthony Grafton for this reference.

<sup>96</sup> Michael Lilienthal, *De Historia Literaria certae cujusdam gentis scribenda consultatio* (Leipzig and Rostock: Johann Heinrich Russworm, 1710). See *Schediasma critico-literarium de philiothecis varioque earundum usu et abusu, vulgo von Stamm-Büchern* (Königsberg: Zäncker, 1712), "Prodromus," A.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

to the entire world. This was a topic, Lilienthal pointed out, with which he had already dealt in his book on the *album*.<sup>98</sup> Lilienthal's *De Machiavellismo literario*, which grew from his critical survey of all learning and the *album amicorum* in particular, was the immediate precursor to Johann Burckhard Mencke's more famous *De charlataneria eruditorum declamationes duae* (*Two Orations on the Charlatanry of the Learned*) delivered in 1713 and 1715, as Mencke himself acknowledged.<sup>99</sup>

The *album* continued as a theme in the continuing criticism of academic *moeurs*. In 1728, Johann Christoph Koechner quoted Lilienthal on abuses of the album in his *On Learned Superstition*.<sup>100</sup> From Zacharias Conrad Uffenbach's perspective in 1713, the venerable practice of album inscription, although still useful, had mostly degenerated to collections of scurrilous sayings and obscene pictures. In a pastoral golden age, the ancients had simply carved the names of friends in the barks of trees; the sophistication of modern times had debauched even the memory of friends.<sup>101</sup> Scholarly critics of learning saw themselves as degenerates who advanced themselves and learning at the expense of social mores.

## Conclusion

Despite the rise of scholarship and the expansion of friendship in the seventeenth century, learned men compared their own age unfavorably with an earlier generation. This was the obverse of early humanists' flattering comparisons between themselves and the generations preceding them. Learned men of the seventeenth century often expressed the idea that theirs was a time of degeneration, rather than renaissance.<sup>102</sup>

The decline was not perceived to be in learning, but in mores. It was clear to Boeckler, for instance, that during the period of "learned statists," learning of all kinds (not only philological, or humanist) had reached its acme. While modern learning had achieved a level of sophistication as never before, the degeneration of morals threatened to be the first sign of the downward swing of knowledge

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<sup>98</sup> Michael Lilienthal, *De Machiavellismo literario, sive de perversis quorundam in Republica Literaria inclarescendi artibus Dissertatio historico-moralis* (Leipzig: Heinrich Boye, 1713), 45.

<sup>99</sup> Johann Burckhardt Mencke, *De charlataneria eruditorum declamationes duae* (Amsterdam: n.p., [1715] 1725), preface (n.p.).

<sup>100</sup> Johann Christoph Koecher (Gratianus Aschpanius), *De superstitione erudita seu litteraria libellus* (Cologne: n.p., 1728), 30–33.

<sup>101</sup> Zacharias Conrad Uffenbach, *Commercii Epistolaris Uffenbachiani* (Ulm and Memmingen: Gaum, 1753), 280–81. The letter to Johann C. Langius was dated 7 Dec., 1713.

<sup>102</sup> Köhlmann (1982), 17 (see note 56).

too.<sup>103</sup> Tacitists tackled the idea that “non fidem, non amicitiam inter homines, non rebus integritatem esse (there is no faith, no friendship between men, no integrity in affairs)” as one of the major arguments for the decline of man.<sup>104</sup> They often argued that social life among the ancient Romans had been just as corrupt, making Tacitus a particularly useful guide to their own times. Modern man had succeeded in reviving ancient culture, and it was not a pretty sight.

Scholarly writers on learned Machiavellism suggested that the rise of learning and the decline of mores were connected. A new emphasis on information collection in politics encouraged the expansion of learned friendship, thus thinning the strength of affective bonds and suggesting a coldly utilitarian view of all relationships. As good policy encouraged the collection of archives and libraries, political writers discussed how to curry favors with learned friends as sources of information. Deception was not only condoned but to some extent recommended by many political writers, including Lipsius.<sup>105</sup> Bloody religious war, sudden defections and conversions, and a shockingly overt defense of deception and dissimulation in politics made the politicization of friendship a matter of the utmost concern. Watching in horror as they themselves capitulated to the politicization of learning, seventeenth-century observers blamed the reason of state for an irrevocable break with the past.

As learned and political networks intersected, political practices challenged the idea of friendship. It was not, of course, the case that false friends had never existed, that the Republic of Learning had been previously undisturbed by strife, or that learned men did not toady to patrons before the reason of state. Rather, a political practice grounded upon both deception and the systematic capture of information raised new concerns about the relationship between sociability and politics. This tension explains the expansion of the language of love precisely in the period when the sheer numbers of contacts collected through methodical travel undermined the affectiveness of such relationships. Sometimes considerations of the reason of state, rather than the pure pursuit of neo-Stoic right reason, motivated the maintenance of learned friendships.

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<sup>103</sup> Such critics of modern times did not necessarily champion ancient over modern learning. They opposed the entire practice of taking a party line, and the debate of the ancients and moderns was but one more example of the party politics invading the world of learning. Lilienthal (1713), 18–35.

<sup>104</sup> Pietro Canoniero, *Dissertationes Politicae, ac Discursus varii in C. Cornelii Taciti Annalium libros* (Frankfurt a.M.: Becker, 1610), 114, “Utrum secula nostra antiquis sint peiora,” which is quoted and discussed further in Mathias Bernegger, *Ex C. Cornelii Taciti Germania et Agricola, Quaestiones miscellaneae* (Strasbourg: n.p., 1640), *Quaestio* 108.

<sup>105</sup> See Johann Heinrich Boeckler’s criticism of Lipsius for supporting within the *Politica* a “perverse” reason of state, while claiming to oppose it. Johann Heinrich Boeckler, *De Politicis Justi Lipsii* (Strasbourg: n.p., 1642), 62.

The popularity of Lipsian constancy through the seventeenth century is undeniable. Yet what did constancy really mean?<sup>106</sup> If we take the beautiful portrait of friendship painted by Lipsius in *On Constancy* at face value, then we will believe that the rich, intimate friendships of late humanists protected them from the violence and strife of politics in the world outside. We might think, as Henry Wotton did, that what was written in an *album amicorum* stays in the *album amicorum*. In reality, the language of affection often concealed and mediated literary and political espionage within the painted world of seventeenth-century intellectual life.

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<sup>106</sup> David G. Halsted in *Poetry and Politics in the Silesian Baroque: Neo-Stoicism in the Work of Christophorus Colerus and his Circle*. Wolfenbütteler Arbeiten zur Barockforschung, 26 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996) argues that constancy was flexible enough to refer to almost any social and political dynamic, including the far-flung networks of exchange operating in Central and Eastern Europe. Both Bernegger and Schoppe promoted Stoic constancy, for instance. See also Harris, "The Practice of Community," 316.



Fig. 1: Peter Paul Rubens, "Peter Paul Rubens, Philip Rubens, Justus Lipsius and Johannes Woverius" ("The Four Philosophers"), 1611–1612, Florence, Palazzo Pitti





## Chapter 18

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### “If I must example bee”: Donne’s Petrarchan Heart as *Speculum Amicitiae*<sup>1</sup>

In the second chapter of *Textual Intercourse*, Jeffrey Masten discusses the various discourses on friendship, which he alleges produce a “context of a collaborative homoerotics,”<sup>2</sup> most significant to collaborative writing relationships in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century dramatic writing. The particulars of the homoerotic, collaborative exchanges Masten explores are not of immediate importance for the purposes of this paper. However, the friendship text Masten discusses most, Michel de Montaigne’s “De l’Amitié” (in his *Essais*) and the all-encompassing effects which Masten asserts that text has on both the composition process and our subsequent readings of those dramatic texts are significant for the precedents they set for scholarship concerning seventeenth-century texts.<sup>3</sup> Laurie Shannon expands Masten’s brief treatment of friendship texts and their pervasive effects on early modern literature in *Sovereign Amity: Figures of Friendship in Shakespearean Contexts*, wherein she widens the scope of friendship texts to include examples which antedate the early modern period and includes lyric poetry from

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<sup>1</sup> I am grateful for the insights and suggestions of Richard Rambuss (Emory University), who read an early version of this paper and encouraged me to pursue it further. I also appreciate the support and careful feedback I received from Cecile Gray (University Catholic Center, UCLA), David Mastey (Carleton University), and Julia Borek (University of Alabama).

<sup>2</sup> Jeffrey Masten, *Textual Intercourse: Collaboration, Authorship, and Sexualities in Renaissance Drama*. Cambridge Studies in Renaissance Literature and Culture, 14 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 37.

<sup>3</sup> Reginald Hyatte also addresses the influence of friendship texts on literature in Latin, French, and Italian from the twelfth through mid-fifteenth centuries in *The Arts of Friendship: The Idealization of Friendship in Medieval and Early Renaissance Literature*. Brill’s Studies in Intellectual History, 50 (Leiden and New York: E. J. Brill, 1994), and sets important precedents in this field of study.

the sixteenth- and seventeenth-centuries alongside dramatic works. The rhetorician of friendship Shannon most often mentions is Cicero, though he is closely followed by Montaigne in both the number of particular citations Shannon gives as well as her discussions of their texts, style, and content in general. Shannon takes care to provide a wider cultural context and reception information concerning these friendship texts. Cicero's *De amicitia*, for example,

plays an astonishingly key role in the school curricula formulated by humanist and education writers, where it appears as a gateway text into Latin learning. Its special place derived from its double service as a model for both grammatical and 'moral' imitation.<sup>4</sup>

According to Shannon, educational practices like those described in Ascham's *The Scholemaster*<sup>5</sup> and English translations of *De amicitia* "distribute [friendship's] tropes farther afield and locate it at the heart of a secular public culture" and "ma[d]e available a discourse of (doubled) self-formation by taking friendship tropes 'out of Latin into English.'" Further, the text's wide dissemination points to "an expanding readership deemed to be actively interested in consuming classical examples by putting them to use to detect and to practice 'true' friendship" and "attests to a quotidian presence for Cicero's text" and others.<sup>6</sup>

Masten and Shannon provide key observations on which subsequent scholarship concerning early modern texts should be based: first, friendship texts—especially *De amicitia* and "De l'Amitié"—and their various tropes were key components of literary culture during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, whether their specific inclusion in a particular literary production was conscious on the author's part or not; second, as Shannon asserts best, early modern writers "celebrated friendship in a very specific form" and "so extensively engaged the tropes of amity that the expression 'Renaissance friendship' now routinely names the entire discursive phenomenon;"<sup>7</sup> finally, even the most common friendship tropes could easily, and often did, shift toward the sexual or amorous. Masten and Shannon seek to explain and explore specific connections between primary friendship texts and secondary literary texts.

Masten "seeks both to rewrite the normative critical view of Renaissance male friendship, in which friendship is taken to occlude homoeroticism, and to provide

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<sup>4</sup> Laurie Shannon, *Sovereign Amity: Figures of Friendship in Shakespearean Contexts* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 26–27.

<sup>5</sup> The foremost of these, in Shannon's estimation, is Ascham's "celebrated 'double translation' technique," wherein students translated Cicero's *De amicitia* and other texts from Latin to English, and back again, repeatedly. *Sovereign Amity*, 23–25.

<sup>6</sup> Shannon, *Sovereign Amity*, 23–25. See also Albrecht Classen's Introduction to this volume

<sup>7</sup> Shannon, *Sovereign Amity*, 1.

a cultural perspective on collaboration as a textual practice,"<sup>8</sup> and he uses *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, texts traditionally associated with male-male friendship, to trouble these concepts. Shannon, too, seeks to trouble friendship in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, *The Henriad*, and Elizabeth Cary's *Tragedy of Mariam*, all texts which employ friendship as a plot device. The work Masten and Shannon accomplish in their respective books is seminal for the study of friendship itself and of paramount importance to our understanding of and approaches to early modern literature. However, Masten and Shannon work with texts in which friendship plays an obvious part; the work of these two scholars, therefore, focuses itself not on establishing friendship's role in the text but on the reassessment of those friendships and the functions of those friendships.<sup>9</sup>

This paper will deviate from Masten's and Shannon's approaches insofar as it will explore portions of a set of texts—John Donne's *Songs and Sonnets*—which have not been previously associated by scholars with friendship. Though Donne does write the sorts of texts Masten and Shannon might reassess<sup>10</sup>—including poems such as "Sir, more than kisses" and "All haile, sweet Poet"<sup>11</sup>—in which friendship plays a pronounced role and deserves a second, perhaps queering glance from modern scholars, the *Songs and Sonnets* have not received such attention. Perhaps this is due to a prevailing tendency in scholarship to surround those particular poems with terms which, to our modern ears, would seem to preclude friendship. Dame Helen Gardner's "General Introduction" to *The Elegies and the Songs and Sonnets*, an important and highly influential modern edition of Donne's work, begins with a fourteen-page piece concerning "The Love-Poetry of John Donne."<sup>12</sup>

Many editions of Donne's work surround the poems with the terms *love*, *amorous*, and *Petrarchan* or *Petrarchist*, as do most of the scholarly articles written on Donne each year. These terms are certainly valuable to the ways we read and think of Donne's work. The possibility remains, however, that modern associations with *love* and *Petrarchan* may cause scholars to overlook or ignore specific allusions

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<sup>8</sup> Masten, *Textual Intercourse*, 37.

<sup>9</sup> See also the contribution to this volume by Miriam Sarah Marotzki.

<sup>10</sup> Indeed, Shannon does revisit Donne's use of friendship in the poems "Elegie to the Lady Bedford" and "Sapho to Philaenis." See Chapters Two and Three of *Sovereign Amity*, 86–89 and 94–95.

<sup>11</sup> For an example of similar scholarly attention paid to "All haile, sweet Poet," see George Klawitter, "Verse Letters to T. W. from John Donne: 'By You My Love Is Sent,'" *Homosexuality in Renaissance and Enlightenment England: Literary Representations in Historical Context*, ed. Claude J. Summers (Binghamton, NY: Haworth, 1992), 87–102.

<sup>12</sup> *The Elegies and the Songs and Sonnets*, ed. Helen Gardner (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), xvii–xxx. Working texts for poems examined in this paper come from this edition and will be signaled via line numbers in-text.

to friendship texts and other common tropes surrounding male friendship, a relationship integral to early modern society.

With this in mind, this paper will examine the presence of friendship in the *Songs and Sonnets* through a particular set of poems: "The Broken Heart," "The Legacie," "The Message," and "The Blossome." These poems have been chosen over others because they employ images of the heart, particularly those having to do with the Petrarchan trope of exchanged hearts. Focusing on a quartet of little-attended poems which seem to rest firmly in the realm of "love-poetry."<sup>13</sup> I intend to depart from previous scholarship, which largely ignores friendship in Donne's work, in order to establish and examine the presence of male friendship in Donne's amorous verse and to encourage a rereading of the *Songs and Sonnets* with both pedagogy and friendship in mind. The exchange of hearts such luminary intellectuals as Petrarch, Cicero, Montaigne, and Donne address is more properly completed within the context of male friendship, a mutual homosocial bond, than in amorous heterosexual relationships.

According to classical and early modern friendship texts, women either do not have proper hearts, or do not understand the proper workings of the heart, or both. Therefore, men and their hearts would be better served through friendships with other men, leaving off amorous pursuits entirely. Though the possibility of abandoning such pursuits is slight, Donne's poems nonetheless serve as pedagogical texts in two key ways: first, the texts concern themselves with amorous love and its pitfalls, and teach their audiences how to avoid these fates; second, friendship texts complicate the Petrarchan love conceits Donne employs, thereby enabling these poems to instruct their readers on the subject of proper friendship as a sort of *speculum amicitiae*, or mirror of friendship.

Some groundwork is necessary to display the pedagogical tendency of Donne's "love" poetry and move us into a consideration of the heart poems as friendship texts. The pedagogical component of "The Extasie" is plain, and we may begin our exploration of Donne's poetic pedagogy here. The third-party who first appears in line twenty-one not only witnesses the interanimation of the two lovers' souls, but "Might," the speaker postulates, "thence a new concoction take, / And part farre purer than he came" (27–28) if he could only understand "soules language" (22). In other words, "some lover," though "he shall see / small change" once the lovers have reassumed their bodies (72–76), might find himself changed through his voyeuristic experience. The lovers "turne" back to their physical bodies, "that so / Weake men on love reveal'd may looke," a pedagogical move necessitated by

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<sup>13</sup> Gardner, for instance, speaks particularly about three of these poems—"The Broken Heart," "The Message," and "The Legacie"—identifying them as verses in which Donne "play[s] the despairing lover . . . all made of tears and sighs and groans, faithful to a mistress who denies or betrays him" (xx).

the fact that, while "Loves mysteries in soules doe grow, / But yet the body is his booke" (69–70). The lovers return to their physical bodies so that they may further serve as pedagogical instruments—explicitly texts, here, but also visual aides—for observers who have not experienced such rare heights of love. Notably, such observers are men.

Still, the pedagogical element of "The Extasie" is wrapped up in the third-party's experience of the Platonic mingling of the lovers' souls. In a more Petrarchan text, those *souls* would likely be *hearts*; thus, "The Extasie" may be the only successful exchange of hearts presented in Donne's *Songs and Sonnets*. The terms "soul," "heart," and "mind" were not entirely separate in the early modern period due to heavy reliance upon and belief in classical ideas concerning the organs to which the terms connect. Plato separated the "immortal soul" and reason from the emotions and the "mortal soul," placing them in the head and breast respectively.<sup>14</sup> However, Aristotelian interpretations of bodily functions and properties figure both the heart and brain as respiratory organs, where the brain's function is to cool, through phlegm, "the great heat generated by the heart."<sup>15</sup> The heart, according to Galen, produced *pneuma*, "which is continually created and renewed inside the body so long as there is heat and life. *It is the vehicle of the soul*, and as such is responsible for reproduction and movement."<sup>16</sup>

The Hippocratic heart was divided into two chambers, the left of which "contained human intelligence, the principle which rules over the rest of the soul."<sup>17</sup> These classical figurations of the heart, mind, and soul<sup>18</sup> extended to the early modern period. The mind and soul, which we think of as non-physical or ethereal, are often figured, therefore, as physical entities. Scott Manning Stevens explains that "seventeenth-century physiology was only beginning to question the function of the heart as a muscle and not as an organ of thought, or at least not the center of our emotional life. These categories were in no way rigidly defined. Thus," Stevens continues, "Donne can refer to his 'naked thinking Heart' in 'The Blossom.'"<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Robert A. Erickson, *The Language of the Heart: 1600–1750*. New Cultural Studies (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 1.

<sup>15</sup> Erickson, *The Language of the Heart: 1600–1750*, 3–4.

<sup>16</sup> Erickson, *The Language of the Heart: 1600–1750*, 4, emphasis mine.

<sup>17</sup> Hippocrates, *De corde*, quoted in Erickson, *The Language of the Heart: 1600–1750*, 3.

<sup>18</sup> For more information on these figurations and their extensions into the period, see Erickson's "Introduction: Writing the Heart from Plato to Hobbes," *The Language of the Heart: 1600–1750*, 1–24, and William W. E. Slights, *The Heart in the Age of Shakespeare* (Cambridge, New York, et al.: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

<sup>19</sup> Scott Manning Stevens, "Sacred Heart and Secular Brain," *The Body in Parts: Fantasies of Corporeality in Early Modern Europe*, ed. David Hillman and Carla Mazzio (New York and London: Routledge, 1997), 263–83; here, 267.

"The Blossome," like the other poems under consideration here, treats the heart/mind/soul as a particular physical entity—the heart, a material entity to be manipulated and exchanged—rather than the mostly-ethereal version of the heart/mind/soul on which "The Extasie" turns. In order to view Donne's pedagogical poetics in more physical terms, then, let us turn to "Loves Exchange," a poem which uses the term *soule* but endows that soul with physical attributes not unlike those belonging to the heart in Donne's more Petrarchan "love-poetry."

Critics understandably place emphasis on the Petrarchan images present in the poem, which begins with a seemingly typical lover's complaint: "Love, any devill else but you / Would for a given Soule give something too" (1–2). "Loves Exchange" depends, like many other poems in the Petrarchan corpus, upon an actual exchange of goods—in this case souls—and the speaker's notion that he suffers more than anyone else.<sup>20</sup> The speaker invokes not only other men at Court but other gods—Love's "fellowes," who "Give th'art of Riming, Huntsmanship, or Play, / For them which were their owne before" (3–6)—to emphasize the injustice present in Love's economy. The speaker, "which gave more," possesses "nothing" and finds himself, "by being lowly, lower" (6–7). All of this is commonplace, the usual stuff of "love-poetry."

"Loves Exchange" turns, though, on the fact that the speaker's lowly position in Love's graces places him in an ideal pedagogical position for instructing not only Love himself but also other potential lovers, those men at Court who receive the "something" they ought according to the rules of exchange. Though Love would seem to think his anger toward and mistreatment of the speaker is enough to set an example for other errant men, the speaker has other ideas, and suggests his own death and subsequent medical dissection as a more fruitful pedagogical exercise:

If I must example bee  
To future Rebels; If th'unborne  
Must learne, by my being cut up, and torne:  
Kill, and dissect me, Love; for this  
Torture against thine owne end is,  
Rack't carcasses make ill Anatomies. (37–42)

However, the speaker is not always a willing pedagogical device. Previously, the speaker has expressed anxiety and concerned himself with both public propriety and obfuscation. In the third stanza especially, the speaker wishes to conceal his

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<sup>20</sup> The poetry of Robert Herrick, especially, works along these same axes. For a discussion of Herrick's exchange poetry, in which the male speaker often "becomes absorbed into the gifted object," and insight into the significance of love tokens in early modern English culture in general, see Pamela Hammons, "Robert Herrick's Gift Trouble: Male Subjects 'Trans-shifting' into Objects," *Criticism* 47.1 (Winter 2005): 31–64.

menial position in Love's court, and even to unlearn the things he knows. He begs Love to:

Give mee thy weaknesse, make mee blinde,  
Both ways, as thou and thine, in eies and minde;  
Love, let me never know that this  
Is love, or, that love childish is. (15–18)

The speaker makes a clear distinction between Love and love, echoing the two types of blindness he desires. And, since the speaker cannot blind others to his fate, he asks:

Let me not know that *others* know  
That *she* knows my paines, least that so  
A tender shame make *me* mine owne new woe.  
(19–21,  
emphasis mine)

A lack of self-awareness and disclosure will serve, apparently, to ease the speaker's pain. However, the speaker's shift to a pedagogical device in stanza six—the example or “Anatomie” necessary for others to “learne”—is made viable through pain and the visibility of that pain to others. Though the speaker is concerned with concealment and exposure, the poem's last lines serve as a *volta* of sorts, wherein he is willing to be displayed for the good of others since he must suffer anyway. The shift in the speaker's concerns is marked by his metamorphosis into “an object of study, worship, or love,” which is a “crucial fantasy in Donne,” according to Kenneth Gross:

Sometimes the speaker is converted into a pattern of transcendent survival, at others he emerges as a type of radical failure. This fantasy . . . puts the speaker in a position where he can control the terms by which he and others measure things, becoming a ground or source of faith—however tenuous—rather than victim of his own and others' doubt.<sup>21</sup>

However, the speaker is not only a pedagogical device or object, but a pedagogue. He is the instrument that facilitates instruction (between Love and other men), but he is also a speaker who engages Love directly, teaching the teacher.

This turn to pedagogy, and the concurrent figuration of speaker-as-pedagogue, is a trait particular to Donne's Petrarchan poems which seems not to have been

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<sup>21</sup> Kenneth Gross, “John Donne's Lyric Skepticism: In Strange Way,” *Modern Philology* 101.3 (2004): 371–99; here 393. This “fantasy” also appears in various guises in “The Canonization,” “Twickenham Garden,” “The Dampe,” “A Nocturnall upon S. Lucies Day,” and “The Funerall.” Gross attributes the fantasy here to “a kind of dreamlike inversion of equally common but more anxious images in Donne of the self being spied on, accused, slandered, and exposed to judgment” (393).

examined within the context of pedagogical texts popular during the seventeenth century. Though texts such as conduct manuals, moral *exempla*, and the highly allegorical poetry often surrounding courtly love may have influenced Donne's *Songs and Sonnets*, as they influenced other texts of this time, I argue that, outside of the Petrarchan tradition, friendship texts such as *De amicitia* and "De l'Amitié" had the most influence on the particular pedagogical imagery contained in these poems. "En l'amité de quoi je parle," Montaigne asserts, "elles se mêlent et confondent l'une en l'autre, d'un mélange si universel, qu'elles effacent et ne retrouvent plus la couture qui les a jointes" (In the friendship/amity of which I speak, they mix and confound themselves the one in the other, with a mixture so universal, [that] they erase their [separate] selves and cannot find the seam which joins them).<sup>22</sup>

This action, characterized in English terms equivalent to Montaigne's diction—*mêlent*, *confondent*, and *mélange* especially—certainly takes place in "The Extasie" and facilitates the education of the poem's voyeur. For Cicero, it is Virtue which makes possible the harmony necessary for the *mélange*, or mixture, which Montaigne attributes to friendship:

In [Virtus] est enim convenientia rerum, in ea stabilitas, in ea constantia; quae cum se extulit et ostendit suum lumen et idem aspexit adgnovitque in alio, ad id se admovet vicissimque accipit illud, quod in altero est; ex quo exardescit sive amor sive amicitia.

[For in Virtue is complete harmony, in her is permanence, in her is fidelity; and what she has raised her head and shown her own light and has seen and recognized the same light in another, she moves toward it and in turn receives its beams; as a result love or friendship leaps into flame; for both words are derived from a word meaning "to love."] <sup>23</sup>

Light, and therefore beams of light, is involved in Cicero's metaphor, and it is not too much of a stretch to extend the harmony and light present in *De amicitia* to the lovers' "eye-beams twisted" in "The Extasie" (7). Cicero also gives us insight into the heart as pedagogical device: "In qua nisi, ut dicitur, apertum pectus videas tuumque ostendas, nihil fidum, nihil exploratum habeas, ne amare quidem aut

<sup>22</sup> Michel de Montaigne, "De l'Amitié," 318.12–15. Translations of Montaigne's *De l'amitié* provided in these footnotes are my own, though they are certainly colored by John Florio's 1603 English translation of Montaigne's *Essays*. I provide my own translation not because I find fault in Florio's translation but, rather, because my own knowledge of the French language most likely influences the way I see Montaigne's images recur in Donne's poetry. Further, I can find no definite evidence that Donne would have read Florio's translation, or any other. The French text comes from *Essais de Michel de Montaigne*, Livre I, ed. and trans. André Tournon. La Salamandre (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale Éditions, 1998).

<sup>23</sup> Cicero, *De amicitia*, xxvi.100. Translations of Cicero as well as the Latin text come from *De senectute, De amicitia, De divinatione*, transl. William A. Falconer. Loeb Classical Library, 154 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; London: W. Heinemann, 1979).



amari, cum, id quam vere fiat, ignores" (For in friendship unless, as the saying is, you behold and show an open heart, you can have no loyalty or certainty and not even the satisfaction of loving and of being loved, since you do not know what true love is).<sup>24</sup> True to Donne's usual heightening of a metaphor, "Loves Exchange" suggests not only an open heart or chest (*apertum pectus*), but the speaker's dissected body as a fitting device through which to teach the true nature of love—and even Love himself, as the case may be.

One argument against the influence of Cicero and Montaigne on Donne, or a general objection to the use of such friendship texts in interpreting the *Songs and Sonnets*, is that these poems pertain to amorous, heterosexual love rather than the love inherent in friendship. In short, these poems were written about ladies. However, as Masten points out, "the circulation of Petrarchan verse in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century culture" (43) constituted "a network of homosociality" (45). Masten, working within the context of Shakespeare's *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, explains this homosocial network in terms of the sonnet:

The sonnet . . . was in particular a public, courtly genre, circulating widely, expressing, in Arthur Marotti's familiar formulation, "social, political, and economic suits in the language of love"; furthermore, this poetic practice was often specifically gendered; Petrarchan sonnets, though often written *to* and *about* women, were circulating between men and registering *male* "suits": courtiership as courtship.<sup>25</sup>

Masten goes on to suggest that *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* does not actually pit male friendship against Petrarchan courtship. Rather, the play's problems can be solved for modern audiences by "the . . . ultimate collaboration of male friendship and its incorporation of the plot we would label 'heterosexual.'" Thus, friendship is "no longer seen to be in competition with Petrarchan love, but underwrit[es] it."<sup>26</sup> Classical texts explain the process of friendship similarly. True friendship (*vera amicitia*) is "the means by which the virtuous man improves his character and approaches perfect wisdom."<sup>27</sup> It follows that the pursuit of such true friendship and wisdom would register as "suits" in the poetry circulated among men who would imagine themselves as virtuous. And, as Cicero says, "Ut igitur et monere et moneri propium est verae amicitiae" (It is characteristic of true friendship both to give and to receive advice).<sup>28</sup> The pedagogical component of Donne's verse, then, is not surprising and fits neatly into seventeenth-century manuscript culture

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<sup>24</sup> Cicero, *De amicitia*, xxvi.97.

<sup>25</sup> Masten, *Textual Intercourse*, 43–44.

<sup>26</sup> Masten, *Textual Intercourse*, 46–48.

<sup>27</sup> Hyatte, *The Arts of Friendship*, 5.

<sup>28</sup> Cicero, *De amicitia*, xxv.91.

and dialogue concerning friendship and the homosocial despite its usual association with women and heteroerotic relationships.

In fact, the maltreatment of hearts at the hands of Love and women in "The Message," "The Legacie," "The Broken Heart," and "The Blossome" may serve to place these poems even further within the realm of friendship texts. Though Cicero never explicitly states that women may not take part in friendship, he says, "nisi in bonis amicitiam esse non posse," and again later, "amicitiam nisi inter bonos esse non posse." Both of these instances are translated as "Friendship cannot exist except among good men."<sup>29</sup> Though *bonis* and *bonos* are used as substantive adjectives, literally "the good," and could therefore denote mixed populations even though the masculine form of the adjective is employed, Cicero later defines "the good" in terms which are masculine, as follows:

Qui ita se gerunt, ita vivunt, ut eorum probetur fides, integritas, aequitas, liberalitas, nec sit in eis ulla cupiditas, libido, audacia, sintque magna constantia, ut ii fuerunt, modo quos nominavi, hos viros bonos, ut habiti sunt, sic etiam appellandos putemus, qui sequantur, quantum homines possunt, naturam optimam bene vivendi ducem.

[Those who so act and so live as to give proof of loyalty and uprightness, of fairness and generosity; who are free from all passion, caprice, and insolence, and have great strength of character — men like those just mentioned — such men let us consider good, as they were accounted good in life, and also entitled to be called by that term because, in as far as that is possible for man, they follow Nature, who is the best guide to good living.]<sup>30</sup>

Montaigne, on the other hand, is explicit in his exclusion of women from friendship:

Quant aux mariages . . . il y survient mille fusées étrangères à démêler parmi, suffisantes à rompre le fil et troubler les cours d'une vive affection. Là où, en l'amitié, il n'y a affaire ny commerce . . . la suffisance ordinaire des femmes n'est pas pour répondre à cette conférence et communication, nourrice de cette sainte couture. Ni leur âme ne semble assez ferme pour soutenir l'étreinte d'un nœud si pressé et si durable. Et certes sans cela, s'il se pouvait dresser une telle accointance, libre et volontaire, où, non seulement les ames eussent cette entière jouissance, mais encores où les corps eussent part à l'alliance, où l'homme fût engagé tout entier: il est certain que l'amitié en serait plus pleine et plus comble. Mais ce sexe par nul exemple n'y est encore pu arriver, et par le commun consentement des écoles anciennes en est rejeté.

[Regarding marriages . . . there are a thousand strange knots to be undone, sufficient to break the thread and trouble the course/court of a vivacious affection; but in friendship there is no (such) commerce or affair . . . the ordinary sufficiency of women

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<sup>29</sup> Cicero, *De amicitia*, v.18 and xviii.65.

<sup>30</sup> Cicero, *De amicitia*, v.19.

is unable to answer this conference and communication, (necessary to) to nourish[ment] of this sacred seam/bond; neither do their minds seem strong enough to withstand the pulling of a knot so quickly and so hard. And certainly . . . an acquaintance, free and voluntary, might be (constructed), where not only minds had this entire jouissance, but bodies too had a part in the alliance, and where a man might engage fully: it is certain that friendship would be more full and complete (if this were the case). But this sex, by any example, is not ever to attain such, and by the common consent of the ancient schools is rejected (from friendship).<sup>31</sup>

Put simply, women are incapable of the affection necessary to keep a friendship alive through hardship, a belief Montaigne asserts based on the examples given by *des écoles anciennes*. Without naming names, he refers to Cicero and Aristotle. Though the books on friendship in the *Nicomachean Ethics* do not employ images of the heart or other tropes common to Petrarchan verse, Aristotle's contribution to the rejection of women from friendship is of obvious importance to Montaigne and deserves some discussion here.

Unlike Montaigne and Cicero, Aristotle includes many relationships under the aegis of friendship and takes care to specify the components particular to each situation. Aristotle writes: "Τελεία δ' ἐστὶν ἡ τῶν ἀγαθῶν φιλία καὶ κατ' ἀρετὴν ὁμοίων· οὗτοι γὰρ τὰγαθὰ ὁμοίως βούλονται ἀλλήλοις ἢ ἀγαθοί; ἀγαθοὶ δ' εἰσὶ κατ' αὐτούς" (But complete friendship is the friendship of good people similar in virtue; for they wish good in the same way to each other insofar as they are good, and they are good in their own right).<sup>32</sup> Of course, the candidates for perfect friendship are men. Though Aristotle includes married couples in his discussion on friendship, he takes care to differentiate the friendship between a husband and wife from perfect friendship. It is based on inequality and therefore imperfect, for equality and similarity are prerequisite conditions of friendship. Imbalanced friendships require special consideration and action:

ἀνάλογον δ' ἐν πάσαις ταῖς κατ' ὑπεροχὴν οὖσαις φιλίαις καὶ τὴν φίλησιν δεῖ γίνεσθαι, δῖον τὸν ἀμείνω μᾶλλον φιλεῖσθαι ἢ φιλεῖν, καὶ τὸν ὠφελιμώτερον, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστον ὁμοίως· ὅταν γὰρ κατ' ἀξίαν ἡ φίλησις γίγνηται, τότε γίγνεται πῶς ἰσότης ὅ δὴ τῆς φιλίας εἶναι δοκεῖ.

[In all the friendships that rest on superiority, the loving must also be proportional; for instance, the better person, and the more beneficial, and each of the others likewise, must be loved more than he loves; for when the loving accords with the comparative

<sup>31</sup> Montaigne, "De l'Amitié," 315.33–52.

<sup>32</sup> Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 8.3.6. For the Greek original, see *The Ethics of Aristotle*, ed. Sir Alexander Grant. Vols. 1 and 2. Philosophy of Plato and Aristotle, advisory ed. Gregory Vlastos. Reprint of the 4th ed. (1885; New York: Arno Press, 1973;). English translations originate from *Nicomachean Ethics*. 2nd ed., ed. and trans. Terence Irwin (Indianapolis and Cambridge: Hackett Publishing, 1999)

worth of the friends, equality is achieved in a way, and this seems to be proper to friendship.<sup>33]</sup>

In the *Nicomachean Ethics*, though women and other inferiors cannot take part in perfect friendship, they may strive to love their superiors in such a way that, eventually, they may begin to perfect their relationships. While Montaigne introduces violence to his assertion that “l’affection envers les femmes” (affection toward women) differs from friendship and rejects women entirely from the realm of friendship, he still speaks in terms similar to those employed by Aristotle and Cicero:

c’est un feu téméraire et volage, ondoyant et divers, feu de fièvre . . . En l’amitié, c’est une chaleur générale et universelle . . . une chaleur constante et raissise, toute douceur et polissure, qui n’a rien d’âpre et de poignant.

[It is a rash and wavering fire, waving and diverse: the fire of a fever . . . In friendship/amity, there is a heat both general and universal . . . a constant and rare heat, all gentleness and smoothness, that has no sting or heart-rending in it.]<sup>34</sup>

Donne’s exchanged-hearts poetry would seem to follow closely Montaigne’s and Cicero’s more exclusionary line of reasoning concerning women and friendship, though he also utilizes Aristotle’s advice regarding proportionate relationships as a pedagogical tool.

“The Message” includes harm to the speaker at the hands of his female lover, a physical exchange, clear ties to both Petrarchan lyric poetry and the rhetoric of friendship, and explicit references to pedagogy. Therefore, the poem serves as a good place to begin the mapping of these components in those poems of Donne’s which include Petrarchan heart exchange. The occasion for the poem is a love affair gone sour, and though the sense here is different from Montaigne’s, nevertheless “il y survient mille fusées étrangères à démêler parmi” (there are a thousand strange knots to be undone).<sup>35</sup> The erstwhile lovers must undo their previous exchanges and recollect themselves—literally—in order to move on. The tokens once exchanged in passion now must be returned, and Montaigne’s knots undone.

To that end, each of the poem’s three stanzas begins with a command issued from the speaker to his lover: *send*. We find immediately, though, that the speaker has not given his love just any trinket of his affection; he has sent his eyes and heart. At first the speaker asks for these objects—his “long strayed eyes,” (1) his “harmlesse heart” (9)—to be sent “home” (1, 9), but, as often happens in Donne’s

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<sup>33</sup> Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 8.7.2.

<sup>34</sup> Montaigne, “De l’Amitié,” 314.3–14.

<sup>35</sup> Montaigne, “De l’Amitié,” 315.33–34.

verse, the speaker thinks again, or better. His eyes, since they "have learn'd such ill" (3) from his lover, are "fit for no good sight" (8). His heart, formerly without "staine" (10), may have been "taught" by the lover's heart

To make jestings  
Of protestings,  
And crosse both  
Word and oath

(12–15)

So the speaker bids his lover "keep" both gifts, negating his previous commands to send, for he is better off without eyes and heart altogether than with versions of these organs perverted by his lover's instruction. He cannot participate in relationships according to the common provisions of friendship texts so long as he is damaged. The third stanza's *volta*, however, brings yet another change in the speaker's mind: "Yet send me back my heart and eyes," he says, "That I may know, and see, thy lyes" (17–18). Here the speaker's command to send is not negated by the perversion introduced by his lover's instruction but strengthened by the possible gains it has introduced. Possessing a damaged heart gives Donne's speaker insight—even happiness, the opportunity to "laugh and joy" (19)—and, as in "Loves Exchange," the speaker has the opportunity to become a teacher. Therefore, he wants his damaged heart returned to him.

In "The Legacie," the speaker wishes to leave his heart to his beloved, even though her lack of affection has killed him. The clasped-hands format of the final two lines (ending with "mine" and "thine," respectively), would seem to point toward the lovers' mutuality. However, mutuality is impossible for these lovers, and so is proper exchange. Even when Donne invokes what is perhaps the most common trope of friendship—a friend as *alter idem* (another self)—in line ten, it requires qualification and distinction:

I heard me say, Tell her anon,  
That *my selfe*, *that's you*, *not I*,  
Did kill me, and when I felt me dye,  
I bid mee send my heart, when I was gone;  
But I alas could there finde none,  
When I had ripp'd me, and search'd where hearts should lye.

(9–14,  
emphasis mine)

These lovers have not mixed beyond all recognition as the two lovers in "The Extasie" and Laelius and Scipio in *De amicitia* have done. The proposed exchange of hearts in this poem is addressed semi-posthumously—for the speaker both dies and acts continually, as a sort of double of himself—and we should recall both the one-sided exchange and the "Anatomie" present in "Loves Exchange." Pamela Hammons calls attention to the "anxiety . . . associated with love tokens" present

in "The Legacie" as "the prospect of unfair exchange."<sup>36</sup> However, fair exchange is not at stake in this poem, for exchange itself is entirely impossible. Two starkly physical reasons are at the core—or *cor* (heart)—of this impossibility: first, the speaker rips open his chest—signaling the *apertum pectus* found in both Cicero and "Loves Exchange"—and cannot find his own heart; then—indeed, as an afterthought of sorts—the speaker finds a defective organ in its stead. The "something like a heart" which the speaker discovers in line seventeen belonged previously to the woman; it has "colours" and "corners," is neither "good" nor "bad," and is "intire to none" (18–20).

As such, the "something like a heart" is not fit for a proper exchange because it is inconstant, fickle, malformed, and only *like* a heart: "no man could hold it," the speaker says, "for 'twas thine" (24). "A Jeat Ring Sent" is certainly more "love-poetry" than friendship poem, but in its first two lines its speaker also takes care to establish the woman as faithless and her heart as defective—"brittle"—whereas the speaker's heart is constant, or "black."<sup>37</sup> Moreover, the exchange in that poem involves a cheap metal ring rather than the hearts—the souls and selves—present in Ciceronian and Petrarchan exchange. The implication present in "The Legacie" and "A Jeat Ring Sent," and "The Message" as well, is that women do not possess good hearts and therefore cannot treat other hearts properly. Accordingly, men would do better to leave women and their defective hearts aside and seek constancy where it can be found: in male friendship.

"The Broken Heart" begins in a manner similar to "The Legacie" and "A Jeat Ring Sent." However, we find in stanza two that Love himself, and not a woman, has mistreated the heart. In fact, we learn in stanza three that the speaker's heart has not been exchanged as he originally intended; the exchange has been prevented by Love, who "at one first blow did shiver [the heart] as glasse" (24), turning it into something which the speaker no longer considers to be a heart at all ("I carried none with mee" [20]). "If it had gone to thee, I know," the speaker says, "Mine would have taught thy heart to show / More pitty unto mee" (21–23), but the poem's female addressee does not get the chance to learn from the speaker's heart.

It remains, though broken into "peeces," within the poet's "breast" (27–29). Thus, the complaint which readers might expect to be made against a female lover is instead directed toward Love. As in "Loves Exchange," Love does not play fair:

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<sup>36</sup> Hammons, "Robert Herrick's Gift Trouble: Male Subjects 'Trans-shifting' into Objects," *Criticism* 47.1 (Winter 2005): 31–64; here 27, n. 16.

<sup>37</sup> The usual connotations of black as something negative do not apply here, according to Theodore Redpath, "because black has no shades; this would be a bold stroke of wit, in view of the usually sinister figurative implications of 'black.'" For further information, see Redpath's *The Songs and Sonnets of John Donne*, 2nd ed. (1956; London: Methuen, 1983), 113. All subsequent quotations are taken from this edition and will be signaled in-text.

All other griefes allow a part  
 To other griefs, and aske themselves but some;  
 They come to us, but us Love draws,  
 He swallows us, and never chawes:

By him, as by chain-shot, whole rankes doe dye,  
 He is the tyran Pike, our hearts the Frye. (11–16)

Love's actions in these lines are not only unfair; they are also rendered by the speaker with images far more brutal than those which usually surround the Petrarchan heart. Though the speaker addresses his female beloved directly in stanza three, his focus is still on the ill-effects of Love's actions. The poem is an example of *coup de foudre* (stroke of lightning, or love at first sight). This poetic genre, coupled with violent imagery, recalls Cicero's admonition against loving too quickly: "Omnino omnium horum vitiorum atque incommodorum una cautio est atque una provisio, ut ne nimis cito diligere incipiant neve non dignos" (In short, there is but one security and one provision against these ills and annoyances, and that is, neither to enlist your love too quickly nor to fix it on unworthy men).<sup>38</sup> Though fault for the sudden burst of affection the speaker experienced cannot lie solely with him, the fact remains that he has acted on his love too quickly and chosen to invest his heart with his lover—who, being a woman, is the very picture of unworthiness—rather than in a more appropriate homosocial relationship. Thus, he has been harmed.

Montaigne warns against such a fate when men bend their affections "envers les femmes" (toward women): such a "feu," he says, "est plus actif, plus cuisant et plus âpre" (fire . . . is more active, more stinging/crushing, and more bitter) than any other.<sup>39</sup> Donne's speaker, burned by the "flaske of powder" he mentions in line eight, knows this better than most. Thus, much as in "The Legacie," a broken heart makes Donne's speaker both a pedagogical instrument and an ideal pedagogue. In stanza three, however, the speaker's heart fails to instruct his beloved, both because it has been so damaged by Love and because, as a woman, she would not understand the lesson anyway.

Whom, then, does the poem instruct? The images of the second stanza, interestingly plural, provide us with some clue. We are presented first with "whole rankes" perishing, torn apart by Love's war machinery, and then with "Frye," a school of small fish eaten by the indiscriminating, predatory "Pike." The plural, martial images in these lines, alongside the plural pronouns which dominate that stanza and the masculine pronouns of the first, serve to illustrate the intended

<sup>38</sup> Cicero, *De amicitia*, xxi.78.

<sup>39</sup> Montaigne, "De l'Amitié," 314.3, 8.

general audience who would be best served by the poem's pedagogy: those men who would have read "The Broken Heart" in manuscript.

Donne's speaker opens with an instructional proclamation to this end, calling any man who would deny love's simultaneous fleeting nature and consuming power "starke mad" (1). Yet, he seems doubtful of his ability to instruct such a man:

Who will beleeeve mee, if I sweare  
That I have had the plague a yeare?  
Who would not laugh at mee, if I should say,  
I saw a flaske of *powder burne a day?* (5–8,  
emphasis original)

Donne's speaker nevertheless attempts to instruct his male audience in the second stanza by invoking the plural—*our hearts*—as if to say, *take me as an example, for you could meet the same fate*. Donne's references to physics the poem's fourth stanza are a reminder of his pedagogical intent. Along with copious references Donne makes to various sciences and philosophies, including botany, alchemy, and scholastic philosophy, Redpath suggests Donne's use of physics "led Dryden to censure him for affecting metaphysics even 'in his amorous verses, where nature only should reign'" (29).

Redpath goes on to say that the term *metaphysical* "soon acquired a more general sense than Dryden probably intended, and came to connote the employment of learning as the stuff of poetry" (29–30). "Nature only" would seem, for Donne's male audience, a pitfall to be avoided at all costs, which returns the reader to Cicero's warning against overhasty love. As the last lines of "The Broken Heart" state clearly, one cannot love again after having loved so carelessly. More to the point, such a one cannot love *perfectly*; thus, correct homosocial friendship is made impossible through such waste.

Having examined the tropes common to friendship and exchanged hearts in "The Message," "The Legacie," and "The Broken Heart," we can more fully explore the effects of each in "The Blossome," which is perhaps the finest example in Donne's poetic corpus of the combined senses of *amor* (love) found in both *amicitia* (friendship) and *amorous*. "The Blossome" is presented as an imagined, argumentative dialogue between the speaker and his heart, a commonplace in Petrarchan poetry. However, the dialogue also follows the rhetorical situation in which Cicero places Laelius, the main speaker in *De amicitia*, and thus "what started as a Petrarchan lament . . . ends as an anti-Petrarchan triumph" (Redpath 278). Donne places his speaker as an older, more worldly-wise creature in dialogue with his inexperienced and reckless heart, the "poore flower" he addresses:

Little think'st thou, poore flower,  
Whom I have watch'd sixe or seaven dayes,



And seene thy birth, and seene what every houre  
 Gave to thy growth, thee to this height to raise,  
 And now dost laugh and triumph on this bough,  
 Little think'st thou

That it will freeze anon, and that I shall  
 To morrow finde thee falne, or not at all. (1–8)

The speaker addresses the heart, a separate and male-gendered entity, much in the same way that Laelius addresses Fannius and Scaevola. He is an authority figure, a dispenser of advice and warnings.

However, the heart is also a part of him—possibly more than one part—and therefore the speaker and his heart share the *alter idem* quality of friendship. The speaker has taken great care to observe the heart and how it has changed: the speaker watches for “sixe or seaven dayes” (2), the span of Creation, and has “seene what every houre / Gave to thy growth, thee to this height to raise” (3–4). Donne's constant concern with change and waste, along with the practices of proper friendship, inform the speaker's concern for the “flower” of his heart in this stanza. Not only has the heart grown, signaling the heart's sometimes phallic nature and therefore its readiness to waste seed,<sup>40</sup> the heart “Little think'st” about its certain, freezing fate at the hands of the speaker's inattentive lover.

The poem's second stanza reemphasizes the “freeze” of the first. Though the heart “hop'st her stiffenesse by long siege to bow” (13), the speaker as persuader and pedagogue continues:

Little think'st thou  
 That thou tomorrow, ere that Sunne doth wake,  
 Must with this Sunne, and mee a journey take. (14–16)

Invoking time and the sun, the speaker implores his heart to take action which would preserve them both.<sup>41</sup>

When the speaker imagines the answer of his heart, it is primarily dismissive of the speaker's concerns: “If you must goe,” the heart replies, “what's that to mee? / Here lyes my busnesse, and here I will stay” (19–20). The heart's second tactic is to question the speaker's priorities:

<sup>40</sup> For a complete explanation of the phallic heart, see Erickson, *The Language of the Heart: 1600–1750*, 8–10.

<sup>41</sup> Though imagery equating a lover with the sun is common to the Petrarchan tradition, a connection to *De amicitia*, xiii.47, is possible: “Solem enim e mundo tollere videntur, qui amicitiam e vita tollunt, qua nihil a dis immortalibus melius habemus, nihil iucundius” (“Why, they [stoics] seem to take the sun out of the universe when they deprive life of friendship, than which we have from the immortal gods no better, no more delightful boon”).

You goe to friends, whose love<sup>42</sup> and meanes present  
 Various content  
 To your eyes, eares, and tongue, and every part.  
 If then your body goe, what need you'a heart? (21–24)

The language of the heart certainly deserves unpacking. Its use of the word *friends* is unclear. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, a sense of the term *friend* contemporary with Donne denotes “a lover or paramour, of either sex.”<sup>43</sup> The heart seems to employ this sense, suggesting that the speaker seeks sexual satisfaction, and that through promiscuity. However, the rebuttal from the speaker stresses the importance of *knowing* the heart, an attribute of perfect friendship, over sexual pleasure. Again, since the heart’s beloved possesses no heart of her own, she is unable to “know,” in any sense, “my heart” or “thee” (29–30). In order to stress the point, lines thirty-one and thirty-two are a pedagogical restatement, doubling the lines that came before.

The speaker turns, in the last stanza, from rebuttal to acceptance, urging his heart to catch up with him later, when he will be “fresher, and more fat, by being with men” (35). The speaker closes by telling his heart that, if he could, he would “give” it “to another friend,” pointedly male, “whom wee shall find / As glad to have my body, as my minde” (38–40).

Silvia Ruffo-Fiore argues that “the last lines of the poem proffer the hope for a more fruitful relationship in the future, one balancing the demands of the body with those of the mind”<sup>44</sup> If the “more fruitful relationship” Ruffo-Fiore suggests is heterosexual, this idea is at odds with Montaigne’s concept of friendship, for no woman can understand both the body and the mind, or heart. Scholars seem reluctant to identify the “The Blossome” as a text which deals with male-male relationships because the poems expressly involve the speaker’s body, and some scholarship veers wide of any homosocial or homoerotic connotation. Redpath, for example, is careful to gloss *men* as “people (not necessarily males)” (279) in the speaker’s last lines. However, he does not gloss *friend*. Since the term *friend* was applicable to both sexes—and both types of relationship—it seems careless to think that Donne, a poet capable of delicate nuances and intricate layers of images, would neglect the homosocial sense of the term all together in favor of the amorous.

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<sup>42</sup> Redpath chooses “loves” here, for it has “somewhat stronger MS support, and suggests more vividly the plurality and variety of his London friends.” *The Songs and Sonnets of John Donne*, 279.

<sup>43</sup> OED n. “friend” A. 4.

<sup>44</sup> Silvia Ruffo-Fiore, “The Unwanted Heart in Petrarch and Donne,” *Comparative Literature* 24.4 (1972): 319–27; here 324. Ruffo-Fiore’s essay provides a compelling reading of “The Blossome” and “The Broken Heart” within the context of Petrarch himself, rather than the generalized Petrarchan Tradition.

Given the speaker's use of *men*, it does not seem out of bounds to suggest that Donne uses *friend* in the most common sense and means the term to be taken as such by his fellows. Male friends would, indeed, refresh the speaker and his heart. According to friendship texts, they are the only sort of people who are capable of providing such refreshment or *nourrie* (nourishment).<sup>45</sup> Further, the speaker wishes to give his heart to someone who would appreciate both his body and his mind. But the mind—figured as the heart throughout the poem—is more important. Though often used in contrast to the mind and/or soul, the term *body* need not denote simply those physical attributes having to do with sexual pleasure. The speaker has already made a lewd comment concerning “some other part” (31);

Donne, who has no qualms with doubled terms, might just as easily have used the same term again in the poem's final line had that been his only intended meaning. Therefore, readers should recall the other senses embedded in the English term *body*<sup>46</sup> as well as its Latin equivalent: *corpus* (body) is, after all, related to *cor* (heart).

Just as the speaker of “The Blossome” advises his own heart, Donne advises those men who would have read “The Blossome”—and he may even address them directly. *Heart* does not only denote the physical organ or seat of emotion; during the seventeenth century, it was also a common term of endearment and compassion.<sup>47</sup> “Ego vos hortari tantum possum,” Laelius says to Fannius and Scaevola, “ut amicitiam omnibus rebus humanis anteponatis” (All that I can do is to urge you to put friendship before all things human).<sup>48</sup> In putting friendship first, men put their own well being first. Donne says as much to his heart in “The Blossome,” and implores his readers, though the images of exchanged-hearts in that poem as well as in “The Message,” “The Legacie,” and “The Broken Heart” and other Petrarchan imagery in the *Songs and Sonnets*, to do the same.

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<sup>45</sup> Montaigne's term.

<sup>46</sup> Particularly beguiling senses include “The main, central, or principal part, as distinguished from parts subordinate or less important; the part round which the others are grouped, or to which they are attached as appendages” and “Personal being, individual” (*OED* n. “body” II. 7. a. and III.).

<sup>47</sup> *OED* n. “heart” I. 14. a.; I. 16.

<sup>48</sup> Cicero, *De amicitia*, v.17.



## Chapter 19

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### George Herbert's Friendship with Christ in *The Temple* (1633)

In the tradition of the authors of the medieval *Imitation of Christ* and *Life of Soul*, the Anglican priest and poet George Herbert (1593–1633) used a substantial number of friendship metaphors to describe his Christian experience of a manifold relationship with Christ in *The Temple*, his collection of religious poems in English published posthumously in 1633 whose pious and poetic tone deeply impressed numerous literary figures over the ages.<sup>1</sup> In the book, the notion of “friendship with Christ” can surprisingly stretch from an affable exchange to a master and servant bond when not taking the form of a Platonic fusion embarrassingly reminiscent of courtly love. Herbert no doubt turned the concept into an extremely flexible and fluctuating one while copiously recycling medieval or earlier Christian sources as well as contemporary profane poetry and literature. Last but not least, he resorted to a unique anagrammatic linguistic strategy so as to Anglicanize the topos and promote the supremacy of the Anglican cult over its rivals.

As we will see in the course of this study, the very idea of a potential friendship with Christ, notwithstanding time and distance, echoes His words in *John* 15 in the episode immediately preceding the arrest, where the only two occurrences of the word are to be found in His mouth, namely *John* 15:13—“Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends”—and 15:14—“Ye are my friends, if ye do whatsoever I command you.”

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<sup>1</sup> We can list among them writers as diverse as Richard Crashaw (1613–1649), Henry Vaughan (1621–1695), John Ruskin (1819–1900), Emily Dickinson (1830–1886), Aldous Huxley (1894–1963), Jorge Luis Borges (1889–1986) or philosopher Simone Weil (1909–1943).



indebted to the earlier writings of Thomas à Kempis (ca. 1379–1471) who had declared

Qui invenit Iesum invenit thesaurum bonum: immo bonum super omne bonum. Et qui perdit Iesum perdit nimis multum: et plus quam totum mundum. Pauperrimus est qui vivit sine Iesu: et ditissimus qui bene est cum Iesu.

Majora ars est, scrive cum Iesu conversari: et scrive Iesum tenere magna prudentia. Este humilis et pacificus: et erit tecum Iesus. Sis devotus et quietus: et manebit tecum Iesus. Potes cite fugare Iesum et gratiam eius perdere: si volveris ad exteriora declinare. Et si illum effugaveris et perdideris; ad quem fugies et quem tunc quaeres amicum? Sine amico non potes bene vivere; et si Iesus non fuerit tibi prae omnibus amicus: eris nimis tristis et desolatus. Fatue igitur agis: sin aliquo altero confidis aut laetaris. Eligendum est imagis totum mundum habere contrarium: quam Iesum offensum. Ex omnibus ergo caris: sit Iesus solus dilectus specialis.<sup>4</sup>

[He who finds Jesus finds a rare treasure, indeed, a good above every good, whereas he who loses Him loses more than the whole world. The man who lives without Jesus is the poorest of the poor, whereas no one is so rich as the man who lives in His grace.

It is a great art to know how to converse with Jesus, and great wisdom to know how to keep Him. Be humble and peaceful, and Jesus will be with you. Be devout and calm, and He will remain with you. You may quickly drive Him away and lose His grace, if you turn back to the outside world. And, if you drive Him away and lose Him, to whom will you go and whom will you then seek as a friend? You cannot live well without a friend, and if Jesus be not your friend above all else, you will be very sad and desolate. Thus, you are acting foolishly if you trust or rejoice in any other. Choose the opposition of the whole world rather than offend Jesus. Of all those who are dear to you, let Him be your special love. Let all things be loved for the sake of Jesus, but Jesus for His own sake.]

Herbert seems to have been most concerned with creating an “art to know how to converse with Jesus” and with finding a satisfying way to harmonize his more spiritual public priest *persona* with that of the earthly private poet in order to

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<sup>4</sup> Thomae Hemerken Akempis (Thomas à Kempis), *De Imitatio Christi* (1441?), *Liber Secundus*, Cap. VIII, “De familiari amicitia Iesu” [“The Intimate Friendship of Jesus”], in *Opera Omnia*, ed. M. J. Pohl (Freiburg: Sumptibus Herder, 1904), 72. Herbert never mentions à Kempis although he expressly refers to Tertullian and Chrysostom in his prose works of *A Priest to the Temple or The Country Parson*, in *George Herbert, The Complete English Works*, ed. Ann Pasternak Slater (1908, London: Everyman’s Library, 1995), 249 (from now on abbreviated as C. E. W.). Nevertheless, in the same book he cites Jean Charlier de Gerson (1363–1429) to whom *The Imitation* was frequently attributed (*ibid.*, “The Parson’s Eye,” Chapter XXVI, 235). Furthermore, the narrator’s outcry “But how then shall I imitate thee, and / *Copie thy faire, though bloodie hand?*” (italics mine) in “The Thanksgiving” (15) is quite telling of his indebtedness to the book. The similitudes are such that A. J. Festugière even declared “*The Temple is The Imitation in verse*” in his *George Herbert, poète, saint anglican (1593–1633)*. Études de théologie et d’histoire de la spiritualité, 18; (Paris: Librairie philosophique J. Vrin, 1971), 11 (my translation).

reconcile his two selves. In this regard, he is said to have introduced *The Temple* from his deathbed to his attending friends as

... a picture of the many spiritual conflicts that have passed betwixt God and my soul, before I could subject mine to the will of Jesus my Master, in whose service I have now found perfect freedom.<sup>5</sup>

In their respective spheres, the priest and the poet define themselves as servants, but whereas the first can follow the tradition of the Church of England, the second self decides to re-invent himself through his poetry and have the two *personas* merge. The medieval concept of friendship and allegiance is echoed in the Lord-tenant metaphor of "Redemption":

Having been tenant long to a rich Lord,  
     Not thriving, I resolved to be bold,  
     And make a suit unto him, to afford  
 A new small-rented lease, and cancell th' old.  
  
 In heaven at his manour I him sought:  
     They told me there, that he was lately gone  
     About some land, which he had dearly bought  
 Long since on earth, to take possession.  
  
 I straight return'd, and knowing his great birth,  
     Sought him accordingly in great resorts;  
     In cities, theatres, gardens, parks, and courts:  
 At length I heard a ragged noise and mirth  
  
     Of theeves and murderers: there I him espied,  
     Who straight, Your suit is granted, said, and died.

By the closure of "Love III," the last poem of *The Temple*, though, and after many ebbs and flows, both protagonists—i.e., the narrator and "Love," an avatar of Christ—end up on an equal footing:

Love bade me welcome, yet my soul drew back,  
     Guiltie of dust and sinne.  
 But quick-ey'd Love, observing me grow slack  
     From my first entrance in,  
 Drew nearer to me, sweetly questioning  
     If I lack'd anything.  
  
 A guest, I answer'd, worthy to be here;  
     Love said, You shall be he.  
 I the unkinde, ungratefull? Ah my deare,  
     I cannot look on thee.

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<sup>5</sup> Izaak Walton, *Appendix 3, The Life of Mr. George Herbert by Izaak Walton*, C.E.W., 380.



Love took my hand and smiling did reply,  
 Who made the eyes but I?  
 Truth, Lord, but I have marr'd them: let my shame  
 Go where it doth deserve  
 And know you not, sayes Love, who bore the blame?  
 My deare, then I will serve.  
 You must sit down, sayes Love, and taste my meat.  
 So I did sit and eat.

The narrator has now been raised by Christ whereas he depicted himself as crawling like a worm in "Sighs and Groanes" (5), marooned "betwixt this world and that of grace" in "Affliction IV" (6) or, at best, on bended knees in "The Search" (1-8), lamenting:

Whither, O, whither art thou fled,  
 My Lord, my Love?  
 My searches are my daily bread,  
 Yet never prove.  
 My knees pierce th' earth, mine eies the skie;  
 And yet the sphere  
 And centre both to me denie  
 That thou art there.

The genuflexion pose described with "My knees pierce the earth" (5) may express the tension of the poet imprisoned within his own "corpo-reality" [sic] and aspiring to the heavens and sanctity, but it also formulates his vassalic position in accordance with a codification directly inherited from medieval iconography and illuminated books. Similarly borrowed from such sources are the "taking of the hand" and "holding of hands" solicited from God in "Easter" (3), "Lent" (41), "Paradise" (9), "Assurance" (30) and finally achieved in "Love (III)," in which Christ initiates the gesture. As François Garnier notes when discussing medieval pictorial symbolism, the move is still ambivalent and may allude to vassality:

Holding another man's wrist is a gesture through which one asserts his domination or that which he intends to have over him. It is not to be seen as a mark of friendship or sympathy. The nature of this genuine form of possession depends on the status of each of the persons implied in the relationship and on the other gestures accompanying it . . . .<sup>6</sup>

Nevertheless, Christ's hospitality and his invitation to sit at the banquet table is a clear sign of the narrator's election just as it reveals the evolution of their

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<sup>6</sup> François Garnier, *Le Langage de l'image au moyen âge: Signification et Symbolique* (Paris: Le Léopard d'Or, 1982), , Chap. IX, "Gestes de la main et du bras," 199. My translation.

relationship into one of reciprocal friendship and a newly retrieved sense of communion expressed by the rather disturbing "taste my meat" (17), the ambiguity of the last term being partly alleviated by its medieval sense of "food." The whole process is orchestrated by God and is but a variation on *John* 15–15 and 16:

- 15 Henceforth I call you not servants; for the servant knoweth not what his lord doeth: but I have called you friends; for all things that I have heard of my Father I have made known unto you.
- 16 Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you, and ordained you, that ye should go and bring forth fruit, and that your fruit should remain; that whatsoever ye shall ask of the Father in my name, he may give it you . . .

Likewise, while the Creator may more often than not be presented as cruel to be kind, the redeeming New Testament Christ systematically appears as a straightforwardly and even disconcertingly benevolent friend to the imperfect guilt-ridden narrator. Such is the case in the allegorical poem "The Pilgrimage" when, after having narrowly escaped the dangers of a reformed version of Charybis and Scylla now embodying the Church of Rome and Protestant Geneva, the narrator finds himself stranded in

. . . the wilde of passion, which  
                                     Some call the wold;  
                                     A wasted place, but sometimes rich.  
                                     Here I was robb'd of all my gold,  
 Save one good Angell, which a friend had ti'd  
                                     Close to my side. (13–18)

This is rendered possible by the Herbertian pun on "angel,"<sup>7</sup> which simultaneously alludes to a golden coin of the time or a divine emissary. This divine providence is but one aspect of the friendship, since in both "Assurance" (30) and "Jordan II" another "friend" is presented almost as a muse gently inspiring and guiding the poet:

                                    But while I bustled, I might heare a friend  
 Whisper, *How wide is all this long pretence!*  
                                     *There is in love a sweetnesse readie penn'd:*  
                                     *Copie out only that, and save expense.* (15–18)

Writing is therefore clearly meant to be the vehicle of divine friendship. As is stated, its relevance depends on a Christ-like unpretentiousness, humility and sweetness (16–17), thus "saving expense" (18) while the numerous puns artfully scattered in his production enable the author to perform a literary imitation of

<sup>7</sup> Erasmus had used a similar pun in a letter to Holbein in 1526. See James Lawson, *Van Dyck, Paintings and Drawings* (Munich, London, and New York: Prestel, 1999), 7.

Christ by economically compacting sense and converting artificial courtly love poetry into virtuous religious verse.

The reciprocity that pervades the relationship is further evidenced when The Savior addresses mankind from the Cross as "friends" in "The Sacrifice," a long poem on the Passion inspired by numerous medieval religious poems, as Rosemond Tuve expertly demonstrated.<sup>8</sup> Similarly, in "the Bag" (13), once the sacrifice has taken place, He proposes to carry their petitions to God *via* his wound in an obvious verbal recycling of earlier illuminated books<sup>9</sup> or the murals adorning medieval German monasteries:<sup>10</sup>

If ye have any thing to send or write,  
(I have no bag, but here is room)  
Unto my father's hands and sight  
(Beleeve me) it shall safely come. (31–34)

Simultaneously, "Love Unknown" blurs sexual identities when the devotee's relationship to God is likened to courtly love and becomes quite reminiscent of the writings of the German Dominican mystic Henry Suso (1295 (?)–1366) comparing himself to a divine *minnesänger*—i.e., minstrel—and pilfering that literary genre to Christianize it and put into words his own Christian devotion. According to his biographer J. A. Bizet, Suso's relationship to Christ bears striking resemblances with

that of minstrels and their beloved or that of the vassal and their lord. The feudal system is indeed based on reciprocal fidelity and dependent feelings between the sovereign and his vassals, their legal bonds being doubled with one of personal affection that reinforces and surpasses it.<sup>11</sup>

To prove his love, the protagonist in "Love unknown" is harshly put to the test like the pretender repeatedly rejected by his Dame in medieval courtly love

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<sup>8</sup> See Rosemond Tuve, *A Reading of George Herbert* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952).

<sup>9</sup> The image may have been influenced by earlier representations such as that of a *Trinité* in *The Hours of Marechal Boucicaut* (f° 118 v°) in which God, in an apparent *trompe-l'œil* effect, is shown inserting His hand in Christ's side (Musée Jacquemars-André, Institut de France, Paris).

<sup>10</sup> In the Benedictine Abbey of Sankt Walburg, in the German city of Eichstätt, around 1500, a nun represented Christ's hypertrophied heart opening up on the Rood to welcome pious Christians. Their progression has been eased by a ladder set there which directly enters His side in Théodore Galle's "Apertio Lateris" ["The Opening of Christ's side," my translation], also titled "L'âme montant au cœur de Jésus" ["The Soul ascending to Jesus' heart," my translation], in Jan David's *Paradisus sponsi et sponsæ* (emblem 45, Netherlands, ca. 1607–11). See Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists, The Visual Culture of a Medieval Convent* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), Christian Heck, *L'Échelle céleste dans l'art du Moyen Âge, Une histoire de la quête du ciel* (Paris: Flammarion, 1997). See also John B. Kipping, *Iconography of the Counter-Reformation in the Netherlands: Heaven on Earth*, 2 vols. (Nieuwkoop: B. de Graaf, 1974).

<sup>11</sup> J.-A. Bizet, *Suso et le Minnesang* (Paris: Aubier, 1944), 33. My translation.

poetry, whereas “Miserie” and “Love III” seem to infer that the epiphany uniting Christ and man as friends can only be performed through death to which he has to submit by going through a series of operations that will regenerate and purify him. More often than not the poem hints at the actual alchemical separation of dross and pure gold and *Isaiah* 1:22–7.

If the painful refining of the Christian’s heart related in “Love Unknown” recalls the tortures “Frau Minne” subjects her own lover to in medieval German woodcuts,<sup>12</sup> it nevertheless calls forth more pious images, such as Saint Augustine’s own offering of the heart to God, and the rather grotesque emblems of the Jesuit *Amoris divini et humani antipathia*,<sup>13</sup> Benedictus Van Haeften’s *Schola cordis*,<sup>14</sup> Daniel Cramer’s *Emblemata sacra*,<sup>15</sup> or Georgette de Montenay’s *Sic demum purgabitur*, in which Christ himself blows the bellows on a steaming cauldron in a Christianized version of earlier alchemical treatises.<sup>16</sup>

In “Love unknown,” Herbert innovates by grafting a lively conversation with a mysterious “friend” (1) to his depiction of the refining operation. At first the narrator lists a series of apparent persecutions leading to the softening of his heart through its being seized (12), being thrown in a font (13), dipping and dyeing (16), washing and wringing (17) and scalding (35). While he does so, his friend progressively influences our reading and turns his sorry tale into one of redemption and a promise of life thanks to three terse yet relevant comments—namely “Your heart was foul, I fear” (18), “Your heart was hard, I fear” (37) and “Your heart was dull I fear” (56)—to finally shed light on his persisting misunderstanding and conclude:

. . . Truly, Friend,  
For ought I heare, our Master shows to you  
More favour then you wot of. Mark the end.  
The Font did onely, what was old, renew:

<sup>12</sup> This is particularly obvious in Master Caspar von Regensburg’s *Frau Minne’s power over men’s hearts* (1479) from the Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin. The symbolism of the profane offering of the heart, together with the various ordeals the Lady’s pretender is subjected to, has been analyzed by Michael Camille, *The Medieval Art of Love, Objects and Subjects of Desire* (London: Laurence King Publishing, 1998), Chapter IV, “Love’s Signs”, 94–119.

<sup>13</sup> The anonymous artist’s emblem 69—*Sacrificium Amoris*—bears more than a passing resemblance to Herbert’s tale. See also emblems 53—*Expoliatio amoris*—, 55—*Biscoctum amoris*—, and 79—*Unio amoris* (Antwerp, 1628).

<sup>14</sup> See emblem 47, *Cordis humiliatio* (Antwerp, 1629).

<sup>15</sup> See emblem 1—*Mollesco*—or emblem 24—*Probor*—(Frankfurt a. M., 1624).

<sup>16</sup> Georgette de Montenay, emblem. 82 (*Emblemata Christiana*, Frankfurt a. M., 1619). For earlier alchemical representations that undoubtedly influenced her see print 11, *La Septième parabole*, in Solomon Trismosin’s 1582 English edition of *Splendor Solis* (Ms. Harvey 3469, British Museum, London).

The Caldron suppld, what was grown too hard:  
 The Thorns did quicken, what was grown too dull:  
 All did but strive to mend, what you had marr'd.  
 Wherefore be cheer'd, and praise him to the full  
 Each day, each houre, each moment of the week,  
 Who fain would have you be new, tender, quick. (61–70)

In the present case, Herbert's indebtedness to the dialogues of Anselm of Canterbury (1033–1109) and his interlocutor Boso de Montivilliers (1065–1136) in *Cur deus homo* (Why God became Man) is manifest.<sup>17</sup> Both are also rather inconspicuously hinted at in "The Thanksgiving" via the very subject matter of the poem, i.e., man's atonement for the sacrifice of Christ, his only true friend and mediator with God, and the mentioning of a "bosome friend" who may alternately be Christ or, in a pun, Boso himself.

Such puns abound in *The Temple* and are not a demonstration of courtly wit although in Herbert's case their origin may undoubtedly be linked, for a good part at least, to that profane tradition. But whereas courtiers generally used them in a gratuitous or, at best, pedantic way, under Herbert's quill each and every one of those cunning literary devices was meant to serve a religious purpose. When mustered by our poet, such techniques illustrate his vow of humility so as to create a feeling of "homeliness" that will finally amount to one of "holiness around me." His desire for friendship with Christ is therefore formulated throughout *The Temple* by means of a constant recycling of courtly artifices which the former Public Orator of Cambridge University and courtier no doubt considered as the very emblems of vacuity and vanity, as is clearly implied in "The Quidditie" or as he shows here in "Dotage":

False glozing pleasures, casks of happinesse,  
 Foolish night-fires, womens and childrens wishes,  
 Chases in Arras, guilded emptinesse,  
 Shadows well-mounted, dreams in a career,  
 Embroider'd lyes, nothing between two dishes;  
 These are the pleasures here.

True earnest sorrows, rooted miseries,  
 Anguish in grain, vexations ripe and blown,  
 Sure-footed griefs, solid calamities,  
 Plain demonstrations, evident and cleare,  
 Fetching their proofs ev'n from the very bone;  
 These are the sorrows here.

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<sup>17</sup> See also the contribution to this volume by R. Jacob Mc Donie.

But oh the folly of distracted men,  
 Who grieves in earnest, joyes in jest pursue;  
 Preferring, like brute beasts, a loathsome den  
 Before a court, ev'n that above so cleare,  
 Where are no sorrows, but delights more true,  
 Than miseries are here!

The same applies to "Miserie," whose closure ridicules the courtier banging into his "shelf," i.e., his own "flesh." Both stanzas thrive on the metaphor of the Collection and evoke the *connoisseur* frenzies of Buckingham, Dudley Carleton, and Charles I. In the first, the lost Eden is compared to a Curiosity Cabinet (67–72) which is itself opposed to the corruption of the Court, symbolized as it is by a renewed and, in the present instance, negative allusion to collectors via their shelves in the second stanza (77):

Indeed at first Man was a treasure,  
 A box of jewels, shop of rarities,  
     A ring, whose posie was, *My Pleasure*:  
 He was a garden in a Paradise:  
     Glorie and grace  
     Did crown his heart and face.

But sinne hath fool'd him. Now he is  
 A lump of flesh, without a foot or wing  
     To raise him to the glimpse of blisse:  
 A sick toss'd vessel, dashing on each thing;  
     Nay, his own shelf:  
 My God, I mean my self. (67–78)

The maritime sense of "shelf" gets activated together with that of "vessel" to trigger a metaphor reminiscent of *Ex* 15:10 or *Matt* 8:24–27. Enhanced by the potential permutation of "shelf" into "flesh" it simultaneously condemns both contemporary Cabinets of Curiosity and the sexual depravation of the king's vassals/vessels (76) in accordance with yet another Herbertian pun and the enduring permutations of "e's" into "a's" at the time. This sudden polyphony concisely rephrases, among others, Hermann Hugo's contemporary Jesuit representations of the concept in his *Pia Desideria* (Antwerp, 1624), and more specifically his emblems 29 and 30 showing a shipwrecked *anima* being rescued from a stormy sea by *amor divinus* carrying an anchor, another symbol of hope through faith in Christ.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>18</sup> John Donne is said to have been fond of that emblem, as stated by Karl Josef Höltingen in *Aspects of the Emblem: Studies in the English Emblem Tradition and the European Context* (Kassel: Reichenberger, 1986), 77. Ann Pasternak Slater adds: "In his *Life of Donne* Walton reports that Donne had several seals engraved with 'Christ crucified on an Anchor, which is the emblem of

In very much the same way, the closing lines of "Dotage" assert that the Court is corrupt and far inferior to the Kingdom of Heaven while the first lines had denounced a fascination with trinkets, masque performances, artificial lightings, and fireworks or foppish talk (1–5). While thus castigating his former fellow-courtiers and the Crown unbeknown to royal censors, the Bemerton priest and poet vented his anger and solicited Christ's friendship while rejecting that of his peers in passages that had obviously been inspired by *John* 15:18–19:

- 18 If the world hate you, ye know that it hated me before it hated you.  
 19 If ye were of the world, the world would love his own; but because ye are not of the world, but I have chosen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you.  
 20 . . . The servant is not greater than his Lord. If they have persecuted me, they will also persecute you; if they have kept my saying, they will keep yours also.

In this way, the friendship relationship clearly involves imitation and dependence as "Dotage" and "Miserie" once again echo the precepts developed by Thomas à Kempis: ". . . Eligendum est imagis totum mundum habere contrarium: quam Iesum offensum"<sup>19</sup> "(. . . Choose the opposition of the whole world rather than offend Jesus)."

The ensuing feeling of persecution will provide the very marrow of "The Quip" in which the narrator reenacts the Agony in the Garden as he lies prostrate in a typical *proskynesis* pose he had also taken when first ordained in Bemerton:<sup>20</sup>

The merrie world did on a day  
 With his train-bands and mates agree  
 To meet together, where I lay,  
 And all in sport to geere at me.

(1–4)

After remaining silent all the time he was jeered at by four allegories of the Court, i.e., "Beauty" (5), "Money" (9), "Glory" (13), and "Wit and Conversation" (17), the protagonist calls Christ to his rescue in explicit words indicating that the imitation has led to fusion between the two:

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hope' which he sent to Herbert and other friends shortly before his death," C. E. W., 451. The metaphor of the fool tossed at sea can be found earlier in Dürer's illustrations for Sebastian Brant's *Ship of Fools* (print 104, Basel, 1494). Protestant emblemist Georgette de Montenay fused it with the Celestial Ladder in *A quo trepidado* (emblem 13, *Emblemata Christiana*, Frankfurt a. M., 1619). Earlier, Tertullian had urged men "sunk in the waves of sin" — "ita inuade, ita amplexae, ut naufragus alicuius tabulae fidem" — to grab the "plank of repentance" — "duabus humanae salutis quasi planis" — in *De Paenitentiae* IV and XII (Tertullien, *La pénitence* (Paris: Sources Chrétiennes, Cerf, 1984), 156, 190 respectively, my translation).

<sup>19</sup> Thomas à Kempis, *De imitatio Christi, Liber Secundus*, Cap. VIII, 72.

<sup>20</sup> Izaak Walton reports the episode in his *Life of MR George Herbert*: "When at his induction he was shut in Bemerton church, being left there alone to toll the bell . . . , he stayed much longer than an ordinary time, . . . his friends Mr Woodnoth looked in at the church window and saw him lie prostrate on the ground before the altar . . ." (C. E. W., 361).

But thou shalt answer, Lord, for me.  
 Yet when the houre of thy designe  
 To answer these fine things shall come;  
 Speak not at large, say, I am thine,  
 And then they have their answer home. (20–24)

*John* 15 has evidently been translated into the poet's own environment and the Court is used as a foil or a type of negative *exemplum*, the "Herbert Scriptures" thus achieving a rather unique rewriting of the *Scriptures* themselves. In fact, a similar rejection of the Court was actually performed by Herbert in his lifetime for rather obscure reasons when he became a rector in the tiny parish of Bemerton just off Salisbury where he appears to have led a more than exemplary life if we are to believe his biographer Izaak Walton's conclusion of his *Life of MR George Herbert*: "Thus he lived, and thus he died like a saint."<sup>21</sup>

After, or alongside, the relation built on imitation this exclusive relationship with Christ becomes one of mystic love in "Church-Musick" where it is apparently depicted in sexual terms, in a prefiguration of "Love III's" aforementioned "taste my meat" (17):

Sweetest of sweets, I thank you: when displeasure  
 Did through my bodie wound my minde,  
 You took me thence, and in your house of pleasure  
 A daintie lodging me assign'd.  
 Now I in you without a bodie move,  
 Rising and falling with your wings:  
 We both together sweetly live and love,  
 Yet say sometimes, God help poore Kings.  
 Comfort, 'Ile die; for if you poste from me,  
 Sure I shall do so, and much more:  
 But if I travell in your companie,  
 You know the way to heavens doore.

Similarly, "Frailtie" expresses the narrator's longing "to conquer heav'n and [Christ] / Planted in [him]" (23–24). Although in the past the Freudian school of critics must have rejoiced at that mere thought, it is quite clear that a literal interpretation would be a gross misconception both of the writer's intentions and the cultural background of his time, and the lines should much rather be read bearing in mind Saint Teresa's "transverberation of the heart":

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<sup>21</sup> Walton, *Life*, C.E.W., 338–85; here 384.



Viale en las manos un dardo de oro largo, y al fin de el hierro me parecia tener un poco de fuego; este me parecia meter por el corazon alguns veces y que llegava a las entranas. Al sacarle me parecia las llevaba con sigo, y me dejava toda abrasada en amor grande de Dios. Era tan grande el dolor que me hacia dar aquellos quezidos y tan excesiva la suavidad que me pone este grandisimo dolor, que no hay desear que se quite, ni se contenta el alma con menos que Dios.<sup>22</sup>

[I saw an angel beside me toward the left side, in bodily form . . . I saw in his hands a long dart of gold, and at the end of the iron there seemed to me to be a little fire. This I thought he thrust through my heart several times, and that it reached my very entrails. As he withdrew it, I thought it brought them with it, and left me all burning with a great love of God. So great was the pain, that it made me give those moans; and so utter the sweetness that this sharpest of pains gave me, that there was no wanting it to stop, nor is there any contenting of the soul with less than God.]

This confirms the belief that throughout the construction of his Anglican *Temple* George Herbert dutifully rephrased earlier continental Catholic mystic deeds, *Vitas* and other literary texts, from the complacent depiction of the engraving of the heart practiced by such eminent figures as Chiara de Montefalco (1268–1308) or Henry Suso to Cardinal Bellarmine's art of crying<sup>23</sup> and fifteenth-century Franciscan poet Jacopone da Todi's *Laudi*. The reformed poet transcends the friendship relationship and positions himself as "the bride of Christ" in "Dooms-day" thanks to a musical pun on "broken consort" which expertly forbids any distinction to be made between the assembly or his parson *persona*—whose awkward yet sincere singing/versing gets converted into praise—and Christ:

Man is out of order hurl'd  
Parcel'd out to all the world.  
Lord, thy broken consort raise,  
And the musick shall be praise. (27–30)

To very much the same extent, the fruitful metatextual redistribution of the letters composing "rose" in the eponymous poem may be redeveloped into "rose/eros/sore/rose/Rose" in a second reading. Indeed, from one stanza to another, the poem successively alludes to carnal love, venereal diseases and their illusory cures with rose petal decoctions or, in accordance with our first reading, the comfort and safety that would much preferably be provided by the Church—or Rose—of England so as to prove its supremacy as the ultimate remedy against sin and confirm the triumph of *Christus medicus* and Platonic divine love over lust:

<sup>22</sup> Saint Teresa of Avila (Santa Teresa de Jesus), *Libro de la Vida*, Chap. XXIX. (El Escorial, 1563–1565 [?]). See the modern edition by Otger Steggink (Madrid: Clasicos Castilia, 1986), 384.

<sup>23</sup> Robert Bellarmine (1542–1621), *Le Gémissement de la colombe ou de l'utilité des larmes* (Lyons, 1617).

Presse me not to take more pleasure  
 In this world of sugred lies,  
 And to use a larger measure  
 Then my strict, yet welcome size.

First, there is no pleasure here:  
 Colour'd griefs indeed there are,  
 Blushing woes, that look as cleare  
 As if they could beautie spare.

O if such deceits there be,  
 Such delights I meant to say;  
 There are no such things to me,  
 Who have pass'd my right away.

But I will not much oppose  
 Unto what you now advise:  
 Onely take this gentle rose,  
 And therein my answer lies.

What is fairer then a rose?  
 What is sweeter? yet it purgeth.  
 Purgings enmitie disclose,  
 Enmitie forbearance urgeth.

If then all that worldlings prize  
 Be contracted to a rose;  
 Sweetly there indeed it lies,  
 But it biteth in the close.

So this flower doth judge and sentence  
 Worldly joyes to be a scourge:  
 For they all produce repentance,  
 And repentance is a purge.

But I health, not physick choose:  
 Onely though I you oppose,  
 Say that fairly I refuse,  
 For my answer is a rose.

Entertaining as it may seem, this steganography was meant to serve a divine plan.<sup>24</sup> A deeper reading of *The Temple* reveals a whole array of hidden allusions which turn the collection of poems into some sort of Christian riddle clearly indebted to the Four Senses of Scriptures, as Herbert suggests more explicitly in the "The H. Scriptures II" whose "H" could mean either "Holy" or "Herbert":

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<sup>24</sup> Steganography is the ancient art of sending hidden messages, as described by Herodotus (486–525 B.C.) in his *Natural Histories*, Book V, ch.. 35 (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1968), 89–90.

Oh that I knew how all thy lights combine,  
 And the configurations of their glorie!  
 Seeing not onely how each verse doth shine,  
 But all the constellations of the storie.

This verse marks that, and both do make a motion  
 Unto a third, that ten leaves off doth lie:  
 Then as dispersed herbs do watch a potion,  
 These three make up some Christians destinie:

Such are thy secrets, which my life makes good,  
 And comments on thee: for in ev'ry thing  
 Thy words do finde me out, & parallels bring,  
 And in another make me understood.

Starres are poore books, & oftentimes do misse:  
 This book of starres lights to eternall blisse.

The process was no doubt partly inspired by early Christian acronyms, Hrabanus Maurus's (d. 856) *De Laudibus Sanctae Crucis* or even earlier pagan Roman palindromes. It is also generally viewed as a Christianized rewording of the hieroglyphic tradition of the Renaissance by most critics and is to be found most conspicuously in the most renowned and analyzed pattern-poems of *The Temple* such as "The Altar" or "Easter-Wings."<sup>25</sup> But one may also consider this indisputable aspect of Herbert's poetry to have been generated by a much deeper concern and to have aimed at Anglicanizing the founding precepts of the Christian Kabbalah that had been expressed by Blaise de Vigenère (1523–96) half a century earlier when the latter listed various methods of "transposing" or, literally, translating letters and reading words "in reverse" or full sentences "from top to bottom" to "reveal a hidden meaning" inspired by "God's transmission of the Faith to Moses":

les *Ethbas* ou transposition de lettres: *Thmurah*, leurs commutations materielles: Ziruph combinations & eschanges formels, quand on les transporte de leur vraye faculté & puissance en d'autres: *Ghilgul*, vne quottité numerale: le *notariacon*, mettre vne lettre ou vne syllabe pour vn mot, & au rebours: . . . Toutes lesquelles varietez viennent comme dient les cabalistes, . . . de ce que Dieu donna à Moïse la foy escrite en lettres confuses & embarrassees, si [bien] qu'on y pouuoit lire de tous costez, à droit, à gauche; à l'endroit, à lenuers; du halt en bas, du bas en haut, . . . & chacun se former de là diuers sens, qui est la vraie Steganographie . . . La premiere donques de ces manieres se soubsdivise en deux autres; l'une par equivalence de nombres; l'autre par des metatheses, et transpositions de lettres, syllabes et dictions entieres hors de leur

<sup>25</sup> See Bart Westerweel, *Patterns and Patterning A Study of Four Poems by George Herbert* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1983).

ordre, suite, et assiete; dequoy resulte un nouveau sens caché souz le contexte de l'écriture.

[. . . the *Ethbas* or letter transposition: *Temurah*, their material commutation: *Tsiruph* combinations and formal exchanges, when their true faculties and powers are translated into others: *Gematria*, a numeral correspondence: *notaricon*, i.e., putting a letter or a syllable in place of a word, and in reverse: . . . These various devices originating, as Cabbalists have taught us, when God gave to Moses the Law written in confused and mixed letters so [that] they could be read from all sides, from left to right or inversely; the right way or backwards; from top to bottom, or bottom to top, . . . and each one can compose diverse meanings thereof, which is true Steganography . . . The first of these methods may be subdivided into two; one based on the equivalence of numbers; the other on metathesis and the transposing of letters, syllables and entire words out of their order, suit and place; from which results a new meaning concealed under scripture.]<sup>26</sup>

Accordingly, thanks to his recurrent permuting of syllables or mere letters, Herbert appears to have considerably reinforced the friendship concept while compacting his text in a remarkable way, thus proving that “less is more” as is expressly worded in “*Ana*–(MARY/ARMY)–*gram*” where a single four-letter “name” gets turned into an “army”:

How well her name an *Army* doth present,  
In whom the *Lord of Hosts* did pitch his tent!<sup>27</sup>

Many other instances are far less noticeable and will only disclose themselves under close scrutiny. Accordingly, “a diligent collation of Scripture with Scripture”—and, potentially, of the two “H. Scriptures” poems—as advised in Herbert’s prose work *A Priest to The Temple or The Country Parson*,<sup>28</sup> helps the reader of *The Temple* grasp that the “Lamb(e)” of God bore the “blam(e)” and became a healing “balm(e)” for mankind. A similar permutation of “rood(e)” into “door(e)” exemplarily compacts the typologies established in the writings of thirteenth-century Cistercian monk Gerhard of Liège who, according to Jeffrey F. Hamburger,

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<sup>26</sup> *Traité des chiffres et secretes manieres d'ecrire* (Paris: Guy Trédaniel, 1996 (1585–1586)), fol. 132 r, my translation.

<sup>27</sup> This poem was obviously inspired by French Christian Cabalist Guy Le Fèvre de la Boderie (1541–1590) who permuted “Le Bon” into “Noble” and stated “Voy combien ce beau nom convient bien à la chose ! / Sous le voile du nom l’essence se repose” (“Behold how this noble name fits the purpose! / Under its veil lies its very essence,” my translation) in his *Encyclye des secrets de l’éternite, IV* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1570), in Jan Miernowski, “La ‘Rencontre d’allusion’ dans le ‘Rond Plein de Sécrets,’” *Poésie encyclopédique et Kabbale chrétienne* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1999), 50.

<sup>28</sup> Chapter IV, “The Parson’s Knowledge,” *C.E.W.*, 200.

String[ed] together scriptural passages to identify the door in Christ's heart with the wound in his side made by Longinus, through which, in turn, the sacraments are dispensed. The door (and hence, the wound), are *inter alia*, the fissure in the rock which the soul hides from the terror of the Lord (*Isaiah* 2:10), the rock of Horeb that provided the Israelites with water (*Exodus* 17:6), and the cleft in the rock in which the dove—that is, the soul—finds shelter (*Canticles* 2:14)—all conventional comparisons. Coming full circle, Gerhard concludes by paraphrasing the same passages from *Revelation* and the Song of Songs with which he began: "Behold how Christ opened all his doors to you. Modestly, therefore, let your doors not be closed to him; shout 'to the door' [*Revelation* 3:20] and say 'open to me' [*Song of Songs* 5:2]." <sup>29</sup>

In this perspective, R. Darby Williams explained in 1970 that the emblematic pruning poem "Paradise" composed "an elaborate puzzle . . . that allows the reader to pare certain of the capitalized letters and end up with the statement I GROW CHRISTS FR(I)END". <sup>30</sup>

I Bless thee, Lord, because I GROW  
Among thy trees, which in a ROW  
To thee both fruit and order OW.

What open force, or hidden CHARM  
Can blast my fruit, or bring me HARM,  
While the inclosure is thine ARM.

Inclose me still for fear I START.  
Be to me rather sharp and TART,  
Then let me want thy hand and ART.

When thou dost greater judgments SPARE,  
And with thy knife but prune and PARE,  
Ev'n fruitfull trees more fruitful ARE.

Such sharpnes shows the sweetest FREND:  
Such cuttings rather heal then REND:  
And such beginnings touch their END.

The trick is greatly facilitated by the persistence of the medieval spelling of the last word at the time. Following the author's exemplary pruning of each line in illustration of a common gardening analogy or *exemplum* and depicting God's reducing of man into obedience and therefore election, the reader's own pruning of the poem enables him to obtain the puzzling "I GROW CHARM I START

<sup>29</sup> Jeffrey Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists*, 163. See also Christian Heck, *L'Échelle céleste*, and more specifically "La Croix comme porte et échelle pour les hommes," 179–80.

<sup>30</sup> "Two Baroque Poems on Grace: Herbert's 'Paradise' and Milton's 'On Time'," John R. Roberts, *An Annotated Bibliography of Modern Criticism, 1905–1984* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1988), 209.

SPARE FREND" and recompose it into "IGROW CHRIST'S FREND / I AM ART," thus reconciling literature and theology. The resulting motto has the double advantage of, first, proclaiming the supremacy of the poet's religious writings and, secondly, asserting that the latter are part and parcel of his unique relationship to Christ. But what matters most in the present case is the reader's contribution to the demonstration that subsequently appears as some form of communion with the writer and makes him feel he has just established an irrefutable proof.

When one reads *The Temple* the book acquires a genuine "metaphysical" dimension as one progressively comes to realize that the "friend" of many a poem is but another of the parson's *personæ*, i.e., the poet's second self or inner voice elegantly replacing the *amor divinus* advising or comforting *anima* in many a contemporary Antwerp-based Jesuit emblem book such as Anthony Wierix the Younger's *Cor Iesu amanti sacrum* (1595), Otto van Veen's *Amorum emblemata* (1608) and *Amoris divini emblemata* (1615), the anonymous *Amoris divini et humani antipathia* (1628), or Benedictus van Haefthen's *Schola cordis* (1629).

The various literary devices that Herbert experimented with enabled him to combat the Counter-Reformation and propose an alternative to continental pictorial propaganda by relying on the Word alone and turning *The Temple* into a unique form of Protestant iconoclasm that not only rephrased all pre-existing forms of religious art and literature, from the Holy Scriptures themselves and the Fathers down to medieval literature or more contemporary mystics, but also converted innumerable profane or pagan sources.

The friendship with Christ issue is in itself emblematic of this stubborn rewriting and is but a small part of the author's strategy. By opting for the vernacular shortly after the publication of the 1611 *King James' Bible* Herbert verbalized his Anglican recycling of the notion and intended to prove its complete supremacy over all others, especially Latin which he had mastered at Westminster School and Cambridge University but had dismissed as the corrupt language of Papists.

Herbert's substantial use of plays on words, puns, and anagrams for the sole sake of religious dogma reveals a messianic and almost millenarian vision of England as the New Jerusalem and the English as the new people elect. This is best illustrated in "Prayer (I)," once revered by T. S. Eliot<sup>31</sup> who himself knew only too well the powerful potential of anagrams:

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<sup>31</sup> The author of "The Wasteland" once remarked that *The Temple* was "a book constructed according to a plan; and as we get to know Herbert's poems better, we come to find that there is something we get from the whole book, which is more than a sum of its parts," "What is Minor Poetry?" *On Poetry and Poets* (New York: Noonday Press, 1969), 42. He also expressly referred to "Prayer I" in his own poem "Little Gidding": 'And Prayer is more than an order of words, / The conscious occupation of the praying mind, / Or the sound of the voice praying' (48-50), in "Four Quartets," *The Complete Poems and Plays* (London: Faber & Faber, 1969), 192.

Prayer the Churches banquet, Angels age,  
 Gods breath in man returning to his birth,  
 The soul in paraphrase, heart in pilgrimage,  
 The Christian plummet sounding heav'n and earth;  
 Engine against th' Almightye, sinners towre,  
     Reversed thunder, Christ-side-piercing spear,  
     The six-daies-world transposing in an houre,  
 A kinde of tune, which all things heare and fear;  
 Softnesse, and peace, and joy, and love, and blisse,  
     Exalted Manna, gladnesse of the best,  
     Heaven in ordinarie, man well drest,  
 The Milkie way, the bird of Paradise,  
     Church-bels beyond the starres heard, the souls bloud,  
     The land of spices; something understood.

If at first the poem does not ostensibly tackle the concept of friendship it proves, on the contrary, to be emblematic of Herbert's enterprise. On closer inspection the enigmatic sixth line—"Reversed thunder, Christ's side-piercing spear"—can indeed mutate into the oxymoronic "Christ's side-piercing spear, the durn" if the reader diligently follows the author's recommendation to "reverse" "thunder." If one admits that "durn" was an alternate Old English spelling of "dern"—i.e., the modern "darn"—as potentially implied by the *O. E. D.*, we are made to understand that the spear opening Christ's flank also reunites man to God, as more expressly stated in Herbert's earlier Latin poem "*Latus perfossum*": "*Christe, vbi tam duro patet in te semita ferro, / Spero meo cordi posse patere viam*" ("On the Pierced side": "Christ, when remorseless steel has opened up a path in you, / I hope there can be opened up a pathway for my heart.").<sup>32</sup>

On the one hand, the unexpected yet perfectly sensible rephrased alternative reverberates the optimistic closure of *John* 15:20 "And ye also shall bear witness, because ye have been with me from the beginning." On the other, the impression is reinforced by the steady parataxis blurring all temporal distinctions, its dogmatic implications being that the New Adam's fatal wound released the Sacraments and reconciled mankind with God while the daily re-enactment of His Sacrifice in the Anglican liturgy marks a new beginning and an adamic friendship regained.

This would rather tend to prove that the friendship issue is part of a much wider scheme by the author. *The Temple* undoubtedly acts as a manifesto directed at an autonomous reformed reader and heralding a new religious, as well as literary,

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<sup>32</sup> *Passio Discerpta* IV, in *The Latin Poetry of George Herbert. A Bilingual Edition*, trans. Mark McCloskey and Paul R. Murphy (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1965), 64–65.

age. Hence the closing lines of the accompanying poem "The Church Militant" point in that direction and came close to being edited by the royal censors in 1633:

Religion stands on tip-toe in our land,  
Ready to pass to the *American* strand. (235–36)

...

When Italie of us shall have her will,  
And all her calendar of sinnes fulfil;  
Whereby one may foretell, what sins next year  
Shall both in France and England domineer:  
Then shall Religion to *America* flee: (243–47)

...

But as the Sunne still goes both west and east;  
So also did the Church by going west  
Still eastward go; because it drew more neare  
To time and place, where judgement shall appeare. (274–77)

Additionally, to deter and silence a contemporary Puritan preacher the protagonist of "Conscience" positions himself as a reformed Church militant to declare: "The bloudie crosse of [his] deare Lord / Is both [his] physick and [his] sword." Using "words" as a "sword" he hints at Erasmus's *Enchiridion militis christiani* (1624) and its pun on "enchiridion," meaning alternately "dagger/short sword" or "book." The friendship issue therefore clearly appears to have been one of many that Herbert tackled and Anglicanized thanks to his unique and revolutionary mastering of the vernacular to combat the Catholic and Protestant factions. Similarly, the earlier "dated" religious practices of medieval devotion and monachism are metaphorized in "Content" and "Discipline," in which words replace deeds and mortification is translated into the mental sphere to take over ostentatious flailing and spiritualize the issue.

Herbert's poetic narration of his friendship with Christ in *The Temple* is no selfish enterprise either since it urges each individual reader to commune with Him, as in "The Sacrifice" (213–16) that combines a unique form of imitation to the ultimate verbal economy:

But, *O my God, my God!*, why leav'st thou me,  
The son, in whom thou dost delight to be?  
*My God, my God* —————

Never was grief like mine.

One can imagine the reader completing aloud the missing words from Matt. 27:46 he undoubtedly knew by heart and, by doing so, perform a unique type of imitation of Christ, impersonating Him for a mere second. Throughout *The Temple* we are made to understand that submission and the ensuing identification and friendship with the Word of God can only be achieved through a constant



renegotiating of language, one of God's earliest gifts to mankind.<sup>33</sup> Although he mastered more than a couple of European languages and had skillfully tried his hand at Latin and Greek poetry during his Cambridge years, Herbert asserted, in "The Sonnet," that this was best achieved in the English language of the newly published *King James Bible*:

LET forrain nations of their language boast,  
 What fine varietie each tongue affords:  
 I like our language, as our men and coast;  
 Who cannot dresse it well, want wit, not words.  
 How neatly do we give one onely name  
 To parents issue and the sunnes bright starre!  
 A sonne is light and fruit; a fruitfull flame  
 Chasing the fathers dimnesse, carried far  
 From the first man in th' East, to fresh and new  
 Western discov'ries of posteritie.  
 So in one word our Lords humilitie  
 We turn upon him in a sense more true:  
 For what Christ once in humblenesse began,  
 We him in glorie call, *The Sonnet of Man*.

Accordingly, alongside the "rood/door" and "lamb/balm" *double-entendres* mentioned earlier that are scattered in *The Temple*, the letters of "JESU" recompose "Tease you" (9)—and, possibly, "I is you," as lines 5 and 6 seem to suggest—to insist on the Saviour's benevolence in the eponymous poem:

JESU is in my heart, his sacred name  
 Is deeply carved there: but th'other week  
 A great affliction broke the little frame,  
 Ev'n all to pieces: which I went to seek:  
 And first I found the corner, where was J,  
 After, where ES, and next where U was graved,  
 When I had got these parcels, instantly  
 I sat me down to spell them, and perceived

That to my broken heart he was *I ease you*,  
 And to the whole is J E S U.

This can only be achieved when the "little frame" holding the Word/word, i.e., the narrator's heart, is shattered. The poem is in itself emblematic of Herbert's strategy: originally caused by the sacrifice and physical absence of his "friend," the narrator's grief and contrition turn into joy. Once ex-pressed and im-pressed (i.e., "printed"), his sighs are worked into signs and rewarded by His everlasting

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<sup>33</sup> Gen. 2:19–20.

presence when His name gets finally rephrased as “*I ease you,*” the undeniable present tense proving His undying friendship.

This last example compacts Herbert’s complex approach to friendship with Christ and its resolution. As opposed to the rather contrived Latin poetry of his youth where some early such attempts can be found and operate to a much lesser extent, the English language enabled the Anglican author to treat tropes as malleable material that he could, as such, obstinately dismantle and reassemble to extricate and obtain/reveal further—and deeper—meaning from. This enabled him to find solace and forge a reformed poetry of tears intended to supplant the contemporary Catholic devotional practices—somewhat in the vein of the fifteenth-century *Devotio moderna*—and their dubious pictorial representations while proclaiming the supremacy of the nascent Church of England and restoring both the Word and *sola scriptura*.

## Chapter 20

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### Friendship and Enmity to God and Nation: The Complexities of Jewish-Gentile Relations in the Whitehall Conference of 1655

In December 1655 Oliver Cromwell summoned together “several Doctors, and other preachers, godly men, and some Merchants and lawyers”<sup>1</sup> to Whitehall to discuss the question of Jewish readmission to England. Since 1290, when Edward I had exiled the nation’s Jewish population, there had officially been no Jews in the country.<sup>2</sup> The pressure on the government to readmit the Jews to the nation had been growing over the course of the mid-seventeenth century, reaching a peak in the period leading up to the conference. What is fascinating about the arguments marshaled by those in favor of readmission is how often the Jews were portrayed as “friends”: either of God, or of the English nation as a whole. Yet while this may suggest a generally positive attitude toward the Jewish people, as a whole it was formed without any reference to *actual* Jews. England, without an established Jewish population for over three hundred years, had formed its attitudes to Judaism in an environment sealed off from any living Jewish influence.

It was only when outspoken Amsterdam Rabbi Menasseh ben Israel arrived in London in 1655 that the majority of those in favor of readmission had to

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<sup>1</sup> [Henry Jessey], *A Narrative of the Late Proceeds at White-Hall, concerning the Jews* (London: Printed for L. Chapman, 1656), 1. The primary texts for this chapter were consulted at the British Library, John Rylands Library Manchester, and through the digitizations of microfilms available at Early English Books Online.

<sup>2</sup> There were, of course, occasional Jewish visitors to the nation, but no settled community or open worship was allowed. As we will see at the conclusion of this essay, there was a small, secret community of Spanish Jews living in London by the mid-seventeenth century. On the whole, however, they remained undetected.

contemplate the reality of contemporary Judaism. For while English writers (and their readers) proved only too happy to accept the idea of the Jewish nation as a corporate “friend” of God, the idea of friendship with individual Jews began to expose not only old anti-Semitic fears, but also an underlying anxiety about the boundaries between Jews and Christians.

This essay explores themes of friendship and enmity—to both God and nation—found in the literature which preceded and followed the conference. This literature emerged in two waves. Firstly, a series of publications that appeared in 1649–1652, based around initial political discussions on Jewish readmission to England. Secondly, works which were produced in tandem with and followed the Whitehall Conference itself in 1655.<sup>3</sup> These works tended to deal with the ‘friendship’ trope in two different ways. The first wave of literature failed to consider the question of friendship between Jews and Gentiles on an individual basis. Instead, discourses of friendship revolved around the Jews as friends of God and the nation.

The second set of literature, emerging in 1655–1656, was, however, complicated by the presence of Mennaseh in London. His friendship with delegate Henry Jessey, as well as increasing dialogue between Jews and Gentiles, forced writers to wrestle with the practical consequences of Jewish readmission and reassess their previously held beliefs about the Jews. This, as we will see, led to an increasing focus on the religious and racial alterity of Jews, even as they were hailed as directly blessed by God. Even those most in favor of Jewish admission began to openly question the wisdom of allowing the Jews to settle in the nation. Before coming to the conference itself, however, it is necessary to examine the way in which attitudes toward the Jews evolved in the period leading up to the 1650s. As we will see, it was these developments which allowed for the possibility of the Whitehall conference in the first place.

## Changing Attitudes to Judaism

Over the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries a major shift occurred in the way in which the Jews were viewed in England. Initially, the negative medieval view of the Jews as Christ-killers and usurers persisted. John Foxe could, for example, describe the Jews as “a people most abhorred of God, & men, [that] would neverthelesse most arrogantly vaunt them selves to bee more esteemed and

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<sup>3</sup> For an excellent overview of this literature, see Mordecai Wilensky, “The Literary Controversy in 1656 Concerning the Return of the Jews to England,” *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 20 (1951): 357–93.

more precious in the sight of God, then all other nations, people and tongues."<sup>4</sup> While such attitudes remained, at the same time a more sympathetic approach toward Judaism was developing. Initially, this was apparent through a new interest in Hebraic studies, with Oxford and Cambridge establishing chairs of Hebrew as early as the 1540s. This led to an increasing awareness of Jewish scholarship on the Bible, as well as the realization that Rabbinic scholars were still producing works which could be instructive for Christian exegetes. The most notable exponent of this tradition was the volatile Hugh Broughton (1549–1612), who spent his later years in Middelburg debating Rabbis and attempting to solicit support for a Hebrew translation of the book of Revelation. A similar interest in the legal side of Judaism was evident in John Selden's work, a focus which continued throughout his life.<sup>5</sup>

Yet perhaps the greatest evidence of a shifting attitude toward Judaism was the increased eschatological interest in the Jews which emerged as an important theme over the seventeenth century.<sup>6</sup> This interest can be split into two branches: a general conversionist position and a "Judeo-centric" approach, which gained popularity from the early 1600s onwards. The first position had been common in both the patristic and medieval period, and was primarily based upon St. Paul's discussion of Israel's privileges in Romans 9–11. There the apostle had concluded that the Jews would eventually inherit some form of spiritual blessing. The Jews, now cut off, would be "grafted into their own olive tree . . . And so all Israel will be saved" (Romans 11:24b, 26). Whether this was taken to mean that there would be a major end-times conversion of the Jews or that a limited number of elect Jews would come into the church throughout history was debatable.<sup>7</sup> However, the idea of some form of conversion toward the end of the world remained the most common interpretation of the passage.

The 1560 edition of the influential Geneva Bible, for example, glossed the verse as describing "the time [that] shal come that the whole nation of ye Jewes thogh [sic] not every one particularly, shalbe joined to the church of Christ."<sup>8</sup> Many

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<sup>4</sup> John Foxe, *A Sermon Preached at the Christening of a Certaine Iew* (London: Christopher Barker, 1578), sig. 27r.

<sup>5</sup> Eliane Glaser, *Jews Without Judaism: Philosemitism and Christian Polemic in Early Modern England* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 52–55.

<sup>6</sup> For the best examination of this theme, see Richard W. Cogley, "'The Most Vile and Barbarous Nation of all the World': Giles Fletcher the Elder's *The Tartars Or, Ten Tribes* (ca. 1610)," *Renaissance Quarterly* 58.3 (Fall 2005): 781–814.

<sup>7</sup> A good overview of the variety of interpretations inspired by this passage is found in Jeremy Cohen, "The Mystery of Israel's Salvation: Romans 11:25–26 in Patristic and Medieval Exegesis," *Harvard Theological Review* 98.3 (July 2005): 247–81.

<sup>8</sup> *The Geneva Bible: A Facsimile of the 1560 Edition*, ed. Lloyd Eason Berry; William Whittingham, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), New Testament, 751.

writers therefore awaited a future conversion of the Jews as the precursor to the end of the eschaton. As William Perkins argued, the end of the world was not an imminent event, for the Jews had first to be converted.<sup>9</sup>

Judeo-centrism emerged from and developed this conversionist position. The central belief in the Judeo-centric strand of eschatology held that the Jewish people would not only convert, but that they would also return (as a distinct group) to Palestine. When established there, they would form a highly visible and Godly nation, exceeding all others in holiness. This idea emerged most forcefully in the commentaries of Thomas Brightman (1562–1607), who imagined a restored (and converted) Jewish nation fighting both Turk and Catholic in the Middle East, before surpassing the rest of the Christian world in blessing. “What, shall they return to *Jerusalem* again?” Brightman had asked, “there is nothing more certaine, the Prophets do every where directly confirme it and beat upon it.”<sup>10</sup> The idea was embraced enthusiastically by those who followed Brightman.

Tracts by the diplomat Giles Fletcher and clergymen Richard Bernard and Thomas Draxe were all expounding the theme in the 1610s. The lawyer Sir Henry Finch was briefly jailed for his claim that kings would pay homage to the Jews in his 1621 *The Worlde's Great Restauration*. Perhaps most influentially, Judeo-centrism merged with the pre-millennialism of noted Cambridge academic Joseph Mede (1586–1638). While Mede was uncertain of the details of Jewish restoration, he nonetheless believed that there would be a miraculous conversion of the Jewish people to Christ as the millennium approached.<sup>11</sup>

The Judeo-centric eschatology set out by commentators such as Mede and Brightman therefore presumed an ingathering of the Jews to Palestine. This was based, primarily, on a more consistently literal interpretation of Old Testament prophecy and generated a number of potentially troubling theological issues. Mainstream Protestant thought, as Barbara Lewalski has demonstrated, believed that God's covenant of election with Israel was the same as that made with the elect Christian in the New Testament.<sup>12</sup> Judeo-centric eschatology, however, required this to be re-evaluated. Predictions which reformed writers had once applied to the church should be more correctly applied to the Jews: “Where *Israel*,

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<sup>9</sup> William Perkins, “A Fruitfull Dialogue Concerning the End of the World,” *Works* (London: T. B. for R. Bird, 1631), 470.

<sup>10</sup> Thomas Brightman, *The Revelation of St. Iohn* (London: Printed for Samuel Cartwright, 1644), 544.

<sup>11</sup> For more on Mede's views on Judaism, see Jeffrey K. Jue, *Heaven Upon Earth: Joseph Mede (1586–1638) and the Legacy of Millenarianism*. Archives Internationales d' Histoire des Idées, 194. (Dordrecht: Springer, 2006), 109–37.

<sup>12</sup> Barbara Lewalski, *Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 110–44.

*Judah, Tsion, Jerusalem, &c.* are named in this argument, the Holy Ghost meaneth not the spirituall Israel . . . but Israel properly descended out of *Jacobs* loynes."<sup>13</sup> This re-examination of Old Testament prophecy led many writers to conclude that God's initial covenant with the Jewish people still stood.

The Jews and the Gentiles, Finch wrote, had unique promises "severally and apart" from one another.<sup>14</sup> Where previously the covenant promises made to Abraham had been applied to the "spiritual Israel" (the elect), now they should be reapplied to the Jews. "God's covenant with the Jewes," as Moses Wall would write later, "is not nulled or broken, but only suspended."<sup>15</sup> This had immediate implications for relationships between Jews and Gentiles. In Genesis 12:2 God had promised Abraham that he would "bless those who bless you, and curse those that curse you." In Zechariah 2:8, meanwhile, God had promised Zion that those who attacked the Jewish nation attacked "the apple of his eye." If such promises could be applied to natural Israelites rather than their spiritual successors, then the way in which individuals and nations interacted with the Jews became of paramount importance. English writers began, as we will see, to suggest that any man claiming to be a friend of God also had to claim to be a friend of the Jews.

This strand of eschatological interpretation led writers to ponder *how* the Jews would be restored. Brightman had suggested that God would miraculously dry the Euphrates, allowing the lost tribes to return from their exile in the East (as per Rev. 16:12).<sup>16</sup> As an alternative to this, Mede argued that Jewish conversion would be modeled on St. Paul's Damascus road conversion experience.<sup>17</sup> It would therefore be a sudden and miraculous event. In tandem with both of these positions, however, a growing awareness of certain unfulfilled prophecies began to trouble some writers. Several Biblical passages suggested that the Jews would be scattered across the world before their return to the Holy Land. Deuteronomy 28:64, for example, predicted that the Jews would be dispersed from "one end of the earth to the other" before their final restoration. Isaiah 11:12 similarly suggested that the Jews would be called from the "four corners of the earth." That an over literal

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<sup>13</sup> [Henry Finch], *The Worlds Great Restauration or The Calling of the Jewes* (London: Edward Griffin for Walter Bladen, 1621), 6.

<sup>14</sup> [Finch], *Worlds Great Restauration*, 6.

<sup>15</sup> Moses Wall, "Considerations upon the point of the Conversion of the Jews," *Menasseh ben Israel, Hope of Israel* (London: Printed by R.I. for Hannah Allen, 1651), 49.

<sup>16</sup> For more on this see Philip Almond, "Thomas Brightman and the Origins of Philo-Semitism: An Elizabethan Theologian and the Return of the Jews to Israel," *Reformation and Renaissance Review* 9.1 (Spring 2007): 3–25 and Richard Cogley, "The Fall of the Ottoman Empire and the Restoration of Israel in the 'Judeo-Centric' Strand of Puritan Millenarianism," *Church History* 72.2 (June 2003): 304–32.

<sup>17</sup> Joseph Mede, *The Works of the Pious and Profoundly Learned Joseph Mede* (London: Printed by Roger Norton for Richard Royston, 1672), 891–92.

translation of “Angleterre” could be rendered as the “ends of the earth” had suggested to some Rabbis that the Jews had to be present in England for a complete calling to occur.<sup>18</sup> Christians quickly picked up on this exegesis, and began to use it to suggest that readmission to England could play a central part in Jewish conversion and restoration.

The interest in Jewish readmission and restoration picked up pace across the 1640s and early 1650s. It was driven by both millenarian and humanitarian reasons. Perhaps most interestingly for our theme, it was a movement which made explicit uses of the “friendship” trope. The literature which emerged in favor of readmission made explicit reference to Jews as friends of both God and the nation, as we will see. In spite of these developments, the idea of friendships between individual Jews and Gentiles proved problematic for the majority of seventeenth-century writers. Shakespeare’s *Merchant of Venice* provides a clear example of the imagined difficulties in relationships between Jews and Gentiles. “I will buy with you, sell with you, talk with you, walk with you, and so following, but I will not eat with you, drink with you, nor pray with you,” Shylock forcefully tells Bassanio on the receipt of a dinner invitation.<sup>19</sup>

The idea, not unique to Shakespeare, limits Jewish/Gentile relations to the business sphere, a point made forcefully by Antonio later in the same play. Usury, for Antonio, marks out Shylock as an enemy: “for when did friendship take a breed for barren metal of his friend?”<sup>20</sup> Such suspicions of the Jews led some writers to highlight classical anti-Semitic tropes to emphasize the distance between Jews and Gentiles. Thus John Weemes concluded that the Jews suffered from the *foetor Judaeus*: “a loathsome and stinking smell . . . a stinking breath.”<sup>21</sup> Thomas Calvert made the same point, whilst emphasizing that the Jews also dissolved barriers between the sexes: “Jews, men, as well as females, are punished *cursu menstruo sanguinis*, with a very frequent Bloud-fluxe.”<sup>22</sup> For many Englishmen the Jews therefore constituted the other in its most extreme form, blurring boundaries of race, religion and gender. Even amongst some Judeo-centrists these concerns remained and began to emerge with some forcefulness when they were faced with the reality of contemporary Judaism. For others, however, burgeoning friendship with Jews would prove a catalyst for their philo-Semitic impulses.

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<sup>18</sup> Menasseh ben Israel, *Vindiciae Judaearum* (London: R. I. for Livewell Chapman, 1656), 37.

<sup>19</sup> William Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice*, ed. Charles Edelman. Shakespeare in Production (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 1.3.27–31.

<sup>20</sup> Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice*, 1.3.125–26.

<sup>21</sup> John Weemes, *A Treatise of the Foure Degenerate Sonnes* (London: Thomas Cotes for John Bellamie, 1636), 330.

<sup>22</sup> Thomas Calvert, *The Blessed Jew of Marocco* (York: T. Broad for Nath. Brookes, 1648), 20.



## The “First Wave” of Literature, 1649–1652

The first major development toward the calling of the Whitehall Conference occurred on 5 January 1649, when two English Baptists living in Amsterdam sent a petition to Thomas Fairfax and the Council of War in favor of the Jews. The petition, sent by Johanna Cartenright and her son Ebenezer Cartwright, is a useful signpost for the way in which the Jewish debate was influenced by a mixture of both scriptural interests and contact with the Jewish people. Where the Judeo-centric views of Brightman and Mede had developed without any contact with the Jews themselves, the Cartwright petition made it clear that its genesis lay in a burgeoning friendship and dialogue between the English writers and the Dutch Jews. Indeed, it was this friendship which formed the basis for the first appeal for readmission: the “heavy out cryes and clamours against the intolerable cruelty of this our English nation” learned of through “discourse with them.”<sup>23</sup>

These discussions with the Jews, however, had been mixed with both millenarian and national interests. The petition’s authors were haunted by the knowledge that England had committed terrible sins toward the Jewish people, particularly the “inhumane exceeding great massacre of them, in the Raign [sic] of Richard the second.” Readmission, they argued, would serve two purposes. Firstly, it would show the nation’s friendship to God: “[we] are assured of the wrath of God, will be much appeased toward you, for their innocent blood shed.”<sup>24</sup> On a more positive note, the petitioners believed that through readmission the Jews would be enabled to convert to Christ and return to the Holy Land: “this Nation of ENGLAND, with the inhabitants of the Nether-lands, shall be the first and readiest to transport IZRAELLS Songs & Daughters in their Ships to that Land promised to their forefathers.”<sup>25</sup> The petition was received positively by Fairfax, who nonetheless set it aside until more pressing political matters (such as the execution of Charles) had been dealt with.

The same themes visible in the Cartwright petition were taken up in a remarkable book published later in the same year by the otherwise unknown Edward Nicholas. His *Apology for the Honorable Nation of the Jews* catalogued a damning list of indictments against England for her sins in the Civil War. These paled in comparison, however, with the nation’s major trespass: “the sin principally intended here is the strict and cruel Laws now in force against the most

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<sup>23</sup> Johanna Cartenright and Ebenezer Cartwright, *The Petition of the Jewes* (London: Printed for George Roberts, 1649), 2.

<sup>24</sup> Cartenwright and Cartwright, *Petition*, 3.

<sup>25</sup> Cartenwright and Cartwright, *Petition*, 2.

honourable Nation of the world, the Nation of the Jews."<sup>26</sup> Nicholas argued that England should therefore seek God's forgiveness for its sins against that nation. This should be achieved through re-establishing both a friendly dialogue with the Jewish people and through the passing of new laws favoring their readmission. This would, claimed Nicholas, be of as much benefit to the nation as it would to the Jews: "Now weighing well with our selves both these threats and promises, were it not a strange negligence (I conceive it a madness) in us to forego so great privileges, as by those honourable people of the Jews may accrue unto us, and as great wilfulness to lay ourselves open to those judgements threatened."<sup>27</sup> Nicholas's work would prove influential in the debate on Jewish questions over the following five years.

The question of Jewish readmission remained unexamined, however, until 1651. That year marked Oliver St. John's diplomatic mission to the United Provinces, which included a visit to Amsterdam. While there, St. John was given the opportunity of meeting the city's Jewish community, attending the synagogue of Rabbi Menasseh ben Israel. During his visit the diplomat was entertained "with musick, and all expressions of joy and gladnesse," with the congregation taking the opportunity of bestowing their friendship on the Englishman and, indeed, on the nation as a whole. They therefore "pronounced a blessing, not onely upon his honour, then present, but upon the whole Common-wealth of *England*."<sup>28</sup>

Menasseh was to become a central figure in later debates on Jewish readmission. Earlier in the same year he had published his *Spes Israelis*, a work he had dedicated to the English Parliament. This was quickly translated into English and published as *The Hope of Israel* by Moses Wall, a fervent millenarian and friend of John Milton. The book set forth Menasseh's hope that the ten lost Jewish tribes, exiled by the Assyrians in 722 B.C.E., were currently resident in America. This line of thought had evolved from the recollections of Antony Montezinus, a Spanish Jew who claimed that he had stumbled across a tribe of Indians who recited the *shema* and kept Hebrew customs.<sup>29</sup> This testimony was of special interest to English millenarians, who had long sought the location of the elusive tribes, in hope of

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<sup>26</sup> Edward Nicholas, *An Apology for the Honorable Nation of the Jews* (London: John Field, 1649), 4. Field also printed a Spanish version of the pamphlet later in the same year, published as *Apologia por la noble nacion de los Iudios* (London: John Field, 1649). This was either for circulation on the continent or amongst Spanish immigrants (see note 118 below for further details of this).

<sup>27</sup> Nicholas, *Apology*, 7.

<sup>28</sup> ben Israel, *Vindiciae Judaearum*, 5.

<sup>29</sup> For more on this belief, see Claire Jowit, "Radical Identities? Native Americans, Jews, and the English Commonwealth," *Seventeenth Century* 10.1 (1995): 101–19.

their eventual restoration to Palestine.<sup>30</sup> John Dury wrote to the Rabbi twice in late 1648 requesting the confirmation of Montezinus's reports. It seems that it was Dury's prompting which led Menasseh both to go into the detail which he did in his *Hope* and to aim the work toward an English audience. Where Dury had requested only a letter on Menasseh's view of Montezinus's report, the Rabbi, "to give me satisfaction, had written instead [sic] of a Letter, a Treatise, which hee shortly would publish, and whereof I should receive so many Copies as I should desire."<sup>31</sup>

Menasseh's text therefore recorded both Montezinus's reports and the fervent argument that "the prophecies concerning [the Jews'] returne to their Country, are of necessity to be fulfilled."<sup>32</sup> In the *Hope* Menasseh was also keen to emphasize his kinship with Parliament, in the hope that the Jews might receive a positive hearing in England. Yet he was quick to deny that he was motivated by any ulterior motives. Some, he wrote, dedicated books "by covetousness, that they may get money . . . [or] that they may obtain votes." He, however, was motivated only by "meere and pure friendship" to England.<sup>33</sup> This friendship was, for Menasseh, based around an inherent link between the Jewish and English peoples. While he admitted that this had been challenged since the expulsion of the Jews in 1290, he nonetheless felt that there was a fundamental (and unbreakable) connection between them: "you love our nation, and as part of it, the Author of this Discourse."<sup>34</sup> His hope in England's response was, of course, based around his eschatology. "The eies of all are turned upon you," he reminded Parliament, "that they may see whither all these things do tend . . . [to] all those things which God is pleased to have fore-told by the Prophets . . . and shall obtain their accomplishment."<sup>35</sup>

Menasseh's appeal to Parliament and his face-to-face meeting with St. John were clearly successful, as he was granted a passport for entrance into England in 1650. When the Anglo-Dutch war intervened, making travel impossible, Menasseh's

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<sup>30</sup> The earliest example of this was Giles Fletcher's attempt to link the lost tribes to the "Tartars" who inhabited the Crimean region. Although unpublished until the 1670s, Fletcher had composed his work no later than 1610. For more on this see Cogley, "'The Most Vile and Barbarous Nation,'" 781–814.

<sup>31</sup> John Dury, "An Epistolicall Discourse Of Mr. IOHN DURY, TO Mr. THOROWGOOD," Thomas Thorowgood, *Jewes in America* (London: W[illiam].H[unt]. for Tho. Slater, 1650), sig. c2r.

<sup>32</sup> Menasseh ben Israel, *The Hope of Israel* (London: R. I. for Livewell Chapman, 1651), 42.

<sup>33</sup> ben Israel, *Hope*, sig. A3v.

<sup>34</sup> ben Israel, *Hope*, sig. A4ir.

<sup>35</sup> ben Israel, *Hope*, sig. A2v–A3r.

documents were renewed annually.<sup>36</sup> In the meantime, his *Hope of Israel* sparked something of a debate in England. MP Edward Spencer responded to the Rabbi in Latin, and published an English translation of the letter soon after the original publication of the *Hope*. Spencer agreed with Menasseh that there was a special link between England and the Hebrew nation. Addressing the Rabbi as his “deare brother,” Spencer argued that the English would probably be the cause of Jewish redemption: “we are the likeliest Nation under Heaven to doe it. For wee hate Idolatry as much as you.”<sup>37</sup> Yet Spencer was cautious of a millenarian interest in Jewish readmission, warning Menasseh that both he and the millenarians were deeply deceived to expect a sudden and miraculous redemption.<sup>38</sup> This negativity toward millenarian interests facilitated a lively exchange between Spencer and Wall, which the latter reprinted as an appendix to later editions of the *Hope of Israel*. Their correspondence highlights the inherent differences between the general conversionist position taken by Spencer, and the Judeo-centric millenarianism of Wall.

The MP was critical of Wall’s belief that the Jews would be called en-masse and remain as a separate group even after their conversion: “they must not exalt themselves as a Nation, for they must be ingrafted againe upon that branch, or vine, Christ Jesus.”<sup>39</sup> Wall’s courteous reply reaffirmed his belief in a temporal Jewish kingdom based in Jerusalem and argued that while both he and Spencer strongly disagreed on how the Jews would be converted, this should be no bar to co-operation for their common purpose. In early 1651 Spencer responded, suggesting that he and Wall work together to promote Jewish conversion, regardless of how or when it would ultimately be achieved. They arranged to meet and discuss the matter at a later date.<sup>40</sup>

The correspondence between Wall and Spencer serves to show something of the complex system of alliances that began to form around the Jewish question in England. Those in favor of Jewish readmission approached the subject from a number of angles, many of which served only to conflict with one another. The conversionist approach of Spencer was candid regarding the motive of readmission—the Jews were to be allowed to enter the country so that they could convert to Christianity. This conversion, as Spencer wrote, would break down

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<sup>36</sup> David S. Katz, *The Jews in the History of England 1485–1850* (Oxford and New York: Clarendon and Oxford University Press, 1994), 115.

<sup>37</sup> Edward Spencer, *A Brief Epistle to the Learned Manasseh ben Israel* (London: Unknown printer, 1650), 2.

<sup>38</sup> Spencer, *Brief Epistle*, 6–9.

<sup>39</sup> Quoted in Moses Wall, “Considerations,” 57. Spencer initially believed John Dury to have been the translator.

<sup>40</sup> Wall, “Considerations,” 60.

barriers between Jew and Gentile, acting out St. Paul's promise in Galatians 3:28 that in Christ there was neither "Jew nor Greek." This made certain assumptions about the malleability of the division between Jew and Gentile, positioning these boundaries as primarily religious rather than racial.

The clarity of this position undermined notions of out and out friendship between conversionists and Jews—for those who held to this position believed that once converted the Jews would lose all distinctive markers of their Judaism. The Judeo-centric approach of Wall, however, presumed that the Jews should be readmitted both to abrogate English guilt for previous sins toward them and to hasten their return to Palestine. Friendship between millenarians and Jews therefore had a curious side to it, as the Jews were theoretically returning to England only to leave again once the messianic moment was reached. This led to two seemingly contradictory positions. On the one hand, the Judeo-centric position presumed some shared purpose with more messianically minded Jews, such as Menasseh, and allowed a more friendly and fruitful dialogue between Jew and Gentile. Yet this position, as Spencer's final reply to Wall suggested, was still based around the hope of a major national conversion of the Jews to Christ. Rather than breaking down the Jew/Gentile dichotomy, as Spencer argued, Judeo-centrists believed that even after conversion, the Jews would remain a distinct (indeed, a superior) group to the Gentiles.<sup>41</sup>

The distinction between Jew and Gentile went deeper, in Judeo-centric thought, than merely that of outward religious conviction, or even inherent racial traits. Rather, there was a fundamental difference presumed between Jew and Gentile which rendered the Jew a *constant* other, whether converted or not. Thus it was possible for Judeo-centrists to suggest that Jews should lose their religious identity through conversion, yet still remain a distinct and visibly "Jewish" group, even as "Christians." In addition to the re-enforcing of boundaries, this issue of conversion was therefore a serious barrier to both collaboration and friendship between Jews and Christians in the debate over readmission.

Spencer's work can be taken as an example of this. Whilst apparently friendly to the cause of Jews, he nonetheless argued for the imposing of severe conditions on their arrival in the nation. These included a mandatory register of Jews in England, forced attendance at Good Friday sermons and the banning of circumcision.<sup>42</sup>

Even more vehement responses came from those totally opposed to a Jewish return. Eliazar Bar-Isajah (also known as Paul Isaiah), a converted Jew, issued a furious rebuttal of Jewish religion: "I thinke it will be in fire, thunder and lighting,

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<sup>41</sup> For more on this see Cogley, "Fall," 327–30.

<sup>42</sup> Spencer, *Brief Epistle*, 13–19.

[that] will be all the honour God will shew upon the cursed Jews."<sup>43</sup> Others attacked Judaism on the same grounds in a direct reply to Menasseh. The practice of Judaism was an abomination, and resettlement was dependent only on conversion.<sup>44</sup> Even the millenarians worried about the possibility of the free practice of Judaism in England: "Do not think that I aime by this Translation, to propagate or commend *Judaisme*" wrote Wall, "I have better learned the truth."<sup>45</sup>

The memories of John Traske's Judaizing movement which had caused such controversy in the late 1610s still cast a long, painful shadow over discussions of the Jewish question in England.<sup>46</sup> At this stage, however, debates on the practice of Judaism in England were still largely academic. As we shall see, however, when faced with the reality of Jewish reluctance to convert, even millenarian discourses of friendship with the Jews began to become strained.

Even at this early stage, however, the fact that Menasseh was clear about his desire for the open practice of Judaism was something of an embarrassment for his supporters. Yet the lingering negativity toward Judaism as a faith (as opposed to Jews as a racial group) did not deter the Rabbi. His son Samuel arrived in England in October 1654, accompanied by the Portuguese Manuel Martinez Dormido, also known as David Abrabanel. Dormido had fled the inquisition in his native country, and become successful within the Jewish community in Amsterdam. He had sent both of his sons and the majority of his investment to Pernambuco in Brazil, recently surrendered to Portugal. This initial mission to England therefore had a twofold aim—Samuel ben Israel hoped to test the water for the prospects of a Jewish return, whilst Dormido hoped to gain Cromwell's assistance in regaining his fortune. To this end, Dormido submitted two petitions to Cromwell—one personal, and one calling for Jewish readmission which emphasized the financial benefit of readmission to England.

Interestingly, both of these petitions were endorsed by John Sadler, later master of Magdalene College, Cambridge, a fervent Judeo-centrist. Nonetheless, both were rejected by the Council of State, although Cromwell personally wrote to the King of Portugal on Dormido's behalf.<sup>47</sup> This appeared a clear sign of the Lord

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<sup>43</sup> Eliazar Bar-Isajah, *A Brief Compendium of the Vain Hopes of the Jews Messias* (London: Unknown printer, 1652), 17.

<sup>44</sup> I. E., *The Great Deliverance of the Whole House of Israel . . . in answer to a book called The Hope of Israel* (London: Printed by M.S., 1652), 53.

<sup>45</sup> Wall, "To the Reader" ben Israel, *Hope*, sig. A3iir.

<sup>46</sup> On the Traske controversy see David S. Katz, *Philo-Semitism and the Readmission of the Jews to England 1603–1655* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press and Clarendon., 1982), 10–32 and James Shapiro, *Shakespeare and the Jews* (Chichester and New York: Princeton University Press, 1996), 23–26.

<sup>47</sup> Katz, *Philo-Semitism*, 193–95.

Protector's willingness to listen to Jewish pleas. This was apparently further reiterated when Samuel returned home with what he claimed was an honorary doctorate from Oxford University. In fact it was a forgery, although Menasseh appears to have remained unaware of this. Taking this as a sign of the continued goodwill of England toward the Jewish nation, Menasseh finally arrived in London in 1655.

## The Whitehall Conference and the Second Wave of Literature

Menasseh had chosen a prodigious year to make his arrival in London. Since Brightman's commentaries, Judeo-centric millenarians had focused upon the mid-1650s as a time of remarkable prophetic activity.<sup>48</sup> Brightman had believed that the first stirrings of Jewish conversion would occur in 1650, an interpretation based around his reading of Daniel 12, which predicted messianic events would occur 1,290 days after the "abomination which causes desolation" was set up. Brightman, following John Napier's lead, interpreted this as a reference to the attempted restoration of the Jewish temple by the Emperor Julian in 360 C.E. Taking each day described in Daniel as a year (a common eschatological interpretation at the time),<sup>49</sup> Brightman reasoned that the 1,290 days pointed at 1650 as the beginning of Jewish restoration.<sup>50</sup> Brightman's method was highly influential. His dating was accepted by writers such as Finch and Thomas Wilson during the 1610s and 1620s, and significantly expanded upon in the Civil War period. Most importantly, Brightman's dating was malleable—the dates of Julian's reign and his attempted reconstruction were somewhat ambiguous. Thus the highly influential millenarian John Archer suggested that Julian began construction of the temple in 366—

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<sup>48</sup> For more detail on this speculation see David S. Katz, "English Redemption and Jewish Readmission in 1656," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 34.1 (1983): 73–76. There is an important distinction to be made here—where Katz claims that millenarians were expecting the "second coming" in 1656, it is more accurate to say that they were actually hoping only for Jewish conversion. While many held that Christ would appear spiritually to the Jews, his final return was inevitably delayed. The majority of commentators saw the Jews as causing the downfall of the Papacy and Turk, and thus leading to a period of earthly blessing based on the thousand years of Rev. 20:1–6. In broad terms, millenarians were split between those who saw Christ's reigning *on earth* for the millennium, and those who saw Christ's reign as spiritual. In this respect, Katz's use of astrological dating which saw 1656 as the start of God's final judgment is not relevant to the millenarian argument.

<sup>49</sup> For this tradition seen Irena Backus, *Reformation Readings of the Apocalypse: Geneva Zurich and Wittenberg*. Oxford Studies in Historical Theology (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), xii–xiv.

<sup>50</sup> Napier, while using a similar dating system, did not conclude that the Jews would be restored to Palestine.

pointing to 1656 as the year of Jewish calling.<sup>51</sup> This combined with a second numerological coincidence. It was widely believed that there had been 1656 years from creation until Noah's flood. Similarly momentous events were therefore expected by some to occur 1656 years after Christ's birth. As the year approached, so did the millennial speculation. Samuel Hartlib's *Revelation Revealed*, for example, emphasized its findings on the title page: "It being clear that the propheticall numbers com [sic] to an end with the Year of our LORD 1656."<sup>52</sup> In 1653, John Tillinghast had agreed with Hartlib's assessment: "the Jews delivery being to begin . . . in, or about the year 56."<sup>53</sup>

It was unsurprising, given the level of millenarian hope attached to the following year that Menasseh's arrival would be interpreted as an important fore-runner to the redemption of the Jewish nation. His entrance and conduct in the capital were an intriguing and well stage managed event. As has often been noted, Menasseh's mission to England was enthusiastically supported by Oliver Cromwell, who also entertained him on at least one occasion.<sup>54</sup> The Rabbi was provided with lodgings on the fashionable Strand, and soon after his arrival set about making arrangements to print his petition to the Lord Protector. As to be expected, the Rabbi's petition used many of the same friendship motifs that emerged in the debates of the early 1650s. Menasseh was quick to remind Cromwell that the Jews held a special position as God's people. Friendship (or enmity) to the Jews would be the making or breaking of his regime: "For none hath ever afflicted them, who hath not been by some ominous *Exit*, most heavily punished. . . [while] none ever was a Benefactor to that people, and cherished them in their Countries, who thereupon hath not present begun very much to flourish."<sup>55</sup> The basic requests of the petition were simple. Menasseh asked for readmission, the establishing of a public synagogue, and the free exercise of the Jewish religion. In addition to this, he desired a public cemetery and the right to trade in both England and her dominions.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> John Archer, *The Personall Reign of Christ upon Earth* (London: Benjamin Allen, 1642), 52–53.

<sup>52</sup> Samuel Hartlib, *Clavis Apocalyptica, or, The Revelation Revealed* (London: William du Gard for Thomas Matthewes, 1651), Frontispiece.

<sup>53</sup> John Tillinghast, *Generation-work* (London; R. I. for Livewell Chapman, 1654), 51.

<sup>54</sup> David S. Katz, "Menasseh ben Israel's Christian Connection," *Menasseh ben Israel and His World* ed. Yosef Kaplan, Henry Méchoulán, and Richard H. Popkin. Brill Studies in Intellectual History, 15 (Leiden and New York: E. J. Brill, 1989), 117–138; here 118–19.

<sup>55</sup> Menasseh ben Israel, *To His Highnesse the Lord Protector* (London: Unknown printer, 1655), sig. A2v.

<sup>56</sup> For a reprint of the petition see *Publick Intelligencer* 12 (18th Dec.–24th Dec. 1655).



There is little doubt that Cromwell was sympathetic to Menasseh's appeals. The Council of State were, nonetheless, reluctant to accept such conditions. Cromwell had recommended the petition to them on 13th November 1655, and clearly desired a quick conclusion to the requests Menasseh addressed to him. A committee had been appointed to consider the petition by that afternoon, and while they reported back that the grounds Menasseh demanded were "sinful in any Christian nation,"<sup>57</sup> they did not completely reject the petition. Instead of a firm answer, it was therefore decided to call a general conference to discuss Menasseh's requests. The conference, which was to meet at Whitehall on December 4th, was to consist of politicians, lawyers, divines, and merchants—all those, in other words, who had an interest in whether or not the Jews were to be readmitted. Five members of the Council of State itself were chosen as delegates: Lord President Henry Lawrence, Sir Gilbert Pickering, Sir Charles Wolsely, Francis Rous and John Lisle. Walter Strickland, a member of St. John's diplomatic mission in 1651, was asked to attend (as was St. John, who declined the invitation) along with William Sydenham and John Lambert.

Representing the legal profession were Sir John Glynne, Chief Justice of the Upper Bench, and William Steele, Chief Baron of the Exchequer. Amongst six representatives of the London merchants were the current Lord Mayor, John Dethick, and his predecessor Christopher Pack. The merchant-minister William Kiffin, and Deputy Governor of the Bermuda Company, Owen Rowe, also attended. The religious aspect of the conference was, however, clearly of paramount importance, as shown by the number of divines who were invited. The list included some of England's foremost religious minds: John Owen, Thomas Goodwin, Thomas Manton, Joseph Caryl, Henry Jessey, Matthew Newcomen, Walter Craddock and William Bridge were all in attendance. Ralph Cudworth, Regius Professor of Hebrew at Cambridge, Daniel Dyke, Chaplain to Cromwell, and Anthony Tuckney, Master of St. John's, Cambridge were all also involved. Whilst there were a variety of eschatological opinions represented amongst these divines, it was no accident that the majority of the preachers in attendance were Judeo-centrists. Goodwin, for example, had produced a Judeo-centrist commentary on Revelation which explicitly embraced the 1656 hypothesis.<sup>58</sup>

At this point, it is important to note Henry Jessey's vital role in the conference, one which was influenced by his friendship with Menasseh and his remarkable philo-Semitism. As the co-pastor of the Jacob congregation in London, Jessey was one

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<sup>57</sup> Quoted in Hermann Adler, "Homage to Menasseh ben Israel," *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England* 1 (1893), 48.

<sup>58</sup> Thomas Goodwin, "An Exposition Upon the Book of Revelation," *Works* (London: J. D. and S. R. for T. G., 1683) Vol. 2., 67, 183–85.

of the most remarkable characters in the complex religious milieu of mid-seventeenth-century England. While involved with the militant fifth monarchist movement, Jessey was nonetheless pragmatic and well thought of even by his opponents. Not only was Jessey an able Hebraist (he carried a copy of the Hebrew Bible with him wherever he went) but he also embraced many elements of Judaism itself. Not least amongst these were his views on the Sabbath, which he not only believed started (in the Jewish fashion) on the evening of the previous day, but also celebrated on a Saturday.<sup>59</sup> Aside from this academic openness to Judaism, Jessey was one of the first to offer not just prayer for the Jews, but also practical action in their favor. "Touching the Jews," notes Jessey's biographer, "his charity was famous beyond president [sic] and many ways exprest."<sup>60</sup>

With these clear philo-Semitic sympathies, it is no surprise that Jessey also enthusiastically supported the readmission of the Jews to England. He had corresponded with Menasseh since at least 1649 and had made a deep impression on the Rabbi with a short book entitled *The Glory and Salvation of Jehudah and Israel*. Menasseh was so taken with the work that he referred to it (along with Nicholas's tract) in his petition to Cromwell. The nobility of the Jews, Menasseh wrote, was "known amongst all Christians, as lately it hath been most worthily and excellently shewed and described in a certain book, called, *The Glory of Jehudah and Israel*, dedicated to our Nation by that worthy Christian Minister Mr Henry Jessey."<sup>61</sup>

While both the original English version and its Hebrew translation are now lost, one Dutch copy has survived, showing evidence of the extent of the minister's philo-Semitism.<sup>62</sup> The book aimed primarily to speak to Jews and show them that Christ was the true messiah predicted in the Old Testament. However, Jessey was firstly at pains to show the natural superiority of the Jews above other peoples. They were uniquely favored in God's plan with privileges and nobility which exceeded any other nation. Their ultimate privilege was, of course, to provide the messiah for the world—which for Jessey, meant Jesus. Although Menasseh could not fully agree with the conclusions the Englishman had reached, the central

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<sup>59</sup> Jessey's biographer Edward Whiston notes that Jessey "kept his opinion much to himself. . . [observing] the day in his own chamber with only 4 or 5 more of the same mind." Edward Whiston, *The Life and Death of Mr Henry Jessy* [sic] (London: Unknown printer, 1671), 87.

<sup>60</sup> Whiston, *Life and Death*, 67.

<sup>61</sup> Menasseh ben Israel, *Humble Petition*, 23.

<sup>62</sup> I am indebted to Ernestine G. E. Van der Wall's examination of the tract, which he also discovered in the Herzog August Bibliothek. His full examination is found in "A Philo-Semitic Millenarian on the Reconciliation of the Jews and Christians: Henry Jessey and his 'Glory and Salvation of Jehudah and Israel' (1650)," *Sceptics, Millenarians and Jews*, ed. David S. Katz, Jonathan Israel, and Richard Popkin. Brill Studies in Intellectual History, 17 (Leiden, New York, et al.: E. J. Brill, 1990), 161–84.

theme of Jessey's book proved especially pleasing to him.<sup>63</sup> When Menasseh arrived in England the men had regular meetings and began to form a firm bond of friendship.

It seems likely that in addition to Jessey's friendship Menasseh was on good terms with John Sadler, who had earlier endorsed Dormido's petition. The Rabbi became, in David Katz's words, something of a "self-appointed ambassador of world Jewry."<sup>64</sup> Others he met with included Welsh millenarian Arise Evans, Jean d'Espagne, the minister of the French Reformed Church, and several Whitehall delegates, including Edward Lawrence and Ralph Cudworth.<sup>65</sup> The importance of this embryonic friendship network should not be downplayed. It was Jessey who was responsible for the most influential commentary on the conference, his anonymously published *A Narrative of the Late Proceedings at White-Hall Concerning the Jews*. Jessey's sympathetic narrative remained the only account of the conference until the more detailed report of Nathaniel Crouch which first appeared in the 1719 edition of his *Two Journeys to Jerusalem*.<sup>66</sup>

Crouch's work differs from Jessey's in two important respects. Firstly, where Jessey had kept the speakers' names anonymous, Crouch named those who spoke for and against each position—a useful tool in gauging the attitudes and responses of those at the conference. Secondly, Crouch's work was far less sympathetic to the Jewish position than Jessey's narrative. Indeed, he inserted a great deal of clearly anti-Semitic material in his report of the conference.

While Menasseh's arrival had been greeted enthusiastically by Jessey, it was the source of anxiety for many others in England. As David Katz has noted, it was therefore unsurprising that certain "fantastic" elements would emerge around the discussions at Whitehall. At the time of the conference wild rumors swept London that the Jews had purchased the Bodleian Library and were also attempting to convert St. Paul's Cathedral into a synagogue—some went so far as to claim that they were attempting to buy the entire town of Brentford.<sup>67</sup> The actual discussions on readmission were, however, far more sober, and saw a re-iteration of many of the themes that we saw emerge in the pre-conference literature. Unsurprisingly, it was religious discourse which dominated discussions.

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<sup>63</sup> Van der Wall, "Philo-Semitic Millenarian," 169.

<sup>64</sup> Katz, "Menasseh ben Israel's Christian Connection," 117.

<sup>65</sup> Katz, "Menasseh ben Israel's Christian Connection," 117–18.

<sup>66</sup> Published under Crouch's pseudonym, R. B. See "The Proceedings of the Jews in England in the Year 1655," R.B. [=Nathaniel Crouch], *Two Journeys to Jerusalem* (London: Nathaniel Crouch, 1719), 167–74.

<sup>67</sup> Katz, *Philo-Semitism*, 180–82.

The exact schedule of the conference remains unclear due to the nature of Jessey and Crouch's descriptions, which were arranged around thematic rather than chronological reports.<sup>68</sup> These descriptions are further complicated by the fact that the conference did not come to a quick conclusion. Instead it dragged on indeterminately. It reconvened on December 12th, again closing without resolution. At the next session on December 14th, Cromwell added three further preachers to the committee: Hugh Peter, Philip Nye, and John Bulkley, Provost of Eton.<sup>69</sup> Cromwell's motivation in these additions was clear. Nye and Peter in particular were well known as Judeo-centrists.

According to Crouch's description of the conference they played their part well, as Nye allied with Goodwin in a forceful plea for readmission.<sup>70</sup> Nonetheless, their addition could not effect a final decision. Discussions appear to have stagnated at each of the meetings. A final meeting on 18th December, with Cromwell himself present at a public session of the conference, ended with the Lord Protector exasperated. As the *Publick Intelligencer* summarized, "nothing at all hath been concluded touching the point of their admission."<sup>71</sup> Despite this, one major decision was reached by those present — the question of the legal status of the Jews in England. This was resolved without much apparent issue: "the *Lawyers* said, *That there is no Law that forbids the Jews return to England.*"<sup>72</sup> Since the Jews had initially been expelled by royal decree rather than by an Act of Parliament, the statute was deemed to be no longer valid.

It was the idea of a national "friendship" to the Jews which was most frequently raised at Whitehall. This manifested itself firstly through a fear of judgment. Nervous Whitehall divines noted that "it is feared, it may offend the Lord, if we yield not to the Jews this courtesie which they desire."<sup>73</sup> Indeed, it was entirely possible that England was already making an enemy of God for their previous treatment of the Hebrew people. Discussing Jewish expulsion from the nation, the theologians at Whitehall concluded that "for such grosse injuries the Lord may *be very sore displeased with England* . . . Now if the favour of harbouring the afflicted Jews, which now they intreat, be granted to the surviving Jews, it may be

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<sup>68</sup> A good general overview of the conference can be found in Peter Toon, "The Question of Jewish Immigration," *Puritans, the Millennium and the Future of Israel* ed. Peter Toon. Library of Ecclesiastical History. Rpt. (1970; Cambridge: James Clarke, 2002), 115–25; Katz, *Philo-Semitism*, 201–31.

<sup>69</sup> Probably also known as John Boncle. See Katz, *Jews in the History of England*, 123–24.

<sup>70</sup> Crouch, "Proceedings," 172.

<sup>71</sup> *Public Intelligencer*, 12 (18–24 Dec. 1655).

<sup>72</sup> [Jessey], *Narrative*, 9. Crouch notes that Glyn and Steel were largely responsible for this judgment. Crouch, "Proceedings," 172.

<sup>73</sup> [Jessey], *Narrative*, 4.

accounted as some kinde of *satisfaction*. But if this be denied them, it is feared the Lord may shew his displeasure to be great against England."<sup>74</sup>

Joseph Caryl was apparently the most vociferous proponent of this line of argumentation at the conference. As Wall had previously argued, Caryl suggested a fundamental link between the English people and the Jews: "the good people of England did generally more believe the promises of the calling of the Jews, and more earnestly pray for it than any other Nation." Only through readmission, thought Caryl, could the depth of England's friendship to the Jewish nation be shown to God. "The cruel injuries and inhumanities" that the Jews suffered at English hands "might still lye as a sin upon these Kingdoms" and should be remitted by a show of love to the Hebrew nation.<sup>75</sup>

Supporting the Jews was therefore the duty of the man who claimed to be the friend of God, and the man who claimed to be the friend of his nation. This was, of course, an extension of the arguments we saw emerge in earlier debates. In the literature which was produced after the conference this strand of thought was repeated. William Tomlinson, whose broadside *Bosome Opened to the Jewes* appeared in early 1656, thus claimed that both theological and patriotic reasons motivated his work, produced "as out of love to the Nation of the Jewes; so also out of love to my owne Country."<sup>76</sup> Thomas Collier, who had been inspired to write a Judeo-centric appeal to the Jews to convert and return to Palestine in the previous year,<sup>77</sup> also weighed into the debate. God, he warned, "hath a special eye over them . . . and will take vengeance [sic] to the full on all the nations that have afflicted them."<sup>78</sup> Collier was explicit. The Jews were now "friends to us that believe . . . . And shall we be unkind to them who are the natural seed in their affliction; Oh no! Let us hide them rather."<sup>79</sup> The same theme was visible in an anonymous tract produced by a certain "J. J. Philo-Judaeus."

The author lamented that "the name of an *English* man makes [the Jews] afraid. The Lord Christ would not scorn the smallest reed; but our Nation hath despised the Lords [sic] day of small things." The beastly treatment which England had afforded to the Jews was further emphasized as the tract applied Biblical allusions to highlight the nation's cruelty: "[God] came to give life to dry bones, but we beat them to powder: He came to look after that which had been so many years lost;

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<sup>74</sup> [Jessey], *Narrative*, 7.

<sup>75</sup> Crouch, "Proceedings," 173.

<sup>76</sup> William Tomlinson, *A Bosome Opened to the Jewes* (London: Giles Calvert, 1656).

<sup>77</sup> See Thomas Collier, *The Day-Dawning and the Day-Star Arising to the Dispersed of Judah & Israel* (London: Henry Hills for Thomas Brewster, 1655).

<sup>78</sup> Thomas Collier, *A Brief Answer to Some Objections . . . Against the Coming in and Inhabiting of the Jewes* (London: Henry Hills for Thomas Brewster, 1656), sig. A2r.

<sup>79</sup> Collier, *Brief Answer*, 19–20.

but our Ancestors caused [the Jews] to flie into the secret holes in the rock."<sup>80</sup> As Collier warned England "[God] will cause the world to know that he hath yet a respect to them."<sup>81</sup>

Indeed, it was unsurprising to find that Menasseh himself played on the same ideas in his petition to Cromwell: "'tis said by the Prophets, that they who shall wrong [the Jews] shall be most severely punished: and that he that toucheth them, toucheth the apple of God's eye."<sup>82</sup> "Philo-Judaeus" moved further than this in emphasizing just how important Jewish friendship was to the Gentiles. The judgment motif, the idea that the Jews were guilty of deicide for the killing of Christ, had been actively undermined by a number of writers. Philo-Judaeus continued this trend, using it to complicate ideas of the links of friendship between Jews and Gentiles. The Jews' enmity to Christ was, after all, the ultimate act of friendship: "It was for our sakes that they hated Christ, refused the Gospel, and became enemies to the truth, that we might be brought to the knowledge of him that is able to save utmost . . . . We had no right to the promises of old, as the Jews, but were that cursed seed that we forbidden to enter the Congregation."<sup>83</sup> It was only, therefore, through a deliberate Jewish rejection that the Gentiles could become God's people. The reasoning behind this idea was straightforward, being a reworking of Romans 9–11, but the manner in which it was expressed was both surprisingly forceful and somewhat unusual for the time.

At this point it is important to address the idea, first suggested in Lucien Wolf's seminal examination of the conference, which aimed to downplay Cromwell's religious motivation in his desire to readmit the Jews. Instead Wolf argued that Cromwell was driven by an economic motive.<sup>84</sup> Wolf argued that those in favor of readmission supported the return of the Jews due to the advantage their merchants and financial acumen would bring to England. This is something of an exaggeration, however. Cromwell was fully aware of the hostility that English traders expressed toward any challenge to their status. Jessey recorded that the merchants at the conference argued that "such an in-let would be to enrich Forreginers, and impoverish English merchants."<sup>85</sup>

The debate about readmission was not predominantly focused upon the *advantages* Jewish money would bring to the nation, rather on the negative

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<sup>80</sup> J. J. Philo-Judaeus, *The Resurrection of the Dead Bones* (London: Giles Calvert, 1655), 103.

<sup>81</sup> Collier, *Brief Answer*, sig. A2r.

<sup>82</sup> Menasseh, *Petition*, 23.

<sup>83</sup> Philo-Judaeus, *Resurrection*, 105.

<sup>84</sup> Lucien Wolf, *Menasseh ben Israel's Mission to Oliver Cromwell: Being a Reprint of the Pamphlets Published by Menasseh Ben Israel [Menašše Ben-Jisra-e-l] to Promote the Re-Admission of the Jews to England 1640-1656* (London: MacMillan, 1901), xxx–xxxvi.

<sup>85</sup> [Jessey], *Narrative*, 8.

stereotypes and effects of the arrival of rich Jews into England. The fear of usury, as both *The Merchant of Venice* and later anti-Jewish works show, was alive and well in England at the time. As we saw in the earlier discussions over Menasseh's *Hope*, it was prophecy (not profit) which dominated the debate on Jewish readmission. As Cromwell himself informed the conference on the 18th December, "he had not engagement to the Jews, but only what the Scripture holds forth."<sup>86</sup> Nonetheless, as we have seen, national interest was at the center of Jessey's record of the conference. While this was primarily conceived in religious terms, Jessey was not ignorant of the probable economic benefits which readmission could bring. As he wrote on the advantages of readmission, the minister concluded that: "it might tend to the benefit of very many in our Nation, even in outward things, besides the hopes of [Jewish] conversion." Perhaps significantly, this was spoken at a private meeting away from the main conference.<sup>87</sup>

These possible fringe-benefits of readmission were not ignored by Menasseh, who was also keen to emphasize the advantages of Jewish readmission to the nation itself. While this *was* expressed in terms of the financial benefits that the Jews would bring, the primary benefit he identified was the loyalty and friendship which the Jews could offer to England. The Jews, having no nation of their own, became friends of the nation where they settled, and "make a firm resolution never to depart"<sup>88</sup> from those lands which treated them well. This, of course, neglected to mention the concept of a messianic return to the Holy Land, but to focus on such a belief directly in the petition to Cromwell would have been counter-productive to the Rabbi's motive.

This discussion led Menasseh to emphasize the loyalty of Jewish subjects to their rulers. At the same time, however, he could not help but highlight the very alterity of the Jews. Though dwelling within a nation, and enriching it, they would not become part of the general body politic. Indeed, Menasseh's focus on the *difference* between the interests of Jews and Gentiles is noteworthy. "The natives," he wrote, "build themselves houses and Palaces, buy Lands and firme [sic] goods, aime at Titles and Dignities." In contrast to this, the Jews "aspire at nothing, but to preferre themselves in their way of Marchandize."<sup>89</sup> While the Jews were aiming to enrich the natives of a country through their "marchandize" the contrast between their interests and those of the natives could not help but reinforce stereotypes of the usurious (and fundamentally different) Jew.

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<sup>86</sup> [Jessey], *Narrative*, 9.

<sup>87</sup> [Jessey], *Narrative*, 9.

<sup>88</sup> Menasseh, *Petition*, 4.

<sup>89</sup> Menasseh, *Petition*, 9.

While the themes which Menasseh emphasized in his petition were taken up by Christian writers throughout 1656, a new emphasis also began to emerge at the same time. In both the literature which surrounded the conference and that which followed, it was Menasseh's presence itself which served as a cause of growing disquiet. Friendship had, after all, only been broached in national or theological terms—with Menasseh now in London it became increasingly an issue of personalities. Many of those supporting Jewish readmission had hoped that the Rabbi would display some likelihood of conversion. It was clear, however, that he showed no inclination at all to change his faith. Menasseh's presence served to highlight the unique status of the Jews in early modern England.

As the Jews had lacked an official presence in England, many ministers had visualized Jewish people as theological abstractions, caricatures and re-imaginings of Old Testament saints. The expectation had been that when confronted with the purity of English religion, untainted by Catholic idolatry, the Jews would quickly convert. Now, however, Judeo-centrists came face to face with a Jew who gloried in his Jewishness. Discourses of friendship therefore began to become more complicated within the conference at this point. Previous works had imagined Christians befriending the Jews as a means of their conversion. As it became increasingly clear that the Jews were unlikely to convert, the startling possibility that this friendship could lead to Jews converting Christians began to be raised. Some of the ministers, "tho' they heartily desir'd the Conversion of the Jews" feared that "if they should return that many would be seduced and cheated by them . . . [that] it would prove the subversion of many here."<sup>90</sup>

The same anxiety began to manifest itself in the literature which followed the conference. William Hughes's anti-Jewish *Anglo-Judaeus* therefore wrestled with the anxiety that admitting the Jews would break down the boundaries of English society already rendered dangerously unstable by Quakers and religious radicals.<sup>91</sup> The possibility of radicals converting to Judaism therefore raised the specter of the dissolution between the Jew/Gentile dichotomy: "there are but a few steps between [the Quakers] and that wherein [sic] principally the Jews dissent from us." If the Jews didn't desire to convert the English, Hughes feared, then perhaps they intended to make the English subservient: "they too wel [sic] know the meaning of that saying . . . *Divide & regnes*."<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> Crouch, "Proceedings," 168.

<sup>91</sup> This concern at the boundaries between Englishness and foreignness is examined in detail by James Shapiro, who argues that the desire to readmit the Jews was based around "redefining what it meant to be English" in the mid-1600s. See Shapiro, *Shakespeare and the Jews*, 57; 167–93.

<sup>92</sup> W[illiam] H[ughes], *Anglo-Judaeus, or The history of the Jews, whilst here in England* (London: T. N. for Thomas Heath, 1656), 49–50.



This growing fear appeared clearly in a letter sent by John Dury, correspondent of Menasseh and supporter of readmission, to Samuel Hartlib in the period following the conference. As we saw, Dury himself had previously been in correspondence with Menasseh over the question of the Jewish Indian theory. Yet by 1656, as David Katz rightly suggests, a growing fear and skepticism of the consequences of Jewish readmission had begun to grip him.<sup>93</sup> Hartlib had written to Dury during the conference, requesting his notes on the return of the Jews. Dury had replied "in haste" on 8th January 1656, a reply which was printed and published later that year. The importance of Dury's reply is the shift it evidences from his previous (friendly) correspondences with Menasseh. While it maintains many of the standard tropes of the Judeo-centric approach, it also evidences major unease at the prospect of Jews as "friends." Indeed, it reveals a shift to an approach more akin to that earlier advocated by Spencer than that of the more positive Judeo-centrists.

Having witnessed the way that the Jews were treated on the continent, Dury remained convinced that they should be admitted. However, he was at pains throughout the work to emphasize that the decision on admittance must be made by the state rather than the religious establishment: "[the decision] belong[s] chiefly to those, to whome the power of admitting of them is given by God; that is, to the Rulers of the State." Divines, suggested Dury, therefore had little real part to play in the decision.<sup>94</sup> It was apparent that Dury's observations on the continent had affected his hope for Jewish conversion. Having seen the way in which the Jews behaved in Europe, he was increasingly gloomy about the possibility of their integration into English life. Their very otherness once again came to the fore. They could never be part of the central body of the state, as they "forme a Societie, or kind of Common-wealth amongst themselves."

Were they to be admitted, it would "be expedient that they live by themselves." Indeed, Dury now believed that the Jews presented an ominous threat: "they imagine themselves the only noble people in the world, and they therefore aspire to have, not onley libertie to live by themselves, but riches and power over others."<sup>95</sup> While Dury deplored the German method of making the Jews appear "base and vile" through the wearing of distinct clothing (calling for "more friendly wayes"), he nonetheless undermined many of the positive readings formerly put forward by Judeo-centrists. The contrast here between Dury's attack on the Jewish belief in their inherent nobility, and Jessey's unequivocal statement that the Jews

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<sup>93</sup> Katz, *Philo-Semitism*, 216–23.

<sup>94</sup> John Dury, *A Case of Conscience, Whether it be lawful to admit Jews into a Christian Common-wealth?* (London: Richard Wodenothe, 1656), 4.

<sup>95</sup> Dury, *Case*, 4–8.

possessed an “excellencie above all other nations”<sup>96</sup> could not be clearer. At the root of Dury’s text was the belief that the Jews were simply feigning their friendship to the nation as a cover to introduce both their religion and their usurious practices. Whilst the Jews might promise economic blessings, the fear remained that these blessings would be governed by a desire to benefit the separate Jewish community rather than the nation as a whole. Of course, Dury was not the first to have encountered Jewish life on the continent, as we have seen. Neither did he abandon a broadly Judeo-centric position.<sup>97</sup> He was the first Judeo-centrist, however, to appreciate the practical difficulties that large scale readmission would pose to English life. In other words the idealism of prophecy gave way to the reality of the barriers between Jew and Gentile—barriers that even Menasseh’s “pure friendship” could not break down.

These reconsiderations, indeed, a growing discomfort in the Jewish question came to the fore through a number of works which followed the conference in 1656. The most well-known example of this backlash was William Prynne’s notorious *Short Demurrer to the Jews Long Discontinued Remitter into England*. What is interesting in Prynne’s work is the way in which he reworked the friendship motif as an argument against those who favored readmission. Prynne, a well known lawyer and politician, had first rushed his work through the presses in late 1655, and it was apparently in the hands of the conference delegates at Whitehall in time for the final session of the conference on the 18th December. Prynne, always an industrious writer, had produced it in the space of eleven days. In 1656 he followed this with a more detailed (and larger) second part, which expanded considerably on his arguments.

Prynne began his work with his recollection of a chance meeting with delegate Philip Nye, who was then traveling to a session of the conference.<sup>98</sup> After sharing his less than positive attitude toward the Jews with Nye, Prynne moved on to discuss the opinions of the general public—with both soldiers and the poor apparently informing him that they must “all turn Jews” to receive charity.<sup>99</sup> Prynne’s study firstly aimed to attack the millenarian background to Jewish conversion. There was, he argued, no real concern for Jewish conversion amongst those who proposed their readmission. As he shrewdly pointed out, it appeared

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<sup>96</sup> Quoted in Van der Wall, “Philo-Semitic Millenarian,” 182.

<sup>97</sup> For example, he participated with Jessey in providing charity for distressed European Jews. See Whiston, *Life and Death*, 75.

<sup>98</sup> Elements of Prynne’s account are almost certainly fictional—Nye appears considerably more negative toward the Jews in Prynne’s work than his contributions at Whitehall suggest.

<sup>99</sup> William Prynne, *A Short Demurrer to the Jews Long Discontinued Barred Remitter into England* (London: Edward Thomas 1656), sig. A2iiv.

strange that those apparently so concerned with Jewish conversion were not prepared to go and evangelize the Jews themselves, rather than bringing them into England. As Glaser has recently highlighted, there was also an important legal background to Prynne's work. Aware that the lawyers at Whitehall had already concluded (in Jessey's words) that readmission was "against no LAW neither of the land. . . nor of God,"<sup>100</sup> Prynne scoured the records for a concrete legal argument against readmission. Primarily, he sought to prove that the Jews were exiled by an act of parliament, rather than by royal decree.

Yet while Glaser has shown how the Jews were used as a legal precedent in Prynne's long running argument with Hugh Peter on the use of the common law,<sup>101</sup> this was not the prime focus of his work. Instead, he aimed to prove that the Jews were inherently dangerous to the nation. Where Jessey had portrayed them as friends of England, Prynne would portray them as brutal enemies—where Wall had highlighted the Jews as eternal friends of God, Prynne would highlight their enmity to the Lord. As he noted in the preface, "If any man chance to censure me as overharsh or earnest inn my expression against the Jews; I hope that speech of their royal Prophet [will be recalled] *Do not I hate them, O Lord, that hate thee?*"<sup>102</sup> It was no surprise that Thomas Collier's reply to Prynne thus used discourses of friendship and enmity to sum up objections to readmission, bemoaning those who claimed "we should not shew ourselves friends to Jesus Christ, if we should permit them a being amongst us."<sup>103</sup>

The result of Prynne's research was not the wide-eyed anti-Semitism which is sometimes imagined. As Katz has pointed out, the work was (in some sense at least) "a serious work of scholarship," making its lucid arguments all the more shocking.<sup>104</sup> Prynne scoured the medieval manuscript histories and records for stories of the Jews' enmity to God and nation. While most of the tales he discovered were medieval libels and exaggerations, Prynne's scholarly style made their repetition chilling to his English readers. Although without any factual basis, the stories of blood libel—vivid depictions of the ritual murder of children in Norwich and Lincoln by the Jews—have remained staples of anti-Semitism into modern times. Far from being friends of the nation, Prynne argued, the Jews had a natural "impiety, blasphemy, and malice" requiring them to crucify a Christian each year.<sup>105</sup> The English, as the most godly of all nations, could therefore claim to

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<sup>100</sup> [Jessey], *Narrative*, 4.

<sup>101</sup> Glaser, *Jews Without Judaism*, 119–24.

<sup>102</sup> Prynne, *Short Demurrer*, sig. Bir.

<sup>103</sup> Collier, *Brief Answer*, 4.

<sup>104</sup> Katz, "English Redemption," 78.

<sup>105</sup> Prynne, *Short Demurrer*, 29.

have no responsibility for the Jewish nation. On the contrary, they were locked in continual conflict with the Jewish people. The English, in their role as friends of God, had a duty to protect themselves and their friendship with the Lord through their animosity toward the Jews. It was this godliness which had first prompted the English to expel the Jews in the thirteenth century: "exceeding execrable and detestable to the people in all places where they resided . . . for their infidelity, blasphemies, apostasies, [and] enmity to Christ and Christianity."<sup>106</sup> The same point was made more forcefully by William Hughes in the same year. The English, he argued, inherited an enmity to the Jews: "derived . . . from their Ancestors, that though it be now more than 365 years since their expulsion, yet not at all doth it seem moderated or abated; an ill sign of their future agreement."<sup>107</sup> This enmity, as both Prynne and Hughes noted, ran both ways. Thus, England's history with the Jews should act as a discouragement to their return: "they have little cause or reason at all to desire to replant themselves in *England*, where their ancestors in times past, sustained so many miseries, massacres, affronts, oppressions, fleecings upon all occasions & themselves can expect little better."<sup>108</sup>

What is remarkable in Prynne is his attitude toward the fate of the Jews, even if they were to convert. The anonymous I. E. (probably John Eachard) had taken this theme up in his earlier response to Menasseh's *Hope of Israel*, insisting that "Our Honourable State (I doubt not) will honourably entertaine you to inhabit here with us . . . and wee shall embrace you, as our Christian brethren" if the Jews were to turn to Christ.<sup>109</sup> Yet Prynne was gloomier in his assessment of the Jews' allegedly inbuilt enmity toward Christ. Like Luther before him, who had despaired of any hope of future Jewish conversion, Prynne was skeptical that there was any chance of the Jews coming to Christ. Romans 11:26, the scriptural centerpiece for hopes of Jewish salvation with the promise that "all Israel will be saved" was given a downbeat reading: "being meant only of the elect, the true Israel of God."<sup>110</sup>

There was, feared Prynne, an *inbuilt* enmity to God in the Jewish psyche: "Most of the Jews, who since their dispersion [sic] have been *baptized, and turned Christians . . . have done it either out of fear, to save their lives . . . or for fear of banishment*."<sup>111</sup> After detailing the efforts of the preaching friars to convert the Jews in the twelfth century, he therefore concluded that the "Zealots and Enthusiasts who so earnestly plead for their readmission . . . are like to find no better success

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<sup>106</sup> William Prynne, *The Second Part of a Short Demurrer to the Jewes Long Discontinued Remitter into England* (London: Edward Thomas, 1656), 132.

<sup>107</sup> Hughes, *Anglo-Judaeus*, 47.

<sup>108</sup> Prynne, *Short Demurrer*, 52.

<sup>109</sup> I. E., *Great Deliverance*, 53.

<sup>110</sup> Prynne, *Short Demurrer*, 90.

<sup>111</sup> Prynne, *Short Demurrer*, 93.

than these preaching Friars did.”<sup>112</sup> Prynne therefore aimed to emphasize the alterity of the Jewish people. They were not, he claimed, like others—their conversion was, to all extents and purposes, impossible.

While his brutal attack prompted Menasseh to write his widely known defense of the Jewish people, the *Vindiciae Judaearum*, the damage was already done. The attacks of Prynne merged with the doubts of Dury to help sway public opinion against any form of formal Jewish readmission. While the Jews were seen as friends of the nation, the prospect of their personal friendship was clearly one step too far for the majority. This became increasingly clear to the more fervent Judeo-centrist writers. The anonymous D. L. expressed his exasperation at the increasing skepticism toward those who wished the Jews well “as it were by way of *Parenthesis*.” Too many, he noted, were happy to pay lip service to the nobility of the Jews, while “excluding them [from] their companies and Congregations, they seem to wish them some good, but they plainly manifest it that they would not have them enjoy it, or not amongst us.”<sup>113</sup> No doubt he had in mind those such as Hughes, who after 52 pages on the usurious, murderous and disloyal nature of the Jews noted that he “shew no evil will towards them . . . [and] heartily desire the real and fully prosperity of *Judah*.” The key to understanding this apparent contradiction was Hughes’s national interest. While desiring the “full prosperity” of Judah, he nonetheless was predominantly concerned with “the good of ones native Country.”<sup>114</sup> This, we might recall, was also Tomlinson’s motivation in writing: “as out of love to the Nation of the Jewes; so also out of love to my owne Country.”<sup>115</sup>

The striking similarity between Hughes’s and Tomlinson’s aims in their works chimes with that found in the other writers examined above. Without exception, each found the reason for readmission in national terms, often couched in discourses of friendship. While both supporters and opponents of readmission came to the subject from radically differing perspectives, they nonetheless utilized the same approaches. For those in favor of readmission, those who claimed to be friends of God had to become, by association, friends of the Jewish people. This led to an intimate concern with the role of the Jews for the nation—whether these were the positive economic benefits emphasized by Menasseh, the theological benefits envisioned by Jessey, or the judgment that Prynne saw was coming on any nation which accepted the exiled Jews. Each of these manifestations of

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<sup>112</sup> Prynne, *Second Part*, 83.

<sup>113</sup> D. L., *Israels Condition and Cause Pleaded* (London: P. W. for William Larnar and Jonathan Ball, 1656), f.2v.

<sup>114</sup> Hughes, *Anglo-Judaeus*, 52.

<sup>115</sup> Tomlinson, *Bosome*.

friendship (and enmity) was strikingly corporate in its approach. It ignored the potential for individual Jews to benefit the nation as individuals, viewing them (primarily) as targets for conversion.

When the reality of personal contact (and thus friendship) with the Jews became an issue through Menasseh's presence, the challenges of Jewish-Christian relationships became clear. Those who had previously supported readmission with few reservations, confronted with the Rabbi, began to emphasize the alterity and inherent difference between Jews and Gentiles. The idea of friendship and community was undermined. Unique figures such as Sadler and Jessey remained both personal friends of Menasseh and supporters of deeper Jewish integration into English life. This extended to more than just words—Jessey remained active in arranging practical help for disadvantaged Jews across Europe. In 1658, for example, he organized a collection of alms for the suffering Ashkenazi Jews of Jerusalem.<sup>116</sup>

The conclusion of the Whitehall conference remained uncertain. Cromwell's postscript to the conference on December 18 could serve as a useful description of the debate as a whole. Far from clearing the issue of the Jews, it had only served to complicate it: "he [had] hoped by these preachers to have had some clearing the case [of the Jews] as to conscience. But seeing these agreed not but were of two or three opinions, it was left the more doubtfull to him and the Councel [sic]" how to proceed. Menasseh was therefore left disappointed—as Jessey recorded in the postscript to his summary of the conference, "[Menasseh] still remains in London, desiring a favourable answer to his proposals." With obvious regret, Jessey reminded his readers that "several Jewish merchants" had come to London, but seeing their case as hopeless, now "removed hence again to beyond the seas, with much grief of heart."<sup>117</sup> Menasseh was to remain in situ until September 1657, by which point he had run out of money and lost both the patience and support of his Amsterdam congregation. Cromwell, however, did not withdraw his friendship, awarding the Rabbi a state pension. Nonetheless, Menasseh finally left England a broken man. He died at Middelburg on his journey back to the Netherlands. John Sadler continued to evidence his friendship to the deceased Rabbi, pleading with Richard Cromwell for financial relief for Menasseh's widow.

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<sup>116</sup> An Anglo-Dutch project which Jessey was initially informed of through the Dutch millenarian Petrus Serrarius. See Van der Wall, "Philo-Semitic Millenarian," 161–66.

<sup>117</sup> [Jessey], *Narrative*, 10.

The story of Jewish readmission, of course, did not end with Whitehall. The small community of secret Jews in London—Spanish and Portuguese “Marranos”<sup>118</sup>—were soon forced to reveal themselves by international events. With England at war with Spain, Spanish Jew Antonio Rodrigues Robles was denounced to the English authorities in March 1656. With a recent edict rendering all Spanish property liable for confiscation, Robles adopted an unusual defense to protect himself, admitting that he was a Jew, rather than a Spaniard. On March 24, 1656, the remainder of the secret community petitioned Cromwell for protection and the right to private worship. Menasseh was one of the seven signatories, and although the petition was studiously ignored by the Council of State, Robles’s defense was accepted, and his property restored to him in May 1656.<sup>119</sup> While official recognition of Jewish communities would have to wait until the Restoration, the fact of Robles’s acceptance and the revelation of the tiny Jewish community gave Anglo-Jewry its first official existence in over three hundred years. Although Menasseh never realized it, he had unwittingly achieved one of his primary aims.

The exact status of this tiny community and its relation to England would rear its head only occasionally over the next hundred years, most notably at the Restoration. The public interest and debate which surrounded Whitehall, however, would finally subside, before returning with a vengeance in the “Jew Bill” controversy of 1753. Meanwhile the Anglo-Jewish community, now openly revealed, would strive to show itself, unquestionably, to be one of England’s greatest friends.

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<sup>118</sup> The term “Marranos” refers to Spanish and Portuguese Jews who feigned a conversion to Catholicism, but continued to practice their faith in secret. While most fled the Inquisition to the Netherlands, a few merchants had settled in London, where they outwardly practiced as Catholics, worshipping at the chapels of foreign embassies. It is possible that the Spanish edition of Nicholas’s *Humble Apology* was aimed at those Marranos then resident in London (see note 26 above).

<sup>119</sup> For a fuller description of these events see Katz, *Philo-Semitism*, 231–44.





## Illustrations

### Illustrations to Miriam Marotzki's article:

[In her article she uses the German abbreviation 'Abb.' for 'Abbildung' = Figure]

Fig. 1: Leonardo da Vinci: Profilstudien eines alten und eines jungen Mannes (Salai?), die sich gegenüber stehen, 1500–1505, Rötöl, 21 x 15 cm, Florenz, Galleria degli Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe.

In: *Leonardo da Vinci. 1452–1519. Sämtliche Gemälde und Zeichnungen*, Hrsg. Frank Zöllner (Hong Kong, Köln, et al.: Taschen, 2007), Fig. 198.

Fig. 2: Leonardo da Vinci: Studie zu den Herzklappen und zur Muskeltätigkeit des Herzens, um 1513, Feder und braune Tusche auf blauem Papier, 26 x 20 cm, Windsor Castle, Royal Library (RL 19093 recto).

In: Kenneth Clark, *The Drawings of Leonardo da Vinci in the Collection of His Majesty the King at Windsor Castle*, 2 (London: Phaidon, 1935).

Fig. 3: Nach Leonardo da Vinci: Johannes der Täufer, um 1505–1507, Pappelholz, 71 x 51 cm, Basel, Kunstmuseum Basel, Vermächtnis Dr. Fritz Sarasin 1942 (Inv. Nr. 1879).

Fotonachweis: Kunstmuseum Basel, Martin P. Bühler.

Fig. 4: Leonardo da Vinci: Kopf und Schultern eines jungen Mannes im Profil (Salai?), um 1510, schwarze Kreide, 19,3 x 14,9 cm, Windsor Castle, Royal Library (RL 12557 recto).

In: *Leonardo da Vinci. 1452–1519. Sämtliche Gemälde und Zeichnungen*, Hrsg. Frank Zöllner (Hong Kong, Köln, et al.: Taschen, 2007), Fig. 203.

Fig. 5: Leonardo da Vinci: Brustbild eines Mannes und einer jungen Frau im Profil, um 1478–1490, Feder und Tinte auf weißem Papier, 40,5 x 29 cm, Windsor Castle, Royal Library (12276 verso).

In: Kenneth Clark, *The Drawings of Leonardo da Vinci in the Collection of His Majesty the King at Windsor Castle*, 2 (London: Phaidon, 1935).

Fig. 6: Leonardo da Vinci: Kopf und Schultern eines jungen Mannes im Profil, Feder und Tinte auf weißem Papier, 13,7 x 8,2 cm, Windsor Castle, Royal Library (12432 recto).

In: Kenneth Clark, *The Drawings of Leonardo da Vinci in the Collection of His Majesty the King at Windsor Castle*, 2 (London: Phaidon, 1935).

Fig. 7: Leonardo da Vinci, Angelo incarnato, um 1513–1514, schwarze Kreide oder Kohle auf blauem Papier, 26,8 x 19,7 cm, Deutschland, Privatsammlung.

In: Daniel Arasse, *Leonardo da Vinci* (Köln: DuMont, 2002), Fig. 319.

Fig. 8: Nach Leonardo da Vinci: Monna Vanna oder Gioconda nuda, ca. 1515, St. Petersburg, Eremitage.

In: Donald Sassoon, *Da Vinci und das Geheimnis der Mona Lisa* (Bergisch Gladbach: Lübbe, 2006), 152.

Fig. 9: Leonardo da Vinci: Zeichnungen verschiedener Impresen (Lampe, Pflug und Kompass) und Profilstudie eines jungen Mannes, etwa 1508, Feder, Tinte und schwarze Kreide, 37,2 x 28,1 cm, Windsor Castle, Royal Library (RL 12282 recto).

In: *Leonardo da Vinci. 1452–1519. Sämtliche Gemälde und Zeichnungen*, Hrsg. Frank Zöllner (Hong Kong, Köln, et al.: Taschen, 2007), Fig. 409.

Fig. 10: Leonardo da Vinci, Allegorien der Freude, des Kammers und der Missgunst, um 1490–1494, Feder und Tinte, 21 x 29 cm, Oxford, Governing Body, Christ Church (Inv JBS 17 verso).

In: *Leonardo da Vinci. 1452–1519. Sämtliche Gemälde und Zeichnungen*, Hrsg. Frank Zöllner (Hong Kong, Köln, et al.: Taschen, 2007), Fig. 398.

Fig. 11: Francesco Melzi, Flora (oder Columbine), 1517–21, Öl auf Leinwand (transferiert von Holz), 76 x 63 cm, St. Petersburg, Eremitage.

In: *I Leonardeschi: l'eredità di Leonardo in Lombardia*, Hrsg. Giulio Bora und David Alan Brown (Mailand: Skira 1998), S. 375.

Fig. 12: Francesco Melzi (?), Leonardo da Vinci, 1510–1515, Rötöl, 27,4 x 19 cm, Windsor Castle, Royal Library (RL 12726 recto).

In: Kenneth Clark, *The Drawings of Leonardo da Vinci in the Collection of His Majesty the King at Windsor Castle*, 2 (London: Phaidon, 1935).

Fig. 13: Francesco Melzi, Porträt eines jungen Mannes mit Papagei, um 1550, Mailand, Collezione Gallerati Scotti.

In: *The Legacy of Leonardo: Painters in Lombardy 1490–1530*, Hrsg. Giulio Bora, David Alan Brown und Marco Carminati (Mailand: Skira, 1998), Fig. 270.

Fig. 14: Gian Giacomo Caprotti (genannt Salai), Johannes der Täufer, Mailand, Pinacoteca Ambrosiana.

In: *The Legacy of Leonardo: Painters in Lombardy 1490–1530*, Hrsg. Giulio Bora, David Alan Brown und Marco Carminati (Mailand: Skira, 1998), Fig. 288.

Fig. 15: Nach Leonardo da Vinci (?), Johannes der Täufer (mit Attributen des Bacchus), um 1513–1519 (?), Öl auf Holz, auf Leinwand übertragen, 17,7 x 11,5 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre (Inv. 780).

In: *Leonardo da Vinci. 1452–1519. Sämtliche Gemälde und Zeichnungen*, Hrsg. Frank Zöllner (Hong Kong, Köln, et al.: Taschen, 2007), S. 203.

Fig. 16: Leonardo da Vinci und Schüler, Studienblatt mit einem Engel der Verkündigung, um 1503–1506, Feder und Sepia auf grauem Papier, 21 x 28,3 cm, Windsor Castle, Royal Library (RL 12328 recto).

In: Daniel Arasse, *Leonardo da Vinci* (Köln: DuMont, 2002), Fig. 320.

Fig. 17: Leonardo da Vinci, Studie eines nackten, jungen Mannes (Johannes der Täufer?), ca. 1476, Silberstift, erhöht mit oxidiertem Weiß auf blauem Papier, 17,8 x 12,2 cm, Windsor Castle, Royal Library (RL 12572).

In: Kenneth Clark, *The Drawings of Leonardo da Vinci in the Collection of His Majesty the King at Windsor Castle*, 2 (London: Phaidon, 1935).

### Illustration to Vera Keller's article:

Fig. 1: Peter Paul Rubens, "Peter Paul Rubens, Philip Rubens, Justus Lipsius and Johannes Woverius" ("The Four Philosophers"), no. 117, Florence Palazzo Pitti. Here borrowed from Hans Vlieghe, *Rubens: Portraits Of Identified Sitters Painted in Antwerp*. Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1987), figure 140.



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